

THE PAPERS OF
Andrew Jackson
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DANIEL FELLER
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



THE PAPERS OF

Andrew Jackson

VOLUME X, 1832



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EDITORS

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Contents



HOW TO USE THIS VOLUME	
History and Scope of the Project	ix
What is a Jackson Document?	x
Organization and Presentation	xi
Selection of Documents for Printing	xi
Jackson's Official Papers	xii
Ordering of Documents	xiii
Transcription	xiii
Annotation	xiv
Calendar	xv
Index	xv
CODES AND SYMBOLS	
Document Types	xvii
Repositories	xviii
Microfilm Series	xx
Library of Congress Jackson Papers Reels	xx
National Archives Microfilms	xxi
Publication Short Titles	xxiv
Abbreviations	xxv
LISTS AND TABLES	
Chronology	xxvi
Jackson's Presidential Public Papers	xxviii
Jackson's Donelson Family Connections	xxxiv
Principal Characters	2
THE PAPERS, 1832	3
CALENDAR	765
INDEX	857

Page numbers for documents within The Papers
are listed in the Calendar.

How to Use This Volume



HISTORY AND SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

This tenth volume of *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* is the fourth of Jackson's presidency and also the fourth produced by the team of Editor Daniel Feller and Associate Editors Thomas Coens and Laura-Eve Moss. We wish also to acknowledge the invaluable contribution of former Assistant Editor Erik B. Alexander. Our editorial policies, here explained, continue unchanged from the previous volume.

Our aim is to systematically present Andrew Jackson's full extant literary remains. We define "papers" broadly to mean everything written to, by, or for Jackson, or annotated by him—every piece of paper, so to speak, on which Jackson left his DNA. This includes letters sent and received, official documents, drafts, memoranda, and financial and legal records. (For a fuller definition, including some exclusions peculiar to Jackson's presidency, see "What is a Jackson Document?" below.)

The project began some years ago with a worldwide canvass for Jackson papers. This search yielded photocopies of thousands of documents held by hundreds of libraries, archives, and private owners. The two largest holdings are in Washington, D.C. The bulk of Jackson's surviving retained personal papers are in the Library of Congress, while the National Archives has many Jackson documents scattered through its holdings of official records of the various branches of the federal government. In 1967 the Library of Congress microfilmed its entire Andrew Jackson Papers collection on 78 reels. The National Archives has also filmed many Jackson documents on its M and T series microfilms of government records. In 1987, when our project's initial document search was complete, we produced a 39-reel Microfilm Supplement containing all Jackson items that were not already on the National Archives or Library of Congress films. (We also refiled some Library of Congress documents that were misdated or otherwise unfindable on the Library's own film.) As of 1987, then, every known Jackson document had been microfilmed by the Library, the Archives, or us. To provide unified access to them all, our project published *The Papers of Andrew Jackson: Guide and Index to the Microfilm Editions* (Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1987), which listed

every document alphabetically by name of author or recipient, with the microfilm location for each. (For a full listing of microfilms pertinent to this volume, see “Microfilm Series” below.)

Meanwhile our project embarked on its plan to publish a carefully chosen selection of Jackson’s papers in sixteen chronological volumes: six pre-presidential, one for each of the eight presidential years, and two post-presidential. This volume is part of that series. Presenting the most significant documents in full annotated text, and summarizing the rest in calendar form, the volume is designed both to stand on its own as a compilation of Jackson’s most important papers in 1832 and to offer those who wish to delve further an easy window into the full corpus of papers available on microfilm.

Although our project’s initial search for Jackson’s papers was painstakingly thorough, new documents continue to surface at a surprising rate. Those discovered in time are incorporated into the chronological volumes, including this one, as they appear. We also plan to gather images of all the documents found since 1987, and therefore absent from the microfilms, in a concluding digital supplement when the volume series is complete.

WHAT IS A JACKSON DOCUMENT?

The following types of papers lie within our corpus:

Documents written or signed by Jackson, except those excluded below.

Documents composed for Jackson, such as drafts of his messages.

Documents addressed, written, or delivered to Jackson.

Documents annotated, inscribed, or endorsed by Jackson.

All documents in the Library of Congress Jackson Papers. These were, with no known exceptions, papers received and kept by Jackson even if not addressed to him.

Other items that were microfilmed and included in our *Guide and Index*, especially some civil commissions signed by Jackson and job applications and recommendations addressed to his private secretary, Andrew Jackson Donelson. Even if these do not meet our present definition of Jackson documents, they are retained herein to preserve, as much as possible, a one-to-one correspondence between the listings in the *Guide and Index* and this volume. On the other hand, a very few items that were included as Jackson documents in the microfilm and the *Guide and Index* not by a variant definition but by simple mistake have been omitted.

We exclude the following:

Routine official documents bearing Jackson’s signature as president (unless appearing in the microfilm and *Guide and Index*, as above). These are often printed forms with handwritten insertions. They include civil

and military commissions, land patents, proclamations of federal land sales, diplomatic credentials, consular exequaturs, and ship passes.

Reported utterances, conversations, or remarks by Jackson, unless made from a written text.

Communications made by others in Jackson's name, such as a letter from a government official beginning "the president directs me to say. . . ."

Published materials ostensibly addressed or inscribed to Jackson or to the president, unless known to have been sent to him or seen by him.

Spurious documents, either faked, forged, or misattributed. We have encountered no prominent spurious documents for 1832.

ORGANIZATION AND PRESENTATION

This volume contains three parts. The main body presents full texts of Andrew Jackson's most significant papers from 1832 with explanatory notes. Following afterward is a calendar—a chronological listing of *all* the papers, with a brief content synopsis for each document that is not printed in the main text and an italicized page reference for each one that is. The calendar thus also functions as a table of contents for the main text. Together, text and calendar account for every 1832 Jackson document falling within our definition of his papers. The index at the back provides full coverage of document authors, recipients, and contents for both text and calendar.

The volume text, calendar, and index can be used in tandem with each other and with the microfilms and microfilm *Guide and Index* to pursue almost any kind of research inquiry. If the subject is a person, say John Doe, the *Guide and Index* will give dates and microfilm locations for all letters he wrote to, or received from, Jackson. Each letter will also be either printed in the appropriate volume or summarized in its calendar. If Doe is mentioned in a letter by someone else, that mention will appear in the volume index. Reaping the full benefit of a volume requires consulting calendar as well as main text, and using the index as a guide to both.

Selection of Documents for Printing

Of a total of 1,821 Jackson documents in the year 1832, 441 are presented here in full text. The rest are calendared. We have selected for printing what we judge to be the most significant papers, defining significance by the broadest possible criteria: those documents that most illuminate Jackson, his presidency, his country, and his times. In general we have made our decision to print a document without regard to whether it has been previously published. However, Jackson's public papers—his official presidential addresses, messages, and proclamations—constitute a special case.

Jackson's Official Papers

Jackson's presidential public papers in 1832 include his fourth annual message to Congress, several proclamations, messages to the Senate concerning nominations for office or treaties with foreign powers or Indian nations, three veto messages of congressional bills, and various other special messages to one or both houses of Congress, often transmitting documents or reports. Nearly all these papers have been published in one or more of three official series. First, many messages to Congress with their attachments were immediately printed by order of the House or Senate and included in the consecutively numbered volumes of congressional documents known as the Serial Set. Secondly, messages concerning nominations and treaties, received by the Senate in executive session, were later collected and published in Volume IV of the *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America*. Lastly, at the end of the nineteenth century James D. Richardson published under congressional authorization *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789–1897* in ten volumes, the second and third of which embraced Jackson's presidency. Richardson's compilation was itself included in the Serial Set (*House Miscellaneous Document* 210, 53d Congress, 2d session, Serial 3265) and was reissued in several later editions. (These editions were variously repaginated. All page citations herein are to the original, official Serial Set version.)

Today all three publications are widely available, not only in print but in searchable electronic text. (As of this writing, the *Senate Executive Proceedings* and portions of the Serial Set, along with the *Statutes at Large* and House and Senate journals and records of debates, can be found on the Library of Congress website entitled "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation.") The texts in these official series are reliable and authoritative. It would be pointless for this volume to reproduce published government documents that readers can find at their fingertips; and to do so would consume much precious space. Accordingly we have determined not to print the final, official texts of any presidential papers that appeared in the Serial Set, the *Senate Executive Proceedings*, or Richardson. The manuscript originals of these documents, residing now generally in the National Archives, were microfilmed by our project and listed in the *Guide and Index*. They are calendared here, and their publication in official series is uniformly noted. But they are not printed. However, we do print the rare presidential message that escaped official publication; and we also print drafts, where such exist and differ significantly from the final versions. Readers may trace the evolution of, for instance, Jackson's message vetoing the recharter of the Bank of the United States or his proclamation against nullification by comparing the drafts in this volume to the final texts in the Serial Set or Richardson.

For a full listing of Jackson's 1832 public papers with their official publication record, see the table "Jackson's Presidential Public Papers" below.

Ordering of Documents

The general order of documents is chronological. In the calendar, inferred dates are given in brackets; estimated ones are preceded by *c* (*circa*). Within each day, letters from Jackson, arranged alphabetically by recipient, come first, followed by letters to Jackson alphabetically by author, then other Jackson documents, and lastly third-party correspondence. However, where a chronology can be established within a day—an exchange of notes back and forth, for instance—the documents composing it are grouped in sequence. Documents with spread dates, such as running financial accounts, are placed at their opening date. Items within a month, or within the year 1832, that cannot be dated more precisely go at the end of the month or year respectively. Undated memoranda and message drafts, including entries in Jackson's presidential memorandum book, are either placed at their most likely date of composition or grouped in sequence at the date of their final versions.

Transcription

Each document printed here is presented in full, including all endorsements or notations by Jackson on documents written by others. The originals of most documents are handwritten. Where the original is a printed text, for instance a letter published in a contemporary newspaper, its appearance and typography have been replicated as closely as possible.

Converting handwriting to print is an inexact process. It requires rendering a nearly limitless array of pen markings into a finite set of typographic characters. In Jackson's day, even practiced writers often used punctuation marks that lay somewhere between clear dashes, periods, commas, or semicolons; and they formed letters such as *c*, *m*, and *s* not simply in upper or lower case but in a variety of styles and gradations of size. Jackson, for instance, had at least three, not two, distinct ways of making an *a* and a *t*.

That said, within the limits of the medium, our policy is to reproduce the original text as closely as possible, retaining its peculiarities of grammar, spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. When Jackson reversed "the" and "they," as he sometimes did, we have transcribed just what he wrote, without comment or *[sic]*. The following are exceptions and clarifications. Inadvertent word repetitions ("and and"), nonfunctional dashes following other punctuation, and addressees' names at the end of a document have been omitted. Superscript characters have been brought down to the main line. Dates placed at the bottom of a document have

been moved up to the top, and interlined or marginal additions have been inserted in the text at the spot marked by the writer. Cross-outs, where decipherable, are represented by lined-through text. Interpolated readings of missing or obscured text are bracketed; where conjectural, they are also italicized. Complimentary closings to letters (“your obedient servant”) have been run onto the preceding text. Implied but unpunctuated sentence breaks, as at the end of a line, are represented by elongated spacing.

Annotation

Each printed document is followed by a source note that identifies its type, its repository or owner, its location on microfilm (in parentheses), and its place of previous publication, as shown in the sample below. Where more than one version of a document exists, the one we print is listed first.

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179–72). AL draft, THi (12–1456);
LC, DLC (60). *Globe*, July 29, 1832; *Niles*, July 30. *Doe*
Papers, 18:243.

In this example, our printed text is from an Autograph Letter Signed (ALS)—a letter handwritten and signed by its sender—housed in Record Group 59 of the National Archives (DNA-RG 59) and filmed on Reel 72 of National Archives microfilm series M179 (M179–72). There is also an unsigned draft of the letter in the sender’s hand (AL draft) in the Tennessee Historical Society (THi) and filmed on Reel 12, frame 1456, of the Microfilm Supplement produced by this project; and also a letterbook copy (LC) held by the Library of Congress (DLC) and filmed on Reel 60 of the Library’s Jackson Papers microfilm. The letter was published contemporaneously in the *Washington Globe* and *Niles’ Weekly Register* and also in the modern *Papers of John Doe*.

For lists and explanations of document types, repositories, microfilm series, and publication titles, see “Codes and Symbols” below. Our general policy in noting previous publication of a document is to cite the first or earliest known contemporary printing and the most authoritative modern one. For convenience, we also note contemporary reprinting in *Niles’ Weekly Register*, the great national news compendium of its day. For items we print, we do not cite previous appearance in John Spencer Bassett’s *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, which our series supersedes.

The source note also presents information germane to or explanatory of the document as a whole. Numbered footnotes, keyed to callouts in the text, give further information on particular points. Our aim is to offer only what facts are necessary to make a document intelligible and to place it in immediate context, leaving the rest to the reader.

We have tried to briefly identify, with full name and dates, each person named in the text at the point of his or her first significant appearance.

A caution is however in order. Regular government recording of births, deaths, and legal names began long after 1832. In the absence of official records, family researchers have assembled a plethora of genealogical data of highly variable provenance and quality. We have used such information only with extreme care. Still, readers should be aware that dates and full names for many people appearing in this volume are less than certain.

We have not routinely employed cross-referencing footnotes to link up related documents within the volume, as these may be located by using the index and calendar. When Jackson writes to Smith, “I have received yours of the 17th instant,” that letter, if extant, will appear in the calendar at its proper date (“instant” means this month; “ultimo” means last month); and it, with all other mentions of Smith, will be indexed under his name. Likewise we have not noted “not found” for Smith’s letter if it is not extant or not known to us. The calendar includes all found documents. Any letter not listed in it was not found.

Calendar

In the calendar, each entry for a document printed in the volume is italicized, with a page reference to the main text. For a document not printed in the volume, the calendar presents the same identifying and locating information as a text source note (see “Annotation” above), followed by a brief synopsis of contents. To show their common origin, we have in a few instances combined the entries for substantively identical documents of the same date, such as multiple copies of a petition. Routine Jackson notations on incoming documents—for instance, referring a letter to one of the executive departments—are not mentioned in the calendar. However, we have noted substantive Jackson endorsements, and also those on third-party letters where the endorsement is what makes the item a Jackson document.

Index

In the index, a reference to a single page in the calendar may signify more than one item on that page. To guide the reader directly to Jackson’s correspondence with a particular person or group printed in the main text, the index entry for that person or group begins with page numbers for the correspondence, in bold italics.

Codes and Symbols



DOCUMENT TYPES

Abbreviations

A	Autograph—written in the author's hand
D	Document—a manuscript document other than a note or letter
L	Letter—a manuscript letter
LC	Letterbook copy—a handwritten copy recorded in a letterbook
N	Note—a brief informal manuscript message or memorandum
S	Signed—bearing the author's signature

Other Notations

Abstract	A précis of a document
Copy	A handwritten copy
Draft	A handwritten draft
Duplicate	A document created in identical multiple versions
Extract	A copied or printed excerpt from a document
Facsimile	A pictorial image of a manuscript document
Fragment	A partial document
Printed	A printed document

Sample Combinations

AL	Autograph Letter—an unsigned sent letter, written by the sender
ALS	Autograph Letter Signed—a sent letter, written and signed by the sender
ALS copy	Autograph Letter Signed copy—a copy of a sent letter, written and signed by the sender
ALS draft	Autograph Letter Signed draft—a draft of a sent letter, written and signed by the sender
LS	Letter Signed—a sent letter, signed by the sender but written in another hand

REPOSITORIES

C-S	California State Library, Sutro Branch, San Francisco
CsmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
Ct	Connecticut State Library, Hartford
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
CU-BANC	Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
DNA	National Archives, Washington, D.C.
	RG 11, General Records of the United States Government
	RG 15, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs
	RG 26, Records of the United States Coast Guard
	RG 28, Records of the Post Office Department
	RG 42, Records of the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital
	RG 45, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library
	RG 46, Records of the United States Senate
	RG 49, Records of the Bureau of Land Management
	RG 50, Records of the Treasurer of the United States
	RG 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury
	RG 59, General Records of the Department of State
	RG 60, General Records of the Department of Justice
	RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs
	RG 76, Records of Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations
	RG 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers
	RG 84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State
	RG 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office
	RG 104, Records of the U.S. Mint
	RG 107, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War
	RG 108, Records of the Headquarters of the Army
	RG 125, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Navy)
	RG 127, Records of the United States Marine Corps
	RG 153, Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army)
	RG 156, Records of the Office of the Chief of Ordnance
	RG 192, Records of the Office of the Commissary General of Subsistence
	RG 206, Records of the Solicitor of the Treasury
	RG 217, Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury

	RG 233, Records of the United States House of Representatives
G-Ar	Georgia State Department of Archives and History, Atlanta
I-Ar	Illinois State Library, Archives Division, Springfield
ICHi	Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.
IEN	Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
IHi	Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield
InHi	Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis
KHi	Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka
LU	Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge
Me	Maine State Library, Augusta
MeHi	Maine Historical Society, Portland
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MiU-C	William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
MoSW	Washington University, Saint Louis, Mo.
MsSM	Mississippi State University, State College
MWiW-C	Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
N	New York State Library, Albany
NcD	Duke University, Durham, N.C.
NcMHi	Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, N.C.
NcU	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York, N.Y.
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J.
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
NN	New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.
NNPM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y.
OCHP	Cincinnati Historical Society, Cincinnati, Ohio
OCIWHi	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio
OGK	Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PJo	Cambria County Library System, Johnstown, Pa.
PMA	Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
PMCHi	Crawford County Historical Society, Meadville, Pa.
PPiRP	Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.
ScCleU	Clemson University, Clemson, S.C.
T	Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville
THer	Ladies' Hermitage Association, Hermitage, Tenn.
THi	Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville
TKKn	Knox County Archives, Knox County Court, Knoxville, Tenn.

TMM	University of Memphis, Memphis, Tenn.
TNDa	Davidson County Archives, Davidson County Court, Nashville, Tenn.
TNJ	Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
TU	University of Tennessee, Knoxville
TxU	University of Texas, Austin
UkOxU-AS	Oxford University, All Soul's College, Oxford, England
UPB	Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah
Vi	Virginia State Library, Richmond
WHi	State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison

MICROFILM SERIES

Microfilm citations (in parentheses) are of four types:

40	The Library of Congress Andrew Jackson Papers microfilm, listed by reel number (reel 40). For contents of reels cited in this volume, see below.
M179-72 or T967-1	National Archives microfilms, listed by publication series and reel number (series M179, reel 72, or series T967, reel 1). For series titles cited in this volume, see below.
12-1456	<i>The Papers of Andrew Jackson</i> Microfilm Supplement, listed by reel and frame number (reel 12, frame 1456).
mAJ's	Items acquired since 1987 and therefore not included on the Library of Congress, National Archives, or project microfilms. These will be collected in an addendum at the project's conclusion.

Library of Congress Andrew Jackson Papers Reels, 1832

40-41	General correspondence
58-60	Undated correspondence
64	Memorandum book
70	Military papers
73-75	Correspondence
76-77	Presidential message drafts
78	Bank book and Jackson-Kendall letters

National Archives Microfilms

M6	RG 107: Letters Sent by the Secretary of War Relating to Military Affairs, 1800–1889
M10	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Chile, 1823–1906
M18	RG 75: Register of Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1880
M21	RG 75: Letters Sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881
M22	RG 107: Registers of Letters Received by the Office of the Secretary of War, Main Series, 1800–1870
M25	RG 49: Miscellaneous Letters Sent by the General Land Office, 1796–1889
M27	RG 49: Letters Sent by the General Land Office to Surveyors General, 1796–1901
M30	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Great Britain, 1791–1906
M34	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to France, 1789–1906
M35	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Russia, 1808–1906
M38	RG 59: Notes From the Department of State to Foreign Ministers and Consuls in the United States, 1793–1834
M39	RG 59: Notes From the Russian Legation in the United States to the Department of State, 1809–1906
M40	RG 59: Domestic Letters of the Department of State, 1784–1906
M42	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to the Netherlands, 1794–1906
M56	RG 59: Notes from the Netherlands Legation in the United States to the Department of State, 1784–1906
M77	RG 59: Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State, 1801–1906
M78	RG 59: Consular Instructions of the Department of State, 1801–1834
M84	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Consuls in La Guaira, Venezuela, 1810–1906
M90	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to the Italian States, 1832–1906
M97	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Mexico, 1823–1906
M124	RG 45: Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy: Miscellaneous Letters, 1801–1884

- M125 RG 45: Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy:
Captains' Letters, 1805–1861
- M127 RG 107: Letters Sent to the President by the Secretary of
War, 1800–1863
- M148 RG 45: Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy
from Officers Below the Rank of Commander,
1802–1884
- M149 RG 45: Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Navy to
Officers, 1798–1868
- M178 RG 56: Correspondence of the Secretary of the Treasury
with Collectors of Customs, 1789–1833
- M179 RG 59: Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State,
1789–1906
- M183 RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Veracruz,
Mexico, 1822–1906
- M209 RG 45: Miscellaneous Letters Sent by the Secretary of the
Navy, 1798–1886
- M221 RG 107: Letters Received by the Secretary of War,
Registered Series, 1801–1870
- M222 RG 107: Letters Received by the Secretary of War,
Unregistered Series, 1789–1861
- M234 RG 75: Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs,
1824–1881
- M235 RG 217: Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts of the
First Auditor (Formerly The Auditor) of the Treasury
Department, 1790–1840
- M273 RG 125: Records of General Courts-Martial and Courts
of Inquiry of the Navy Department, 1799–1867
- M281 RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Matamoros,
Mexico, 1826–1906
- M371 RG 42: Records of the District of Columbia
Commissioners and of the Offices Concerned With
Public Buildings, 1791–1867
- M472 RG 45: Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Navy to the
President and Executive Agencies, 1821–1886
- M505 RG 77: Registers of Letters Received by the Topographical
Bureau of the War Department, 1824–1866
- M565 RG 94: Letters Sent by the Office of the Adjutant General
(Main Series), 1800–1890
- M567 RG 94: Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant
General (Main Series), 1822–1860
- M601 RG 28: Letters Sent by the Postmaster General,
1789–1836

M639	RG 59: Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administration of Andrew Jackson, 1829–1837
M664	RG 59: Notes from Foreign Consuls in the United States to the Department of State, 1789–1906
M668	RG 11: Ratified Indian Treaties, 1722–1869
M687	RG 59: Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administrations of Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, and John Tyler, 1837–1845
M688	RG 94: U.S. Military Academy Cadet Application Papers, 1805–1866
M699	RG 60: Letters Sent by the Department of Justice: General and Miscellaneous, 1818–1904
M733	RG 56: Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Treasury Relating to Public Lands ('N' Series), 1801–1878
M804	RG 15: Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files
M857	RG 108: Letters Sent by the Headquarters of the Army (Main Series), 1828–1903
M1094	RG 94: General Orders and Circulars of the War Department and Headquarters of the Army, 1809–1860
M1113	RG 77: Letters Sent by the Chief of Engineers, 1812–1869
M1325	RG 49: Letters and Surveying Contracts Received by the General Land Office from the Surveyor General for Alabama, 1817–1832
M1635	RG 108: Letters Received by the Headquarters of the Army, 1827–1903
T1	RG 59: Despatches From U.S. Consuls in Paris, France, 1790–1906
T61	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tangier, Morocco, 1797–1906
T206	RG 59: Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Gibraltar, Spain, 1791–1906
T412	RG 60: Opinions of the Attorney General, 1817–1832
T494	RG 75: Documents Relating to the Negotiation of Ratified and Unratified Treaties With Various Indian Tribes, 1801–1869
T967	RG 59: Copies of Presidential Pardons and Remissions, 1794–1893
T1223	RG 11: Presidential Proclamations 1–2160, 1789–1936

PUBLICATION SHORT TITLES

<i>Annals of Congress</i>	<i>The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States</i> . 42 vols. Washington, D.C., 1834–1856.
ASP	<i>American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States</i> . 38 vols. Washington, D.C., 1832–1861.
Bassett	John Spencer Bassett, ed., <i>Correspondence of Andrew Jackson</i> . 7 vols. Washington, D.C., 1926–1935.
<i>Black Hawk War</i>	Ellen M. Whitney, ed., <i>The Black Hawk War, 1831–1832</i> . Volume 2, Parts 1 and 2. Springfield, Ill., 1973, 1975.
<i>Calhoun Papers</i>	W. Edwin Hemphill and Clyde N. Wilson, eds., <i>The Papers of John C. Calhoun</i> . 28 vols. Columbia, S.C., 1959–2003.
<i>Clay Papers</i>	James F. Hopkins et al., eds., <i>The Papers of Henry Clay</i> . 11 vols. Lexington, Ky., 1959–1992.
<i>Globe</i>	Washington, D.C., <i>The Globe</i> .
Hamilton <i>Reminiscences</i>	<i>Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton</i> . New York, 1869.
<i>Hansard's Parliamentary Debates</i>	Thomas Hansard, ed., <i>Hansard's Parliamentary Debates</i> . 3 ser. London, 1829–1891.
<i>House Journal</i>	U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, <i>Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States</i> .
HRDoc	U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, <i>House Documents</i> .
HRExdoc	U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, <i>House Executive Documents</i> .
HRRep	U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, <i>House Reports</i> .
<i>Illinois Governors' Letter-Books</i>	Evarts B. Greene and Clarence W. Alvord, eds., <i>The Governors' Letter-Books</i> . Volume 1: 1818–1834. Springfield, Ill., 1909.
<i>Indian Treaties</i>	Charles J. Kappler, ed., <i>Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties</i> . 2 vols. Washington, D.C., 1904.
<i>Jackson Papers</i>	Harold D. Moser et al., eds., <i>The Papers of Andrew Jackson</i> . 10 vols. to date. Knoxville, Tenn., 1980–.
<i>Nat. Intelligencer Niles</i>	Washington, D.C., <i>Daily National Intelligencer</i> . <i>Niles' Weekly Register</i> .
Polk <i>Correspondence</i>	Herbert Weaver, Paul H. Bergeron, and Wayne Cutler, eds., <i>Correspondence of James K. Polk</i> .

	12 vols. to date. Nashville and Knoxville, Tenn., 1969–.
<i>Register of Debates</i>	U.S. Congress, <i>Register of Debates in Congress</i> . 14 vols. Washington, D.C., 1825–1837.
Richardson	James D. Richardson, ed., <i>A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897</i> . 10 vols. Washington, D.C., 1896–1899.
<i>SDoc</i>	U.S. Congress, Senate, <i>Senate Documents</i> .
Senate Confidential Printing	U.S. Congress, Senate, Confidential Printings, compiled in <i>CIS Senate Executive Documents and Reports</i> , 1153 microfiches, Washington, D.C., 1987.
<i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i>	<i>Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America</i> . Volume 4. Washington, 1887.
<i>Senate Journal</i>	U.S. Congress, Senate, <i>Journal of the Senate of the United States of America</i> .
Serial Statutes	<i>United States Congressional Serial Set</i> . Richard Peters, ed., <i>The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845</i> . 8 vols. Boston, 1845–1846.
TPUS	Clarence E. Carter and John Porter Bloom, eds., <i>The Territorial Papers of the United States</i> . 28 vols. Washington, D.C., 1934–1975.
<i>Treaties</i>	Hunter Miller, ed., <i>Treaties and other International Acts of the United States of America</i> . 8 vols. Washington, D.C., 1931–1948.
U.S. Reports	<i>Reports of Decisions in the Supreme Court of the United States</i> . 557 vols. to date. Boston, New York, and Washington, D.C., 1875–.
<i>US Telegraph Works of James Buchanan</i>	Washington, D.C., <i>United States' Telegraph</i> . John Bassett Moore, ed., <i>The Works of James Buchanan, Comprising His Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence</i> . 12 vols. Philadelphia, 1908–1911.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJ	Andrew Jackson
BUS	Bank of the United States
GLO	General Land Office

Lists and Tables



1832 CHRONOLOGY

Jan 9	Bank of the United States (BUS) memorial for recharter is introduced in Congress
Jan 12	Ball in AJ's left arm from 1813 fight with the Bentons is extracted
Jan 25	Senate rejects Van Buren for minister to Britain on Vice President Calhoun's tie-breaking vote
Feb 24	AJ submits Mexican boundary and commercial treaties to the Senate, which later unanimously approves both
Mar 3	Supreme Court decides <i>Worcester v. Georgia</i>
Mar 13	Senate committee reports BUS recharter bill
Mar 14	House of Representatives appoints committee to investigate the BUS
Mar 24	Creek delegation in Washington signs cession and removal treaty
Apr 12	AJ Jr. and Sarah leave Washington for the Hermitage
Apr 13	Samuel Houston assaults congressman William Stanbery in Washington
Apr 30	Majority report of House investigating committee criticizes BUS
May 11	House of Representatives convicts Houston of a contempt
May 14	Black Hawk War begins in Illinois
May 22	Jackson convention in Baltimore nominates Van Buren for vice president
Jun 7	British parliamentary reform bill becomes law
Jun 11	Senate passes BUS recharter bill
	AJ renominates Samuel Gwin for a Mississippi land office

Jun 23	Senate advises reopening Northeast boundary negotiation, spurning King William I of the Netherlands' arbitration award
Jun	Cholera reaches the U.S.
Jul 3	House of Representatives passes BUS recharter
Jul 5	Van Buren lands at New York
Jul 10	AJ vetoes BUS recharter Senate tables Gwin renomination
Jul 13	Senate vote to override BUS veto fails
Jul 14	AJ signs tariff reduction law
Jul 16	Twenty-second Congress adjourns until December. AJ pocket-vetoes river and harbor improvements and state claims bills by withholding signature
Jul 21	AJ issues Gwin a second recess appointment Black Hawk defeated at Wisconsin Heights
Jul 23	AJ departs for Tennessee
Aug 2	Bad Axe fight concludes Black Hawk War
Aug 15	AJ reaches the Hermitage
Sep 18	AJ leaves for Washington, arriving Oct 19
Oct 20	Chickasaws and John Coffee conclude a removal treaty at Pontotoc Creek
Oct 26	South Carolina legislature authorizes state constitutional convention
Nov 1	AJ Jr.'s daughter Rachel born at the Hermitage
Nov	AJ is reelected president, winning 16 of 24 states and 219 of 286 electoral votes. Van Buren is elected vice president
Nov 24	South Carolina convention nullifies protective tariff
Dec 3	Twenty-second Congress reconvenes
Dec 4	AJ delivers fourth annual message
Dec 6	AJ delivers veto messages on withheld river and harbor improvements and state claims bills
Dec 10	AJ issues presidential proclamation against nullification
Dec 28	Calhoun resigns as vice president to enter the Senate

JACKSON'S PRESIDENTIAL PUBLIC PAPERS, 1832

DATE	DOCUMENT TYPE ¹	RECIPIENT	RICHARD- SON ²	<i>JEPS</i> ³	SERIAL SET ⁴	<i>PAJ</i> ⁵
Jan 4	Nomination	Senate		194		
Jan 5	Indian Treaty	Senate	561	195		
Jan 7	Nomination	Senate		196		
Jan 9	Nomination	Senate		196		
Jan 10	Message	Congress	561		217	
Jan 12	Indian Treaty	Senate	562	197		
Jan 12	Nomination	Senate		198		
Jan 13	Nomination	Senate		197		
Jan 16	Message	Congress			217	
Jan 16	Message	Not Sent				28–31
Jan 17	Nomination	Senate		199– 200		
Jan 17	Nomination	Senate		200		
Jan 18	Treaty	Senate	562	200		
Jan 19	Nomination	Senate		203		
Jan 19	Nomination	Senate		200		
Jan 20	Message	Congress	562		217	
Jan 23	Message	House	562		220	
Jan 24	Message	House	562–63		217	
Jan 25	Nomination	Senate		204		
Jan 26	Message	House	563		217	
Jan 27	Treaty	Senate	563	204		
Jan 27	Nomination	Senate	563	206		
Jan 31	Message	House			217	
Feb 1	Nomination	Senate		206		
Feb 3	Treaty	Senate	563–64	207		
Feb 6	Message	House	564		218	
Feb 6	Nomination	Senate		206		
Feb 6	Nomination	Senate		206		
Feb 7	Message	Congress	564		211	
Feb 7	Message	Congress	564		221	
Feb 8	Indian Treaty	Senate	564	209		
Feb 8	Message	Senate	565		213	
Feb 10	Message	House	565		219	

· *Lists and Tables* ·

DATE	DOCUMENT TYPE ¹	RECIPIENT	RICHARD- SON ²	<i>JEPS</i> ³	SERIAL SET ⁴	<i>PAJ</i> ⁵
Feb 10	Nomination	Senate		210		
Feb 13	Treaty	Senate	565	211		
Feb 15	Nomination	Senate		211		
Feb [16]	Message	Congress	565–66		219	
Feb 16	Nomination	Senate		211		
Feb 20	Nomination	Senate	566–67	211–12		
Feb 24	Treaty	Senate	567	213		
Feb 24	Treaty	Senate	567	213		
Feb 24	Nomination	Senate		213		
Feb 29	Message	Senate	567		213	
Feb 29	Treaty	Senate	567–68	214		
Feb 29	Nomination	Senate		214		
Mar 1	Message	House	568		219	
Mar 1	Message	Senate	568		213	
Mar 2	Message	Senate	568			
Mar 12	Message	House	568		219	
Mar 12	Message	House	569		219	
Mar 12	Message	Senate	569		213	
Mar 12	Indian Treaty	Senate	569	219		
Mar 12	Nomination	Senate		220		
Mar 13	Nomination	Senate		220		
Mar 13	Nomination	Senate		220		
Mar 14	Nomination	Senate		220		
Mar 14	Nomination	Senate		220		
Mar 15	Nomination	Senate		221		
Mar 15	Nomination	Senate		224		
Mar 15	Nomination	Senate		233		
Mar 16	Message	House	569		219	
Mar 20	Nomination	Senate		225		
Mar 21	Nomination	Senate		225		
Mar 26	Indian Treaty	Senate	569	232		
Mar 28	Nomination	Senate		233		
Mar 29	Treaty	Senate	570	234		
Mar 29	Nomination	Senate		234		
Apr 2	Message	House	570		220	
Apr 3	Nomination	Senate		236		

· *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* ·

DATE	DOCUMENT TYPE ¹	RECIPIENT	RICHARD- SON ²	<i>JEPS</i> ³	SERIAL SET ⁴	<i>PAJ</i> ⁵
Apr 4	Message	Congress	570–71		220	
Apr 4	Message	Congress	570		221	
Apr 4	Message	Senate	571		214	
Apr 4	Nomination	Senate		236–37		
Apr 4	Nomination	Senate		236		
Apr 5	Proclamation				220	
Apr 5	Proclamation				220	
Apr 6	Nomination	Senate	571	238–39		
Apr 6	Nomination	Senate		239		
Apr 9	Message	Senate	571–72		214	
Apr 10	Nomination	Senate		239		
Apr 11	Nomination	Senate		239		
Apr 11	Nomination	Senate		239		
Apr 13	Message	Congress	572		220	
Apr 18	Message	Senate	572		214	
Apr 19	Message	Congress	572		220	
Apr 20	Message	Senate	572		214	
Apr 23	Message	Congress	573		220	
Apr 23	Nomination	Senate		241		
Apr 23	Message	Senate	573		214	
Apr 24	Nomination	Senate		241		
Apr 24	Nomination	Senate		241		
Apr 26	Nomination	Senate		241		
Apr 27	Nomination	Senate		247		
Apr 28	Nomination	Senate		245		
Apr 28	Nomination	Senate		245		
May 1	Message	Congress	573		220	
May 1	Nomination	Senate		247		
May 2	Message	House	573–74		220	
May 3	Nomination	Senate		247		
May 3	Nomination	Senate		248		
May 4	Nomination	Senate		247–48		
May 9	Nomination	Senate		248		
May 11	Nomination	Senate		248		
May 14	Nomination	Senate		248		
May 22	Nomination	Senate		250		

· Lists and Tables ·

DATE	DOCUMENT TYPE ¹	RECIPIENT	RICHARD- SON ²	JEPS ³	SERIAL SET ⁴	PAJ ⁵
May 23	Nomination	Senate		249		
May 23	Nomination	Senate		250		
May 23	Nomination	Senate		250		
May 25	Nomination	Senate		251		
May 29	Message	House	574		221	
May 29	Message	House	574		221	
May 29	Nomination	Senate		252		
May 30	Nomination	Senate		252		
Jun 2	Nomination	Senate		254		
Jun 6	Nomination	Senate		254		
Jun 7	Nomination	Senate		255		
Jun 11	Nomination	Senate	574	255	241	298– 300
Jun 12	Nomination	Senate		256		
Jun 12	Nomination	Senate		256		
Jun 19	Nomination	Senate		258		
Jun 19	Nomination	Senate		258		
Jun 21	Nomination	Senate		258		
Jun 22	Nomination	Senate		261–62		
Jun 25	Message	Congress	575		211	
Jun 25	Nomination	Senate		266		
Jun 26	Nomination	Senate		266		
Jun 28	Nomination	Senate		267		
Jun 30	Nomination	Senate		267		
[Jun- Jul]	Message	Not Sent				354– 57
Jul 6	Nomination	Senate		267		
Jul 7	Nomination	Senate		267		
Jul 7	Nomination	Senate		267		
Jul 9	Nomination	Senate		268		
Jul 10	Veto	Senate	576–91		214	364– 411
Jul 10	Nomination	Senate		273		
Jul 10	Nomination	Senate		270		
Jul 12	Message	House	575		215	
Jul 12	Nomination	Senate		273		
Jul 13	Nomination	Senate		273		

· *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* ·

DATE	DOCUMENT TYPE ¹	RECIPIENT	RICHARD- SON ²	<i>JEPS</i> ³	SERIAL SET ⁴	<i>PAJ</i> ⁵
Jul 13	Nomination	Senate		273		
Jul 13	Nomination	Senate		274		
Jul 14	Message	House	575		221	
Jul 14	Nomination	Senate		276		
Jul 14	Nomination	Senate		276		
Jul 14	Nomination	Senate		277		
Jul 14	Nomination	Senate		275		
Jul 14	Nomination	Senate		276		
Jul 14	Nomination	Senate		276		
Jul 14	Nomination	Senate		277		
Dec 4	Annual Message	Congress	591– 606		233	633– 57
Dec 5	Nomination	Senate		284		
Dec 6	Veto	House	638–39		233	663– 67
Dec 6	Veto	Senate	637–38		230	668– 72
Dec 6	Nomination	Senate		279		
Dec 6	Nomination	Senate		279		
Dec 6	Nomination	Senate		279		
Dec 10	Proclamation		640–56		233	680– 711
Dec 10	Nomination	Senate		284		
Dec 11	Treaty	Senate	606	280		
Dec 11	Nomination	Senate		280		
Dec 11	Nomination	Senate		280		
Dec 11	Nomination	Senate		281		
Dec 12	Indian Treaty	Senate	607	285		
Dec 17	Nomination	Senate	607	287		
Dec 17	Treaty	Senate	607	286		
Dec 17	Nomination	Senate		287		
Dec 19	Nomination	Senate		288		
Dec 19	Nomination	Senate		288		
Dec 20	Nomination	Senate		289		
Dec 21	Message	Congress	607–8		232	
Dec 24	Nomination	Senate		290		
Dec 27	Message	Congress	608		233	

DATE	DOCUMENT TYPE ¹	RECIPIENT	RICHARD- SON ²	JEPS ³	SERIAL SET ⁴	PAJ ⁵
Dec 28	Message	House	608–9		232	
Dec 28	Nomination	Senate		290		
Dec 31	Nomination	Senate		291		
Dec 31	Nomination	Senate		291		
Dec 31	Nomination	Senate		291–92		
Dec 31	Nomination	Senate		292		
Dec 31	Nomination	Senate		294		

1. Presidential communications to Congress are as follows. “Annual Message” is the general message reviewing the state of the Union, delivered to both houses of Congress at the opening of its regular annual session. “Nomination” is a message to the Senate, received in executive session, submitting or pertaining to nominations of civil or military officers whose appointments require Senate advice and consent. “Treaty” or “Indian Treaty” is a message to the Senate, received in executive session, submitting or pertaining to agreements with foreign or Indian nations requiring Senate advice and consent. “Veto” is a message rejecting a bill passed by Congress and returning it to the house where it originated. “Message” is any other message to either or both houses of Congress.

2. Page numbers in vol. 2 of James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), *House Miscellaneous Document* 210, 53d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 3265.

3. Page numbers in vol. 4 of *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887).

4. Volume numbers within the *United States Congressional Serial Set*. For a document’s number and location within the Serial Set volume, see the calendar listing for it herein.

5. Page numbers in this volume of *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*.

JACKSON'S DONELSON FAMILY CONNECTIONS, 1832

(ages on January 1, 1832)
(*deceased persons in italics*)
(Volume X correspondents in boldface)

First generation: children of *John Donelson* and *Rachel Stockley*
Second generation
Third generation

Alexander Donelson, 80

Catherine Donelson, c79, m. *Thomas Hutchings*
John Hutchings m. *Mary Smith*
Andrew Jackson Hutchings, 20

John Donelson m. *Mary Purnell*, 68
John Donelson, 44, m. *Eliza Eleanor Butler*, 40
Lemuel Donelson, 42, m. *Eliza Whyte*, 29
Rachel Donelson m. *William Eastin*
Mary Ann Eastin, 21
Elizabeth Donelson Eastin, 14
John Donelson Eastin, 11
Rachel Jackson Eastin, 9
Mary Donelson, 38, m. **John Coffee**, 59
Mary Donelson Coffee, 19
John Donelson Coffee, 16
Andrew Jackson Coffee, 12
William Donelson, 36, m. *Elizabeth Anderson*, 22³
Elizabeth Donelson, 35, m. **John Christmas McLemore**, 41
Mary McLemore, 15
Catherine Donelson, 32, m. *James Glasgow Martin*, 40
Stockley Donelson, 26, m. *Phila Ann Lawrence*, 22
Emily Tennessee Donelson, 24, m. *Andrew Jackson Donelson*¹
Andrew Jackson Donelson, 5
Mary Rachel Donelson, 2

Mary Donelson m. *John Caffery*
Jane Caffery m. *Ralph Eleazar Whitesides Earl*, 43

William Donelson m. Charity Dickinson

Severn Donelson, 34

Martha H. Donelson, 22, m. Robert Minns Burton, 31

Andrew Jackson Donelson, 16

Elizabeth Hays Donelson, 12

Jane Donelson, 65, m. Robert Hays

Rachel Hays, 45, m. Robert Butler, 45

Stockley Donelson Hays m. Lydia Butler, 43

Martha Thompson Hays, 41, m. William Edward Butler, 41

Narcissa Hays, c39

Samuel Jackson Hays, 31, m. Frances Pinckney Middleton, 20

Elizabeth Hays, 26, m. **Robert Johnstone Chester**, 38

Rachel Donelson m. ANDREW JACKSON, 64

Andrew Jackson Jr.² (adopted), 23, m. **Sarah Yorke**, 28

Samuel Donelson m. Mary Ann Michie Smith, 50

Andrew Jackson Donelson, 32, m. Emily Tennessee Donelson¹

Daniel Smith Donelson, 30, m. Margaret Branch, 20

Severn Donelson m. Elizabeth Rucker

*Rachel Donelson m. William Donelson*³

John Donelson, 24

Andrew Jackson Jr.²

Thomas Jefferson Donelson, 23

Samuel Rucker Donelson, 21

Lucinda Rucker Donelson, 19, m. **George Washington Martin**, 39

Alexander Donelson, 15

Leven Donelson, 55

This listing is selective. The marriages of Rachel Jackson's brothers and sisters produced several dozen children and innumerable grandchildren. Only those who figured in Jackson's correspondence around 1832 are shown here.

1. Emily Tennessee Donelson married her first cousin Andrew Jackson Donelson.

2. Andrew Jackson Jr., adopted in infancy by Andrew and Rachel Jackson, was the son of Severn Donelson and birth twin of Thomas Jefferson Donelson.

3. William Donelson's first wife was his cousin Rachel Donelson. He married Elizabeth Anderson after her death.

The Papers, 1832



PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

The Cabinet

Secretary of State Edward Livingston, of Louisiana
Secretary of the Treasury Louis McLane, of Delaware
Secretary of War Lewis Cass, of Michigan
Secretary of the Navy Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire
Attorney General Roger Brooke Taney, of Maryland
Postmaster General William Taylor Barry, of Kentucky

In Washington

Vice President John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina
Francis Preston Blair, editor and publisher of the *Globe*
Duff Green, editor and publisher of the *United States' Telegraph*
Elijah Hayward, Commissioner of the General Land Office
Elbert Herring, head of the War Department Office of Indian Affairs
Amos Kendall, Fourth Auditor of the Treasury
William Berkeley Lewis, Second Auditor of the Treasury
Alexander Macomb, Commanding General of the Army
Nicholas Philip Trist, State Department clerk

Diplomats Abroad

Martin Van Buren, minister to Britain
William Cabell Rives, minister to France
James Buchanan, minister to Russia
Anthony Butler, chargé d'affaires to Mexico

Family

Andrew Jackson Jr., Jackson's adopted son, and his wife Sarah Yorke Jackson
Andrew Jackson Donelson, Jackson's nephew and private secretary, and his wife and cousin—
Emily Tennessee Donelson, Jackson's niece
Mary Ann Eastin, Jackson's grandniece
Andrew Jackson Hutchings, Jackson's grandnephew and ward

Companions, Confidants, and Correspondents

George Breathitt, Jackson's private secretary and traveling companion
John Coffee, in north Alabama
Ralph Eleazar Whitesides Earl, with Jackson
John Henry Eaton and Margaret O'Neale Timberlake Eaton, in Tennessee
James Alexander Hamilton, in New York City
John Christmas McLemore, in Nashville
John Overton, in Nashville
John Randolph, in Virginia

January



To Edmond-Charles Genêt

Washington City
January 2d. 1832

Sir,

I have recd. from the hands of Judge Marcy the medal which you have had the kindness to offer to me as a new year gift and as a mark of your regard for my character.¹ In accepting this valuable medal on an occasion so appropriate as the introduction of a new year to the review of the past and the anticipation of the future, allow me to assure you that I feel most forcibly the moral which it inculcates, tho far from arrogating to myself the slightest approach to the possession of the talents which distinguished the extraordinary man in whose honor it was struck by the roman Senate.

In the history of Cesar who won the confidence and love of the Roman people by atchievements which yet command the admiration of the world, we have an instance of the intoxicating effects of power which cannot be too often the subject of reflection. May it be a memento far more lasting than this medal which now attests his ambition rather than his virtue, that a republic to be free must ever be watchful of the acts of those to whom it confides the defence as well as the administration of its laws.

If I was enabled to render some service to my country on the occasion to which you allude it was because the brave men who were associated with me disregarded every danger but that of disgrace, and were animated by that spirit of liberty which pervaded your original country at the period you left it to adopt the one of which you are now so enlightened and worthy a citizen.

Believe me with sentiments of great respect yr. obt. sert.

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson's hand, NHi (19-0580). Copy, DLC-Genêt Papers; Translation, DLC-Monroe Papers (19-0584). *Albany Argus*, January 16, 1832. Genêt (1763-1834) had come to the U.S. in 1793 as the minister of revolutionary France. Recalled in 1794, he instead stayed and became an American citizen, settling in present East Greenbush, N.Y. On December 21, 1831, he had sent AJ a Roman coin struck in honor of Julius Caesar, "as an humble mark of the unbounded admiration, which your great military achievements, and your eminent public services have engraved in the heart of every true American citizen, and I may add, of every friend of the sacred cause of liberty." Genêt hailed AJ's victory at New Orleans and said that he had "effectually surpassed Caesar"; for while Caesar "became the

oppressor of the world and attempted to raise a throne on the ruins of the Republic,” AJ by his “most prudent administration of the government” had “strengthened the Independence and liberty of his country” (Genêt Papers, DLC; *Albany Argus*, January 16, 1832).

1. William Learned Marcy (1786–1857) was a U.S. senator from New York.

From Anthony Butler

[Anthony Butler (1787–1849) was the U.S. chargé d'affaires to Mexico, appointed by Jackson in 1829 to replace recalled envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary Joel Roberts Poinsett (1779–1851). In December 1831, Butler had forwarded two completed treaties with Mexico to Washington. The first, concluded by Poinsett in January 1828, confirmed the boundary between the two countries originally drawn in the Adams-Onís Treaty with Spain in 1819, when Mexico was a Spanish province. That boundary began by running up the Sabine River from the Gulf of Mexico, between American Louisiana and Spanish (Mexican) Texas. Mexico had failed to ratify the 1828 Poinsett treaty within its stipulated deadline, and on April 5, 1831, Butler and Mexican foreign secretary Lucas Alamán (1792–1853) signed an additional article extending the ratification period for another year, to April 5, 1832. The second treaty, negotiated by Butler, concerned commerce and navigation. It too was signed on April 5, 1831, but was then amended by protocols added by Butler and Alamán on September 17 and December 17 to meet objections by the Mexican Congress.]

Mexico 2. January 1832

My dear Sir

Before this letter can reach Washington City you will have the Treaty before you, and my correspondence on that subject with the Department of State as well as with yourself. Of the Treaty of Commerce I shall at present say nothing but confine myself to the important question of the Treaty of limits negotiated with this Government by my predecessor Mr. Poinsett. There is no doubt but that the Mexican Government expects both Treaties to be laid before our Senate for their approbation at the same time, and the additional article intimates as much; whether however after all the delay which has taken place since the Execution of the last mentioned Treaty by the plenipotentiaries (a delay of more than four years and one created solely by their own misconduct) our Government will think proper to submit the boundary Treaty to the Senate is not for me to determine: I may nevertheless be permitted to suppose, that as the delay was on their part, and not on ours—and the Treaty executed under a former Administration of our Government, satisfactory reasons may be found for reviewing the whole subject previous to the final adjustment of a question of such magnitude, and that all the previous proceedings and negotiation about boundary may be considered as at an end. To this

may be added that as the Treaty of 1828 with Mexico merely recognises as a boundary the limits designated by the Treaty of 1819 with Spain, and the latter concluded evidently either without a correct knowledge of the Topography of the Country or an utter disregard of our true interests in that matter; whether that consideration would not of itself justify the withholding from the Senate that Treaty—a Treaty not only unequal and unjust in the Terms stipulated, but destructive to the interests of the Western Country. There has besides a very great change been operated upon public opinion in regard to the Country ceded to Spain by the Treaty of 1819 since that contract was executed, and even admitting that the Mexican Government in their present condition might claim all the advantages which Spain could have done under that Treaty—Then another and more important question would arise—Have we the power of ceding by Treaty stipulation any portion of Territory once become a part of the United States? It may be inferred however very fairly as I think from the Treaty of 1828 that the Mexican Government do not conceive themselves entitled to consider the Sabine as the boundary to which they would have a right to claim Jurisdiction unless first sanctioned by a Treaty arrangement with ours; and if this position be a correct one we might here make our stand, to place the question once more under negotiation. I throw out these suggestions hastily for your consideration.¹

As I presume you are still as anxious to procure Texas to be added to the U. States as you were two years since or at least so much of it as will prevent the dismemberment of the Territory of Arkansas, and give to us the command of all that part whose waters discharge themselves within our limits, and thereby not only preclude the probability of any collision between the two Governments which might grow out of such a state of things, but moreover provide lands for the Indians about to Emigrate to the West—for which purpose I am convinced that you have not at present territory sufficient without sending them North of parallel 42d. it becomes all important that the Treaty entered into with my predecessor *should not be ratified*.² By any subsequent contract on that subject we cannot do worse, my opinion is most decidedly, that we can do better—Nay, open the question once more fairly and leave the whole ground to be acted upon, and I should not despair of inducing the present Administration to grant us all we desire—I mean to grant us as far West as to a line that would divide between us the Grand prairie or desert. If they once decide on yielding us the Territory as far as the Colorado, there would be little difficulty in obtaining the residue. Let me add, that although I do not mean to assert that the ratification of the Boundary Treaty of 1828 will close all prospect of obtaining a different boundary hereafter, yet it will most assuredly multiply greatly the difficulties to be encountered in a negotiation with that view—The Mexican Government with that Treaty opposed to our pretensions, may notwithstanding be induced to yield us a portion of the Territory they would have a right to claim under it—A

man of Address, and tact and Talent might do much—but most certainly if that obstacle does not exist the labour would be less, the difficulties to overcome fewer and the probability as well as the extent of the success much greater.

I will not dilate on the question how far the ratification of the Treaty of 1819 was a usurpation of power on the part of the Senate of the U. States, because you are surrounded by Counsellors much more competent to discuss that question than I can be, and who will no doubt do so whilst considering the propriety of submitting that of 1828 to the Senate. It seems to me however sufficiently clear that in ratifying the Treaty of 1819 the Senate acted upon those latitudinarian doctrines, of inferring the possession of all power not expressly prohibited to them—instead of abstaining from the exercise unless specifically delegated. Upon such assumption it must have been that the Treaty referred to was confirmed which ceded to a foreign Government a part of the Territory of the U. States. It is full time that better land marks were established, and I sincerely hope that your Administration will have the credit amongst other benefits conferred on our Country, that of bringing back the Text of the Constitution to its true reading.

Having said all that is perhaps necessary on the subject of Texas, and suggested the probabilities of our acquiring the Territory, let me add a few words for myself. You are not ignorant of the disadvantages under which I commenced in Mexico; You know the weight of prejudice, suspicions and bad feeling that prevailed against the Governr. and people of the U. States generally, and the odium engendered against my predecessor; all of which was transferred to me in advance, and the first notice taken by the Newspapers of my arrival in this Capital, and even before I had obtained an audience for delivering my credentials, was to attack my character—misrepresent the objects of my mission, and identify me in the hate they bore towards Mr. Poinsett. Add to all my other difficulties that I was a stranger to the language of the Country, without a secretary or any one in whom I dared place confidence to act as the medium of communication between me and those with whom it was proper to cultivate intercourse and thereby dissipate the prejudices under which I was daily suffering, and you may imagine a part of my difficulties and understand how embarrassing was my situation.

To acquire a foreign language at my period of Life you will admit was a task of no easy accomplishment and would require great labor, application and attention—And I can assure you that for the first eight months of my residence here, every hour not occupied by the duties of the Legation was devoted to the study of the Castillian Language. Thus much for part of the labors I have performed, and when it is recollected that my correspondence with our Consuls, as well as with our Merchants & Traders located in almost every part of the Mexican Confederacy from Yucatan to Santa Fé, and who are were complaining of or asking something by every

mail, with all the writing and copying to be performed by myself without even the occasional assistance of a Clerk I think it will be admitted that the Office I fill is no sinecure.

But this is not all for in a place so expensive as Mexico my present Salary is insufficient to support me in the manner which my station compels me to live. You will admit that it is necessary for me to be in Society and to maintain free intercourse with those from whom I expect to derive advantage; if I do this, and accept their civilities and enjoy their hospitality, they must partake in turn of mine—and notwithstanding this is done as sparingly and economically as possible, and so much so as to have drawn forth remarks on the difference between Mr. Poinsett's entertainments and mine—and inferring from this difference my parsimony—still, the drain of an occasional dinner party once in about three months is more than my allowance will bear. A tolerable dinner in Mexico will cost \$10 a head including Wine, so that such entertainments never cost me less than \$250, and one in each quarter if no more is a deduction of \$1000 from my Salary. The single item of House Rent is \$1200 per Annum—and a servant of character will cost you \$18 to \$20 pr. month—and these two items as a fair sample, shews clearly how inadequate is the pay I receive to the expences I incur.

Now you will ask perhaps what does all this mean? Why simply and plainly my Dr. Sir this—that my Salary may be augmented, and that a Secretary may be allowed me. I believe it has at all times been customary with our Governmt. whenever any interesting question occurred, to send abroad an additional Envoy in aid of the Minister resident. Such was the case in 1796 when Mr. Pinckney was sent to Spain—the same in 1798 or '99 with France, again in the Treaty for the Cession of Louisiana—and so also with the Commercial Convention with England in 1815, and many other similar cases that my Memory will not permit me to refer to specifically, but which you will doubtless call to mind as precedents: Now I do not ask for, expect, or even wish for an adjunct in the Negotiation for T.—on the contrary it is my firm conviction that I can do better with these people alone: I know them—and they know me—All that I wish is to give me the rank of Envoy Extraordinary, send me full powers and any additional instructions that may be necessary on the subject of T.—and my life on it the affair is settled in less than five months.³

The occasion I think justifies the proceeding, the magnitude and interest of the question pending would in conformity with all previous practice under our Government warrant the expectation—And to all this let me add that the Mexican Govt. will themselves expect such a Compliment to be paid them, as seeing once more a Minister Plenipotentiary from the U. States located here. I know that they have complained of our treatment in this respect—their jealousy has been roused. They say that we maintain a Minister plenipotentiary at Colombia, a power acknowledged to occupy a Rank below them in the list of the New Republics—of America—

whilst Mexico which is admitted by Universal consent to be the head and Chief ~~of them~~ from her superior extent of Territory, her population and Resources sees at her Court a Chargé d’Affaires. They add moreover, that untill very recently they have been always represented at Washington by a Minister of the first Grade, and that the departure was forced on her by the course pursued on our part—and that if she omitted to appoint a Minister plenipotentiary at the time Mr. Montoya was named, it resulted from the conviction, (after having Col. Tornell in the U. States for more than 12 months) that the Courtesy would not be extended to them.⁴ It has been added in remarks to me “But we hope after the Treaty is concluded to see a Minister Plenipotentiary in our Capital” And let me tell you that the conduct of France who has very lately advanced her Minister one grade immediately *on merely signing* the Treaty will not have a tendency to tranquillize them under a disappointment—for although the Treaty with France has been rejected by the Mexican Congress, yet the Rank of Minister Plenipotentiary still continues, and a new Treaty will be commenced.⁵ Now I confess very frankly that I should not have noticed this complaint on the part of Mexico had I not felt it indispensable on my own account that my Salary should be increased and knowing that it could not be done unless in the mode of changing my Rank; At the same time it is proper to express my belief that such a measure might contribute to our success in any future Negotiation by conciliating the Temper and flattering the Vanity of these people. After all I have said, it may not comport with the opinions that you and the Cabinet entertain to make such a change—or if you do, that some other may be deputed the Representative of our Government here, Well Sir to this I can have nothing to object. I can only say that I have labored faithfully, and have done all that under the circumstances it was in my power to perform, and retire when I may, shall do so with the consciousness of having performed my duty to the full extent that a faithful vigilance and industry enabled me to achieve. At the period of life to which I have advanced you well know that there is no time to spare, You know moreover that during the last five or six years I have been compelled to sacrifice on account of obligations incurred unfortunately for others, the greater part of what might well have been deemed a very competent Estate. had this incident never occurred I would not now have complained of deficiency in Salary, but cheerfully contributed from my own means what was necessary in addition—and even as it is I have been already compelled to draw on my private funds although so little able to afford the aid. I cannot think the Governmt. would desire the services of any citizen to engage in a responsible and laborious employment without at least providing an ample subsistence. If therefore it is decided that no increase of Rank is to be allowed me, I can only add that my desire is to be permitted to retire from the Station I now occupy, and this may be the more confidently expected on my part after having closed as I hope satisfactorily the Negotiation with which I was charged.

Whoever my successor may be I think I have it in my power to afford him such information when he arrives as I feel confident if employed judiciously cannot fail to result in the acquisition of all we desire in regard to T. Should it be decided to continue me in this Legation, I must request that the Secretary sent me, be a good Spanish Scholar, that is he must both speak and write the Castillian with ease and correctness—for if he does not, the burden of my duties will be but little lessened; If you have no gentleman such as I describe ready for the Station—then suffer the Secretaryship to remain open, and I will employ one pro. tem. amongst our Citizens in Mexico.

I shall in a few days make a journey North with General Mason and hope on my return to hear something definitively from you.⁶ With best wishes for your health, happiness and increased Glory, I remain My dear Sir now as ever most truly yours

A. Butler

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] A. Butler—Mexico—2nd. January 1832

ALS, DLC (40). Butler had written AJ on December 23 and 26, 1831, giving news of the conclusion and forwarding of the two treaties (*Jackson Papers*, 9:783–85, 786–87). AJ replied to those letters on February 25, and to this one on March 6 (both below).

1. The boundary described in the Adams-Onís Treaty was uncertain in the vicinity of present southwest Arkansas and had been disputed by occupants under rival American and Mexican titles. Poinsett's 1828 treaty provided for a joint commission to survey the line. The Senate had approved the Adams-Onís Treaty in 1819 immediately and without dissent. Some Americans had since argued that Texas rightfully belonged to the U.S. as part of Louisiana and that the 1819 treaty had unwarrantably surrendered it to Spain.

2. Butler's original State Department instructions in 1829 had directed him to attempt to purchase Texas from Mexico. AJ had emphasized those instructions and advised on negotiating strategy in personal letters to Butler then and since.

3. An 1810 law set U.S. diplomatic salaries at \$4,500 for a *chargé d'affaires* and \$9,000 for a minister plenipotentiary, the highest regular rank in the service. Butler remained a *chargé* until his recall in 1835. Thomas Pinckney (1750–1828) was appointed envoy extraordinary to Spain in 1795, when William Short was the resident minister. Pinckney negotiated the Treaty of San Lorenzo el Real. The other joint envoy appointments cited by Butler were Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry to settle differences with France in 1797, James Monroe and Robert R. Livingston to negotiate with France over Louisiana in 1803, and John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin to conclude treaties of peace and commerce with Britain in 1814.

4. José María Tornel y Mendivil (1789–1853) had been Mexico's minister in Washington from 1830 to June 1831, when he took leave and was replaced by José María Montoya with the rank of *chargé d'affaires*.

5. In December 1831 the Mexican Congress had rejected a newly negotiated commercial treaty with France.

6. John Thomson Mason (1787–1850), appointed secretary of Michigan Territory by AJ in 1830, had resigned in 1831 to become an agent for the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company.

From Wilson Lumpkin

[The Cherokee Nation occupied a domain, mostly in north Georgia, that was secured to it by treaty with the United States and over which it claimed sovereign authority. In a series of actions beginning in December 1828, the state government of Georgia asserted its dominion over the Cherokees and their lands, extended its jurisdiction over them, and outlawed the Cherokee government. Jackson as president upheld state sovereignty over the Indians, and in 1830 Congress passed an Indian Removal Act authorizing the president to treat with Indians within the states for their removal west of the Mississippi. The Cherokees resisted both Georgia's impositions and the Jackson administration's pressure to relinquish their lands and remove. In 1831 they sought protection from the Supreme Court in the case of Cherokee Nation v. Georgia. The Court recognized the Cherokees as a self-governing "distinct political society," but denied injunctive relief against Georgia on grounds that federal court jurisdiction in cases involving foreign nations did not extend to the Indians, who were instead "domestic dependent nations."

In light of the Cherokees' refusal to remove as a formal body, Georgia governor George Rockingham Gilmer (1790–1859) had urged the administration to resume a previous policy of recruiting and enrolling Cherokee individuals and families for private emigration. Jackson resisted the idea as too expensive and likely to impede the goal of a mass removal by drawing off those most willing to go. However, on July 15, 1831, Jackson agreed to resume individual enrollments, and on September 2 he approved a detailed emigration plan drawn by Secretary of War Lewis Cass (Jackson Papers, 9:386–87, 539–41). Wilson Lumpkin (1783–1870) succeeded Gilmer as governor of Georgia in November.]

Executive Department Geo
Milledgeville Jany. 2d. 1831

Sir

From the time I entered upon the duties of this office—I have considered it my duty to address you directly, frankly, & freely, upon the subject, of the deeply interesting & delicate relations, which exist between this State the Cherokee Indians & the General Government. I am more inclined to do so, from my entire confidence in your disposition & capacity to give the best counsel on this subject, which is so peculiarly interesting to my constituents. From the files and records of this office, I have been able to ascertain to a considerable extent, the views of my predecessor, as well as yourself. And I take pleasure in saying that I am fully convinced of the purity of motive, & honesty of purpose, which have produced the opinions & governed the action of all concerned. Yet I feel it my duty to say, that I entertain no doubt, but that your views were correct, and my predecessor under a mistaken impression upon the subject of opening an

enrolling agency, amongst the Cherokees last fall. Because it has quieted the discontented portion of that people, by gratifying their wishes to emigrate—consequently those who remain will be more united in opposition to any proposition which may be made to induce them as a community to enter into stipulations of a general character with the Government of the United States. It has only served to keep up a show of effecting something when in reality it has tended to lessen the prospect of a final & complete delivery from all our perplexities upon this subject: But having engaged in that course, it becomes our duty to promote the success of the undertaking with all the means we can command, and I have & shall act accordingly. If my views as communicated to the Legislature, had ~~have~~ been sustained by legislation, I feel the most entire confidence that all our difficulties would in a very short time have been brought to an amicable & happy issue. But I have to regret, that in the Legislature, there was a want of that liberality & munificence toward the Indians, which I so ardently desired. A liberal guarantee of a well defined home, to every Indian settler, who might choose to remain would have effected a general treaty, for the whole of the balance of the country without doubt. My views were founded upon the broad basis of closing forever the whole of our Indian embarrassments.¹

Our Legislation may be considered auxiliary to the enrolling plan now in progress, and I entertain no doubt will accelerate that service. By our Late Legislation the Indians, will become convinced, that they are actually under the Laws & Government of Georgia & abandon the delusive hope of evading our rule, by Looking to foreign aid from any quarter.

I understand a delegation from the Western, as well as the eastern Cherokees, have gone on to Washington—how far these different delegations may be instructed, by their people, to act, in making treaties with the Federal government, I know not.² But should their powers be deemed competent I trust they may be induced before the close of Winter to yield to such measures in the form of a treaty stipulation as will permanently promote the best interest of these unfortunate people, who look to them to guide & control their destiny.

Permit me to suggest the propriety of urging upon the consideration of the Georgia Cherokees that, that portion of the unlocated territory, abandoned by the Cherokees, who have or may emigrate to the west, cannot upon any principal of reason or Justice, be considered the rightful hunting grounds of those who remain: that the emigrants have a just right at any time to cede a proportion equal to their numbers. And if they should obstinately continue to contend, that they are to be regarded in a national character, & treated with as such, & that the rights of individuals are to be wholly disregarded in making cessions of their claims to lands, Then they may be reminded with great force, that the day is at hand, if not already arrived, when the Western Cherokees will form the majority, & consequently upon their own principals be entitled to rule & govern

in these matters. This must shortly be the inevitable result, & close forever the auspicious moment, for the Cherokees in Georgia to lay hold of the good things set before them unless indeed a few of their leaders have imbibed the foreign doctrine, “that the people have no right to rule” and that the King can do no wrong.³

It appears to me that the rulers of the Cherokees have sufficient intelligence, to see the utter imbecility of placing any further reliance upon the Supreme Court to sustain their pretensions. The Supreme Court has as much right to grant a citation, to cite the King of Great Britain, for any assignable cause, as to cite the Governor of Georgia for the manner in which the State chooses to exercise her criminal Jurisdiction. Georgia is not accountable to the Supreme Court, or any other tribunal on earth, unless that is made a crime, whis is done by virtue of Constitutional Law.⁴

While I feel myself bound to defend the political and moral rights of the State, I trust I shall never cease to entertain due respect & regard to the rights, interests opinions & *even* prejudices of others.

By the enactments of the Late Session of the Legislature no verry material change had taken place, to provide for the enforcement of the Laws of the State & Government of the Cherokee Country. I have the promise of the services of Genl John Coffee to act as the Agent of the State in superintending & directing the enforcement of our Laws in that country, his great experience & superior qualifications for that branch of the public service, affords every prospect, that justice & satisfaction to indians as well as whites will be afforded. I rely much upon the rectitude & skill of Genl Coffee in the discharge of the delicate trust, confided to him and entertain the hope that his administration of this branch of the public service, will go far to remove the prejudices which the indians entertain against Georgia⁵ The Legislature have provided for, & directed, that the country should be surveyed the ensuing Spring—which being accomplished, I entertain no doubt, will induce many of the indians, to reflect upon and better comprehend the subject of distinct, seperate & well defined landed possesions. Moreover the whites who are constantly filling up the places of emigrants, are frequently placed in the midst of Indian settlements—which makes it necessary for each occupant to understand the extent of his claims, & thereby prevent strife & litigation. If we should in the course of the present year, be so fortunate as to obtain a relinquishment of the cherokee claim to the country, by having the survey completed this year, we should be ready the ensuing year to place a settled, freehold population on the soil. In my solicitude to have the country surveyed soon, it is due to the frankness of your character, as well as my own, not to conceal from you, that Georgia is determined never to recede from the ground which she has assumed, & already occupies in relation to the controverted rights upon this Cherokee subject. Your opinions coincide with those of Georgia, & will be duly respected & regarded by our whole people. But should any contingency whatever, throw the administration

of the General Government into the hands of the adversaries of Georgia, who have oppressed & persecuted her, for so many years past upon this very subject. It is indispensable that we should be in an attitude to take possession of and defend our rights of soil & jurisdiction, which can only be done effectually & efficiently, by placing on our soil a settled freehold population. Thus you have my leading considerations, for attaching so much importance to a speedy survey of the country.

So far as my Official position may afford me influence or power, in defending the rights of the State, I consider it coextensive in defending the just claims, & promoting the best interest of the Indians, and it shall be exercised accordingly. With considerations of the highest regard & most profound Respect I am &c

Wilson Lumpkin

LC, G-Ar (19-0588). AJ replied on June 22 (below).

1. A Georgia law of December 1830 had provided for the survey of the Cherokee domain and its distribution by lot among the state's white citizens. It suspended the survey for one year to allow time for a removal agreement. In a December 1, 1831, address to the Georgia House of Representatives, Lumpkin proposed that the state immediately complete the survey but then "pause for a time" before taking possession, in hope that "better counsels may then prevail among the Indians." These, combined with definite assurance of protection or compensation for their individual homes and property, might still induce the Cherokees to accept removal (*Milledgeville Federal Union*, December 8, 1831; Lumpkin, *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* [New York, 1907], 1:95–102). The legislature instead on December 22 enacted a law ordering "the immediate survey, distribution, and occupancy of the Territory" (*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia*, November 1831 session, pp. 141–42).

2. Groups of Cherokees had emigrated west over the years, first to Arkansas Territory and then, under an 1828 treaty with the U.S., to present Oklahoma. The Western Cherokees had sent a delegation to Washington to present a December 1, 1831, address from their principal chief John Jolly to AJ, concerning the division of treaty annuities between themselves and the eastern Cherokees, compensation for white depredations on their property, and other matters. The delegation presented Jolly's address to Secretary of War Cass on March 26, 1832, and he replied for AJ on April 11 (*Jackson Papers*, 9:717–19; *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess.: vol. 3, pp. 275–77, Serial 246; vol. 2, pp. 808–9, Serial 245). On December 29, 1831, a Georgia Cherokee delegation in Washington had protested to Cass against the state's seizure of their gold mines, the survey and lottery law, white intrusions and depredations, the individual emigration policy, and the new federal practice of distributing treaty annuities directly to individuals instead of through the Cherokee government. Cass replied for AJ on January 10, 1832, rejecting the complaints and urging removal as "the only remedy for the evils of your position" (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 731–33, 737–39, Serial 245).

3. Georgia held that when individual Cherokees sold their improvements and emigrated westward, their land reverted to the state in its sovereign capacity. With U.S. acquiescence, Georgia had been authorizing white occupancy of such lands. The Cherokees maintained that national territory could not be privately alienated. Therefore vacated lands reverted by right to the Cherokee nation, and white occupants were simply intruders.

4. The Supreme Court had cited Georgia to appear in its hearing of two missionaries' appeal of their conviction under an 1830 Georgia law that forbade whites from residing among the Cherokees without a license from the state. Georgia ignored the citation. The Court heard *Worcester v. Georgia* in February and decided it on March 3.

5. John Coffee (1782–1836) of Georgia, a cousin of AJ's friend John Coffee of Alabama, was a former state militia general and later a congressman.

From John Pemberton

Copy

Philada. Jany [3]rd. 1832

My dear General,

Last night I heard the report, and this morning it has been reiterated, that John T. Sullivan has been appointed, a director of the Bank of the United States. I ardently hope my dear Sir, that it is, without foundation—if unfortunately it should be the case, you have been deceived, and those who may have recommended him, if your friends, have either been deceived by his plausible manners, or totally ignorant of his real character; as to his political influence, he has little or none, beyond the advancement of his own little views of self. I am not aware of a solitary public situation, he has ever held, (principally State Bank Director, at present a member of the common council) that has not been obtained by intrigue, or a total want of delicacy; but the turpitude of his political character is, all sufficient to exclude him for ever from your confidence. John T. Sullivan was appointed a member of the convention in 1824, to fill a vacancy, to accomplish which he left no act untried, going himself to the members that were for you, professing to be a devoted supporter of Andrew Jackson—he then became first your covert, and subsequently your open enemy—to put his enmity beyond a doubt, he become the defender of that loathsome monster John Binns.¹ Such my dear general is, John T. Sullivan. Much more my dear sir, might be said of him, and of his tergiversation. No political man in Philadelphia can, I think, be ignorant of his character. I repeat he was coolly and deliberately the defender of the course of that infamous man—Binns. I have heard him myself. He was and probably is, at this moment, Binns associate. If what I have stated is denied, by John T. Sullivan, or any other person, I ask the favor, this particular of you, to shew him, or them this letter. Can I be otherwise than grieved, that such a man, should be palmed on you? if you have a doubt of the truth of what I have stated, put me to the proof. I have no private feeling, nor ever had cause for any against J. T. Sullivan; my object is solely to prevent your being imposed on.

I am writing to a Dear friend, not the President of the US. I am writing to a man that I am confident, will receive what I have to communicate as, it is intended, and will let it have such weight as, in his judgment it is, worthy of. I am Dear General your devoted friend

John Pemberton

ALS copy, PHi (19-0594). On December 30, 1831, AJ had nominated Philadelphia businessman John T. Sullivan (c1782–1863) to be one of five government directors of the Bank of the United States for 1832. He was confirmed by the Senate and reappointed the next year. John Pemberton (1783–1847) was a merchant and AJ confidant, appointed in 1829 as naval officer for the Philadelphia customs district. He had previously written AJ against Sullivan on August 9, 1831 (*Jackson Papers*, 9:477–79).

1. Sullivan had been a delegate to the 1824 state convention at Harrisburg that nominated AJ for president. John Binns (1772–1860) had been editor of the anti-Jackson Philadelphia *Democratic Press* and publisher of the notorious “coffin handbill” in 1828.

From John Randolph

Roanoke Jan. 3d. 1831. Tuesday
In bed & very ill.

My dear Sir

Your most welcome letter of the 22d. of last month, post marked the 26th. was recd. by me late in the night of friday the 30th. so as to render it impracticable for me to acknowledge it's receipt by the return of mail, as it was my wish to have done. For among the other *conveniences* of my residence here is this—that I have to send 12 miles over a very bad road to Charlotte C. H. for my letters & newspapers, & also to put a letter in the post office. Mr Barry I know would readily establish an office nearer to me & about half way between Charlotte C. H. & the next post office in Halifax called Mount Laurel; about ten miles distant from each & within two of my house, but mortifying to relate, out of four families who live clustered around the spot which is a publick House & where once was a considerable store, there is not one person who can read & write! & therefore no one to officiate as Post Master! So much for the *March of Intellect*.¹

Whilst lying here helpless & never out of pain the most monstrous & incongruous lies are daily fabricated & put into circulation against me with an assiduity truly diabolical.² But I find my strength failing & must conclude by saying that to me the fate even of the Bank Bill is a mere trifle in comparison with your fame. and I shall die satisfied that that cannot be tarnished—at the same time that I cannot help thinking that in having for leaders in your ministry two persons who differ so essentially from you on this great & vital question as do Messrs. L. and Mc.L. you must find yourself in a *false position*. I remember your advice to Monroe and I see with pride & pleasure that you are true to your principles although I cannot help thinking that you have pushed liberality too far in taking into your ministry persons so *ultra* on the opposite side of our principles.³ But again I say let the Bank triumph I care not so long as your laurels are as they must & shall be unsullied. I see that with your arch enemy the grand Nullifier working in the Senate with the Coalition & his *clientel* dependent upholding the Bank in the other House & all working against you

that you have a Sysiphean labour to perform. I wish I were able to help you roll up the stone, but I cannot—I am finished.⁴

In the hurry of writing you omitted to notice my query respecting my predecessor at the Court of Russia. Did he dare to say that I had complained of Mr. V.B. & to him.⁵ Most faithfully Yours

J. R of Roanoke

ALS, DLC (38). Randolph (1773–1833), a longtime Virginia congressman and senator, had been appointed minister to Russia by AJ in September 1829. He sailed in June 1830, stayed at his post only briefly, and, after a sojourn in London, returned to the U.S. in October 1831. “Roanoke” was his Charlotte County estate.

1. William Taylor Barry (1784–1835) was AJ’s postmaster general. The “March of Intellect” was the theme of British satirical prints in the 1820s that mocked, among other things, the mental capacity of the working class.

2. Opposition papers had lambasted Randolph for his short stay in Russia, his erratic behavior there and since his return, and the exorbitant cost of his fruitless mission. A newspaper rumor in late December 1831 reported him killed in a duel.

3. In his annual report of the Treasury Department on December 7, 1831, AJ’s Treasury secretary Louis McLane (1786–1857) had advocated rechartering the Bank of the United States (BUS), whose present 20-year charter would expire in 1836. Randolph had written AJ on December 19, warning that McLane and Secretary of State Edward Livingston (1764–1836) were “evil counsellors” opposed to his policies. AJ had replied on December 22, assuring Randolph that his own announced opposition to the BUS had not wavered and that McLane was speaking only for himself (*Jackson Papers*, 9:780–81, 782–83). AJ had famously advised president-elect James Monroe (1758–1831) on November 12, 1816, to consider Federalists for his Cabinet in order “to exterminate that *Monster* called Party spirit” (*Jackson Papers*, 4:73–75). McLane was a former Federalist.

4. The “grand Nullifier” was Vice President John Caldwell Calhoun (1782–1850) of South Carolina. “Coalition” was the derogatory Jacksonian term for supporters of Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams, alluding to their supposed “corrupt bargain” in 1825. Representative George McDuffie (1790–1851) of South Carolina, a nullifier and Calhoun ally, was a leading congressional champion of the BUS.

5. Randolph’s predecessor as minister to Russia was Henry Middleton (1770–1846) of South Carolina. Martin Van Buren (1782–1862) of New York had been AJ’s secretary of state from 1829 to 1831.

From John Henry Eaton

Franklin Jany 5th. 1832

Dear Genl—

Returning home from the Indian Country, I found your letter, (private).¹ I had intended & expected to have answered it earlier, but waited a little, knowing that at the commencement of the Session, your time would be greatly employed.

You ask my opinion upon a subject presented by you, & which I shall not here repeat; first because it is a subject that ought not to be discussed in a letter, in times so treacherous as the present are, and 2ly. because there are reasons which can not be well adverted to in a written communication. At present my opinion is adverse to the suggestion you have

made; but as I may probably see you during the summer it will then be time enough to offer you my reasons. Such as I should present, would be entirely personal as to yourself—to your own fame & future history before the Country. Permit me to suggest to you the propriety of forbearing to speak upon the subject, for the present; it will be time enough to conclude, when the period arrives, at which all the circumstances and all the reasons can be considered of. This is as much as I can now say. The subject of your letter you will recollect without my here adverting to it in detail, which care & caution tell me not to do. When I see you, it will do answer, to converse on this & other matters²

The general approval, & high commendation every where given to your message, & to your measures must be gratifying to you. They sufficiently attest, that the portending opposition is mere pretence. Such I know it to be. The noise of a few monstrous politicians, does not reach the people nor can it be made to reach them, with ordinary prudence at the City; and that I know will be practiced. Your defeat, if it could be effected, would I know be your great gain; & if they succeed, you are truly the last man of your party, who would have any real or just cause for complaining. The quiet, the pleasures, & happiness which the Hermitage would afford, compared with the unceasing toil & abuse of office makes it a paradise in contrast.³ But with all this real, not fancied difference you cannot retire. Your country imposes action upon you as a duty. Your friends expect it; and your own firmness of purpose heretofore practiced requires it. All these impose the necessity of you remaining in the field, even tho *defeat* should be the consequence—that, tho I repeat, is utterly hopeless. Still you have much of abuse and detraction to pass thro, before the fall elections take place, & after that, provided you have no after candidate from your Cabinet, your sea will become smooth, & your after voyage be a quiet & peaceful one. But for the next 9 or 10 months you must not dream of peaceful times. Like the man in the almanack you will be thrust at with barbed darts, & stricken from the head to the soal of the foot.⁴

Mr. Clay & Mr. Sergeant are now fairly in the field. The *bait* will not do for Pensylvania; it is quite too *small*. The first, most modestly endeavors to retire; & desires it, if one better can be found to put down the present “*misrule*.” And what is the misrule he means? Prosperity at home & peace every where. The national debt paid off almost; and, the Tariff ready to be reformed; and differences with all foreign powers arranged & settled. These must be the “*misrule*” he intends, for he can turn the country to nothing worse⁵

Mr. Sergeant also offers his confession of faith. He accepts the nomination to put down the present misrule, from a desire to “rescue the freedom of opinion & conduct from unconstitutional oppression” He does not define; but intends to say that the removals from office are “*unconstitutional oppressions*”; and that all your *turn outs* have been for opinion sake. He knew better, & hence speaks falsly. He knew very well, that his

brother, po master in Phila, if not opposed never was a friend of yours—that others there are not, as well as in other places. Why then assert a falsehood, but for the purpose of deceiving the public. If such a man as Jno Sergeant be capable of asserting that which is so positively untrue, what may we not expect of other smaller characters thro our country?⁶

But upon this subject I tell you candidly the public mind has been much abused & imposed upon. They have been repeatedly told, as Mr Sergeant insinuates, that old & faithful & capable men, have been set aside for party purposes. Accusation & charge you know, always go ahead of contradiction, & hence many believe, what so industriously has been circulated. This matter of removal from office is the most difficult your friends have to meet; for it is one, in which *misrepresentation* & *sympathy* are made to go hand in hand together. For the future therefore I should think it (& beg to suggest it) as advisable to forbear *any removal* for the *present year*, which is not absolutely necessary from *default*, or some such *high consideration*. After March 1833 will be time enough to look into all *necessary & proper reforms*. Then you will be in smooth water and can do what your own judgment may suggest to be right, and no noise or fuss will be the consequence of your action. Now it must, & will be otherwise. Your old rule must be regarded, to wit—to guard at all points, and not to underate your enemy, least in undevaluing him, he obtains an advantage over you. Truly you have had a hard official time of it, & one which while it required all your energies, could not fail to bring deep mortification, because much, resulted from those who pretended to be friends, when in reality they were foes at heart, & foes in practice. I have suffered much, yet great as that suffering has been, I feel a secret joy at my persecutions, for had they not existed, & gone on as they did, and terminated as they *did*, you had been ruined, by foes bearing the mask of friends⁷

It is immaterial whether or not Branch & Ingham & Berrien had been in yr Cabinet. Others of the same or of worse stamp might have been there, who would have been moved by the same policy. Hamilton of So. Carolina you know, was one whom it was desired might be in your councils; & what he is, his message tells.⁸ He & others, now, not ~~then~~, yr friends nor even then were would have been pressed upon you; & let present appearances answer what would have been the consequences of such a continued association.

The *Lord* has ever been kind to you. Let what may be said of the honor—honesty, the good or bad grammar of your first Cabinet, it is indeed fortunate that it was formed; & that I was made a part of it, to shield you; for so, circumstances, & the designs of your enemies made it to turn out, contrary most certainly to any wish or design of mine. But so did it turn out; & it has been fortunate for you, altho a friend has suffered. Had it not been, that I (unfortunately for my own quiet) was placed in your Cabinet, you might never have found out those base *note takers*; & they, or others governed by their feelings, views and interest, might still

have been with you, *noting* down every incautious remark, made by you, to be told to the world at their convenience & leisure⁹

But these subjects, now gone by, are fully known to you, and I need not remind you of them. I can only say, that to which I believe every sincere friend you have is agreed, that a fortunate, most fortunate circumstance of your administration was the getting clear of your first Cabinet. Under it, you could have had—& would have had no peace, no security. Now as I hope, & believe, you have all gentlemen; before, you had two knaves; & one fool; & strange to tell he, of all, remains, one of the lawgivers of the Country.¹⁰ I am charged as the person who broke up your Cabinet. Branch and the opposition prints have said so, & much has been the abuse pendent on the assertion. I will not regret it. Altho not entitled to any such honor, the vanity felt, & the pleasure derived from such high commendation, would induce me to take to myself, even this undeserved honorable commendation

Amidst tho, all this past war of elements, I find Mr Berrien is still your friend. His Georgia dinner speech says so¹¹ Having seen this, I think worse of him than ever I did. Like Laudenum, a little hypocrisy may sometimes do very well—too much kills. In politicks it oftener destroys the giver than him, to whom it is offered. truly yours

J. H Eaton

ALS, DLC (73; mAJs). Eaton (1790–1856), AJ's biographer and confidant, had been U.S. senator from Tennessee before AJ appointed him secretary of war in 1829. His resignation and Van Buren's in April 1831 had prompted AJ to clear the rest of his original Cabinet, saving postmaster general Barry.

1. As U.S. commissioners, Eaton and John Coffee had concluded treaties in 1830 with the Choctaws and Chickasaws for removal west of the Mississippi. The Chickasaw Treaty of Franklin did not designate a specific homeland. Commissioned again by AJ, Eaton and Coffee had attempted in December 1831 to persuade the two nations to incorporate the Chickasaws within the new Choctaw domain in present Oklahoma.

2. AJ had perhaps broached with Eaton an idea that he had intimated to several friends, including Van Buren on December 6, 1831, of resigning the presidency in Van Buren's favor some time after the 1832 election (*Jackson Papers*, 9:731–33).

3. The Hermitage was AJ's plantation home outside Nashville.

4. The man in the almanac was a human figure with pointers to twelve parts of his body, identifying each one with a sign of the zodiac.

5. A National Republican convention, meeting in Baltimore from December 12 to 16, 1831, had nominated Henry Clay (1777–1852) of Kentucky for president and John Sergeant (1779–1852) of Pennsylvania for vice president. At the convention a letter from Clay was read, promising to support whatever nominee could best unite “all who are desirous of rescuing the Executive Government of the Union from the misrule which threatens to subvert established institutions and systems of policy, long and deservedly cherished, and to bring disgrace and ruin upon the country” (*Washington Daily National Journal*, December 15, 1831).

6. Sergeant's acceptance letter to the convention pledged his aid in “promoting the welfare and happiness of the nation, and rescuing the freedom of opinion and conduct from unconstitutional oppression” (*Daily National Journal*, December 16, 1831). AJ had been much criticized for removing government officers for political opinion. Sergeant's brother, Thomas Sergeant (1782–1860), Philadelphia postmaster since 1828, had not been removed.

7. The families of Secretary of the Navy John Branch (1782–1863) of North Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury Samuel Delucenna Ingham (1779–1860) of Pennsylvania, and Attorney General John Macpherson Berrien (1781–1856) of Georgia had publicly shunned Eaton's wife, Margaret O'Neale Timberlake Eaton (1799–1879), as unfit for polite society. Following Eaton's and Van Buren's resignations, AJ had demanded theirs.

8. James Hamilton Jr. (1786–1857) was at present governor of South Carolina. He had boasted at a July 4, 1831, rally in Charleston that his anti-tariff sentiments had cost him a seat in AJ's first Cabinet. Hamilton's annual message to the legislature on November 29, 1831, embraced nullification and censured AJ's supportive communications to South Carolina Unionists.

9. Eaton had been ridiculed for bad grammar in his official War Department reports. AJ had reviled Berrien, Ingham, and Branch for publishing accounts of the Cabinet breakup which revealed that they had taken and compared notes on their private conversations with him.

10. The fool was Branch, who following the Cabinet breakup had been elected unopposed to a seat in the present Twenty-second Congress.

11. At a November 10, 1831, dinner for outgoing Georgia governor George R. Gilmer, Berrien had avowed his support for AJ's policies in general and declared that in the Cherokee controversy, "a question of public policy, deeply interesting to us as a people, he has been, and is the friend of Georgia" (*Washington Globe*, November 25, 1831).

From Josiah Nichol

Nashville 7th. Jany 1832

Dear Sir

Yours of the 22d. ultimo is duly received—with Mr. Steel's draft inclosed, I am truly sorry that any act of mine or any of my sons should have given you the least uneasiness as it was not intended. I hope you will pardon. My son Charles furnished Mr. Steel with money and any thing else that he wanted on his own acct. as well as upon your acct. for the express purpose of keeping him in good humour so that he might attend the better to your intrest. My son has been absent in Philadel. since early in December I do not look for him home for several weeks yet. When he returns he will see Mr Steel—on the subject of the draft—if he looses it he is young & can bear it. I have had the prevailing influenze. I am still sick but is in hopes that I am better.

from your mentionig—to have your acct. furnished—I am led to believe you have not received it—a copy of it you will find inclosed which I hope you will find correct—it shews all the cash and &c furnished by us, since you were in Tennessee and also—the amount credited you by Nichol Hill & Co for a balance due you after paying—sundries for you per their a/c inclosed to you 29th. September last¹—and also crediting you for Steels draft 218 29 returned—from all which you will find you are indebted to J. Nichol & Son two hundred twelve dollars & seven cents which sum we have taken the liberty of drawing on you for in favr. of our friends Mess T. Jones & Co at sight. Which draft please to honor & oblige your most obedt Sert

Josiah Nichol

· January 1832 ·

the freight for your furniture I will pay when delivered—as I wrote you. I hope you will think no trouble of this as it really is not my disposition to be troublesome

J. N—

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr Josiah Nichol enclosing A. Jackson account up to the 7th. Janry 1832—and bill for the ballance paid by A. Jackson

ALS, DLC (40). Nashville merchant and banker Josiah Nichol (1772–1833) was AJ's financial agent. His son Charles was Charles McAllister Nichol (1805–1867). Another son, William Nichol (1800–1878), and Harry Rufus Willie Hill (1797–1853) headed the merchant firm Nichol & Hill. With this letter, Josiah Nichol enclosed an account showing AJ's Hermitage expenses from April 6, 1831, to January 7, 1832 (DLC-40). Graves W. Steele (d. 1838) had been AJ's Hermitage overseer since 1829. AJ wrote him on February 4 (below).

1. Nichol had sent AJ a statement of his accounts on September 29, 1831 (DLC-40; Bassett, 4:352–53).

From Charles Biddle

Nashville 11 January 1832.

Private & Confidential.

My dear General

I have this evening received an intimation of a nature which renders silence on my part criminal & yet leaves me in doubt as to the proper quarter through which I ought to seek for information. A few moments reflection has convinced me that from you & you alone I could expect an answer upon which any reliance could be placed, & I have therefore abandoned the idea which was at first entertained of writing to some of my friends in Congress to call upon Major Lewis for a formal explanation. I will briefly state the case: Two years & a half ago my application for Office was made to you & received with kindness, and altho it was thought both by myself & friends that my Papers had long been consigned to the pigeon hole of rejected addresses, yet we were at a loss to account for the motives which induced a change in your feelings towards me. The reported appointment of Genl. Carrol (*a man known as your Enemy*) has recently revived enquiries among my friends, & within the last hour I have been informed that Major Lewis “*has been a bitter enemy of mine for the last two years and has been constantly endeavouring to poison the Presidents mind against me.*”¹ I have been sufficiently trained in political schools to know, that reports in relation to public men are to be received with caution & therefore I have not called directly upon Major Lewis; but my dear Sir you must be aware that if the rumor to which I allude has the slightest foundation in truth, then I have an account to adjust with that Gentleman which has already been suffered to run beyond all reasonable bounds.

Please excuse this trouble & believe me to be as I truly am your sincere friend

C. Biddle

[Endorsed by AJ:] C. Biddle

ALS, DLC (40). Biddle (1787–1836) was a Nashville lawyer and brother of BUS president Nicholas Biddle. William Berkeley Lewis (1784–1866) was second auditor of the Treasury and AJ's confidential political manager. In February 1830, Biddle had applied to AJ for an appointment and procured recommendations from members of the Pennsylvania and Tennessee congressional delegations (Charles Biddle, *Senator Grundy's Political Conduct Reviewed* [Nashville, 1832], pp. 8–12). AJ nominated Biddle to be a Florida district judge on February 6, 1832. The Senate rejected him on May 17.

1. William Carroll (1788–1844) was governor of Tennessee. He had been rumored, correctly, to be under consideration for a diplomatic appointment in 1831.

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Jany 12 1832

My dear Sir

Your letter of the 12 Decr. owing to an accident at the Post office *Washington* that has been explained to me was not received until yesterday which will account for a seeming remissness on my part.

I am satisfied that the portion of the Public mind which has no motive in not correctly understanding your course in relation to the subject of that letter is entirely satisfied & that the other portion never will be

I am particularly opposed to the renewal of the Present Bank for considerations arising out of its course & particularly not least because in making the application at this time it has determined to brave the General which It will hereafter do at any time with success if it should be renewed. Give this institution a charter for 20 years longer & it is a perpetuity too strong for the Government unless it should be much modified & restricted

For your gratification I am preparing a statement of the causes arising out of frauds attempted upon the Government which have been tried in order that you may see how the business is disposed of in this district I will only remark that I think it will not induce you to regret that a change was made.¹ with sincere regard Your obt svt & friend

James A Hamilton

ALS, DLC (40). Hamilton (1788–1878), a son of Alexander Hamilton, had been appointed U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York by AJ in 1829, replacing Quincy Adams appointee John Duer. Hamilton had provided AJ with text and arguments against rechartering the Bank of the United States, which AJ drew on in crafting his first and second annual messages to Congress in December 1829 and 1830. On December 12, 1831, AJ

wrote Hamilton assuring him that McLane's December 7 Treasury report, if read carefully, showed "not the slightest disagreement" with his own view of the necessary preconditions for approving a BUS recharter (*Jackson Papers*, 9:768–69). On January 9, 1832, George M. Dallas in the Senate and George McDuffie in the House presented the Bank's formal memorial to have its charter renewed.

1. On January 29 Hamilton sent AJ a list showing that he had tried twenty-eight cases in under three years, compared to Duer's two in one year (*Hamilton Reminiscences*, p. 238).

From Martin Van Buren

[Martin Van Buren of New York had been Jackson's first secretary of state and his closest Cabinet counselor. Following his resignation in 1831, Jackson had issued him an interim commission as minister to Great Britain. Van Buren sailed in August and took up his post in September. His nomination as minister, submitted by Jackson on December 7 after the new Congress convened, was now pending before the Senate.]

London Jany 13th. 1831

My dear friend

I embraced the opportunity afforded by the Christmas Holidays to make a visit to the Country, in Company with Mr Irving and my son. We took Oxford, Stratford on Avon, Blenheim, Newstead Abbey, & several of the most interesting Castles, Ruins & Country seats, on our way to Barlborough Hall, in Derbyshire, where we spent some days, with as hospitable & warm hearted a man as lives. It was at his table that I recd. your very interesting letter of the 6th. ultimo, with the Message enclosed. The latter was immediately read to a large party of Ladies & Gentlemen, & from that day to the day of our departure, The President of the U. States, was always the first & frequently the last Toast at dinner.¹ Our good host the *Revd.* Mr. Rodes requests me to present you the accompanying pen & paper knife, containing a very accurate representation of his venerable old mansion, which is seated in the heart of England, and was erected in 1584. He had given extensive invitations to the surrounding gentry for a Fancy Ball, at which, he had in contemplation several devices, to do honor to our country, but the whole plan was frustrated by the sudden death of ~~the~~ a brother of Mr. Backhouse, the Under Secretary of State, who is the nearest relation of Mr. Rodes, and is to be the heir of his large estates.² Of the Message, and the estimation in which it is held here, I have expressed myself fully, & what is I fear not always the case in public despatches, *sincerely*, in a letter which I this day send to Mr Livingston. It is really excellent, and the reports of the different Secretaries are all able & lucid State papers. With Major Barrys brevity, & pregnant results I was delighted.³ Upon the subject of the Vice Presidency I do not know that I have any thing to say different from the views which I have before expressed to you. I may wait until I receive your promised letter, & will perhaps write

you again upon the subject in a short time. Our friend Hamilton suggests the propriety of my writing a letter to Genl. Marcy of the Senate, expressing my unwillingness to be supported for that place, on the supposition that I might otherwise be exposed to the imputation of wishing to run the chances.⁴ There is a good deal of weight in this—think of it if you please & let me know how it strikes you. Of one thing be forever certain—that whatever course this matter, or any other question in relation to myself may take, it is not in the power of circumstances to disturb the settled conviction of my mind, that I have not in the world, a more faithful & sincere friend than yourself. With this conviction I left you, & in this faith I mean to die.

I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the marriage of your son and beg you to remember me affectionately to the happy couple.⁵ If the fair lady is as amiable as I know Andrew to be, (of which I have no doubt), they cannot fail to be a source of great pleasure to you, in those years of retirement, which I fervently hope a kind providence may allow you, after you shall have *wholly* finished your brilliant & useful career in public affairs. For the news of the day, & my impressions as to the course of affairs in this part of the world, I refer you again to my letter to Mr. Livingston.⁶ In these free, friendly & informal communications it is more congenial with my feelings to speak of you, & yours, than to discant on public events. My abstraction from the agitations of Washington, & my remoteness from the scene of its intrigues and distractions, have ~~I am~~ ~~confident~~ enabled me to take a calm and I have no doubt a more accurate view of the actual condition, and true interests of a public man stationed there, than I have ever before had it in my power to do.

There are few men possessed of more fortitude or who can brace themselves with more strength agt. the torrents of calumny which are the unavoidable portion of our public men, than yourself, and until I knew you, I thought myself to occupy the front rank in that regard. Yet I cannot in my present view of things avoid looking with mixed feelings of shame, & merriment, at the ridiculous, & uncalled for solicitude, which even we, at times, experienced for the censures of those, whom we ought to have known, that no meritorious actions could appease, & who hated us the more for our well doing. In some of your letters I yet perceive some traces of sensitiveness upon this point. Cast it all—all, away I beseech you for those who excite it are not only unworthy of your concern, but have it not in their power, to affect in the slightest degree your well founded & well deserved standing, not only with our own people, but with those of Europe & America. This is in that respect a profitable school. There is scarcely an important public movement in which the prominent actors in it, are not only, most violently & flagrantly traduced by the public press, on the one side or the other, but are moreover hung up in all the print shops in caricatures of the most ludicrous & odious description;

and yet, the individual, who was only suspected of the weakness, of being disturbed by it, would be literally laughed out of public life. act upon the same principle yourself, & rest assured that you will not only do justice to yourself, but to your revilers also.

I have derived the greatest satisfaction from your account of the state of Major Eatons feelings, & of the honors which have been done him by those who know him best. The cruel & unmerited sufferings to which he has been exposed, give him the strongest claims upon the public favour, & I have no doubt, that in the end, the debt, which is so justly due him will be fully paid.⁷ Remember me affectionately to him & Mrs. Eaton when you write him, & tell him that it would give me sincere pleasure to hear from him. Make my best respects to Major Donelson & Mrs. Donelson Mr & Mrs. Jackson, Miss Eastin Major Lewis & Miss Lewis & to my very good friend Col. Earle.⁸ Tell Miss Eastin if you please that John has promised me to write her & send her a piece of the house in which Shakespeare was born—a spot which we visited with the greatest interest.

Write me as often as your leisure will permit & believe me to be Very truly yours

M Van Buren

P.S. Mr. Vail & John wish me to thank you for your kind remembrance of them & beg to be affectionately remembered to you.

ALS and AL extract, DLC-Van Buren Papers (19-0682). Van Buren copied out for himself the passage in the letter concerning the vice presidency.

1. Renowned author Washington Irving (1783–1859) had lately been U.S. secretary of legation in London. His successor, Aaron Vail (1796–1878), and Van Buren’s son, John Van Buren (1810–1866), had accompanied Van Buren to England. Barlborough Hall was the estate of Reverend Cornelius Heathcote Reaston Rodes (1792–1844). AJ had sent Van Buren his third annual message on December 6, 1831 (*Jackson Papers*, 9:731–33).

2. John Backhouse (1784–1845) was Britain’s Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

3. Van Buren’s January 14 official dispatch to Livingston stressed the favorable impression made in Britain by AJ’s “brilliant picture” of American conditions and prospects (DNA-RG 59, M30-34). Annual reports from the executive departments accompanied the president’s message to Congress. Barry’s brief Post Office Department report claimed improvements in service and a surplus of revenue over expenses, reversing past years’ deficits (*HRDoc* 2, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 46–48, Serial 216).

4. In his December 6, 1831, letter, AJ had intimated his wish for Van Buren as vice president and promised to write “fully in a few months” on the subject. James A. Hamilton had written Van Buren on December 7, 1831, advising him to silence newspaper speculation and publicity of his vice-presidential ambitions by sending a letter to New York senator William Marcy disclaiming his candidacy (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

5. AJ’s son was Andrew Jackson Jr. (1808–1865), one of twin brothers born to Rachel Jackson’s brother Severn Donelson and his wife Elizabeth. AJ and Rachel had adopted him in infancy. He had married Sarah Yorke (1803–1887) in Philadelphia on November 24, 1831.

6. Van Buren’s January 14 dispatch predicted that war over Belgium would be avoided if the French ministry survived, and that the British parliamentary Reform Bill would pass (DNA-RG 59, M30-34).

7. AJ's December 6 letter reported that the Eatons were greeted on their return to Tennessee with public dinners and parties in Nashville, Franklin, and Murfreesboro, and that Eaton was cheerful in retirement and would likely be elected U.S. senator.

8. All of these people were, or had been, members of AJ's Washington household. Andrew Jackson Donelson (1799–1871) was AJ's nephew and private secretary. White House hostess Emily Tennessee Donelson (1807–1836) was Donelson's wife and first cousin, and Mary Ann Eastin (1810–1847) was Emily's niece and companion. Mary Ann Lewis (c1814–1866) was William B. Lewis's daughter. Ralph Eleazar Whitesides Earl (1788–1838), widower of a niece of AJ's late wife Rachel, was a well-known artist who often painted AJ.

Decision on the Dutch Jewels

[On the night of September 25, 1829, the court jewels of the Princess of Orange, valued at up to \$1 million, were stolen from the royal palace in Brussels. Foreign governments were notified of the theft, and the U.S. pledged its cooperation in restoring the jewels if they were brought into the country. In June 1831, the thief, one Constant Polari, smuggled the stolen jewels aboard ship into New York City. Betrayed by a confidant, Polari was arrested on July 30. Most of the jewels were recovered by customs officials, and a suit was instigated in U.S. district court to condemn them as smuggled goods, which under law were to be forfeited and sold with the seizing officers receiving a share of the proceeds.]

The Dutch minister to the U.S., Christiaan Diederik Emerens Johan Bangeman Huygens (1772–1857), appealed to Jackson to halt the condemnation proceedings and return the jewels. Huygens argued that their identity and ownership, though perhaps unprovable in a U.S. court, were uncontested; that they were considered Dutch national property; and that their disposition was therefore a concern between governments and not a fit subject for determination by perhaps self-interested local authorities. On October 5, Jackson declined to intervene while the court case against the jewels was pending. At a Cabinet council on November 9 he reaffirmed his refusal, on grounds that only the Secretary of the Treasury had power to remit forfeitures in such cases (Jackson Papers, 9:532–33, 677–78).

Huygens continued his remonstrances and was joined by two Cabinet members. On December 20, Secretary of State Livingston proposed stopping the case against the jewels under authority of the pardoning power (DNA-RG 59, M179-72). On December 28, Attorney General Roger Brooke Taney (1777–1864) opined against the pertinence of the pardoning power but in favor of halting the proceedings by directing a nolle prosequi (DLC-40). Both men argued that justice and comity required discontinuing the suit and restoring the jewels to the Dutch government. On or near January 1, 1832, Secretary of the Treasury McLane answered with an argument denying the executive's right to intervene before the judicial proceedings concluded (DNA-RG 59, M179-72). Taney coun-

tered with another opinion favoring direct action on January 7 (DLC-40), with which Livingston concurred on January 9 (DNA-RG 59, M40-22).]

The case of the jewels,

The President has come to the following conclusion

I will grant a pardon, and leave both its effect & the ultimate disposition of the property seized to the judgment of the court; or I will direct the atto. for the District, to enter a nolle prosequi, without further order—at the option of the Dutch Minister if he chooses to suggest one—or I would consent to such an order as was given in the case of Nash, or Jonathan Robbins.¹

[Endorsed:] Opinion of the President on the subject of the Jewels seized at New York Red. 13. January 1832.

AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Livingston wrote this same day conveying AJ's offer to Huygens's son, Roger Bangeman Huygens (1805–1885), who was now acting chargé. He chose the nolle prosequi on January 20, and on January 31 district attorney James A. Hamilton entered it and delivered the jewels to minister Huygens (DNA-RG 59, M56-1; Hamilton *Reminiscences*, p. 225). New York customs collector Samuel Swartwout wrote seeking a reward on March 31 (below).

1. Seaman Jonathan Robbins arrived in Charleston, S.C., in 1799. British authorities sought his extradition, claiming that he was really Thomas Nash, an Irish sailor wanted for murder in a notorious mutiny on HMS *Hermione*. The John Adams administration directed the district court to grant extradition if it deemed there was sufficient evidence of Robbins's guilt to warrant trial. Robbins was extradited despite his claim of innocence and American citizenship. He was carried to Jamaica, tried, and executed. In his argument submitted near January 1, McLane had invoked the case as “a conclusive rule” for leaving the question of fact—Robbins's probable guilt or the jewels' ownership—to judicial rather than executive determination (DNA-RG 59, M179-72).

From James Alexander Hamilton

Confidential

New York Jany 14th 1832.

My dear Sir.

It has been whispered here for some time past that Mr Gouverneur has lost very large sums of money amounting as is said to 40000 Dollars by his stock operations which commenced shortly after the money was received which was granted by Congress And as far as my inquiries have extended I am confirmed in the belief that it is so.¹ When I last was in Washington I intimated to Lewis that he was engaged in speculations in stocks and my fears that ~~it~~ they might ~~be so~~ result as they have. Owing to previous speculations this Gentlemans affairs were heretofore in the worst situation possible; this information is given not because I have heard or believe that he has been induced or intends to relieve himself from the

pressure which these losses may occasion by even a temporary misapplication of Public funds But you know how feeble the power of most men is to resist a temptation so strong as this might be; And you know that when such a misapplication is commenced even in a small degree how difficult, if not impossible it is to be retraced

I would advise that this a/c should be kept in the U.S. Bank That every check that is drawn upon the fund should express the purpose for which it is drawn and that a transcript of the account with the Bank should be sent weekly to Washington and a weekly account of the receipts & expenditures should also be sent—by comparing these accounts It will be seen directly whether the receipts are all deposited daily and whether the funds are used for any other purposes than for those of the office & the Government

I must request you not to shew this letter to the Post Master General or to let him know that my name is connected in any manner with this information, or any thing you may do on the subject. Altho I have entire confidence in the Honor of that Gentleman I have very strong reasons for asking this ~~forbearance~~ reserve.

I must also beg the favor of you to acknowledge the receipt of this letter which is written in the strictest confidence and to inform me with that frankness which I know you are accustomed to use with your friends whether this vigilance on my part is agreeable to you or not. With the truest attachment Your friend & servant

James A Hamilton

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Col. J.A. Hamilton confidential—on the subject of the P.M. N.Y. private file. A. J.

ALS, DLC (40). AJ replied on January 18 (below). Samuel Laurence Gouverneur (1799–1865) was the postmaster of New York City from 1828 to 1836 and was both nephew and son-in-law to late president James Monroe.

1. In March 1831, Congress had awarded Monroe \$30,000 to settle his various claims against the government. Monroe died on July 4, 1831. Gouverneur had managed Monroe's claim and was executor of his estate.

To the United States Senate (not sent)

In the secret journal of the Senate handed me by the Clerk on the 14th. instant, I perceive a proposition made by a Senator from Ohio, Mr Ewing, to inquire into the moral character of the Agent employed by me to negotiate treaties with the several bands of Indians residing within that state, connected with an inquiry into the fairness of the negotiations and the genuineness of the treaties presented to the Senate.

Any Every member of the Senate has an undoubted right to suggest an inquiry into any fact connected with the negotiation of a treaty which goes to make it void, as well as whether it be “truly engrossed.” So much of the

resolutions, ~~of the Senator from Ohio~~, therefore, as relate to these points, come within the legitimate power of the Senate ~~although it~~. It certainly seems extraordinary, that in the absence of a whisper of complaint loud enough to be heard out of the secrecy of the Senate, Mr. Ewing ~~a Senator from Ohio~~ should propose to *go in pursuit* of ~~circumstances~~ evidence to produce the rejection of arrangements so important to the interests and welfare of the state he represents; but this consideration does not impair his right to pursue so extraordinary a course.

But from the leading resolution proposing the inquiry, I am not permitted to suppose, that the rejection of the treaties is the *only* or indeed the *principal* object of the Senator from Ohio. He proposes first to inquire: "Whether the Agent employed by the Executive to negotiate the treaties, was a man in whose known probity and moral worth, the nation has a sufficient guarantee that injustice has not been done to the Indians or imposition practised upon them by him in those negotiations."¹

Mr. Gardner, the Agent referred to, is not before the Senate. His character, whatever it may be, does not in the slightest degree, affect the validity of the treaties. Were he the most abandoned wretch on earth, still the treaties may have been fairly negotiated and honestly engrossed. If, therefore, it were conclusively proved that he is a bad man, that ~~proof~~ fact would in no manner affect the validity of the treaties or enlighten the Senate in relation to their duties. ~~No man knows this better than the Senator from Ohio.~~

This resolution is not, therefore, intended as a means of gaining information affecting the validity of the treaties. Its only possible effect will be, to engage a secret committee of the Senate in investigating the moral character of a private citizen, to gratify private curiosity or a worse feeling; or it will stand on the journals ~~of the~~ without further action, a perpetual memorial implicating his acts and ~~fame~~ his fame ~~as well as the~~. I cannot believe the Senate will be induced by any consideration, to enter into an investigation of the "known probity and moral worth" of any of their fellow citizens who are not in nomination for office. It is surely enough, that the private characters of citizens should be handled without reserve or remorse when they ~~are~~ appear before the Senate as candidates for some appointment. The Senate will not drag in others who are asking nothing at their hands, and employ their secret committees and agents, to hunt through society for charges to destroy their reputation and cover them with infamy. When this shall be, it will be time to burst open the doors of ~~that body~~ the conclave and let in the light. It will be time for the people to demand, why a body whom they have created to aid in promoting those measures which the public good demands, have converted themselves into an inquisition worse than the Spanish, intent only on the destruction of the men whom they hate or whom they fear. When this period arrives, if arrive it must, I hope the Executive may not ~~longer~~ render himself an accomplice to the injustice by concealing it from the people.²

The character of the proposed inquiry forbids the idea that it will be countenanced by the Senate. ~~The~~ But the resolution is embodied in the journal and there it will stand. If not counteracted, it may operate as an everlasting stigma upon Mr. Gardner and those who appointed him. So much of it as may be intended to reach me, is wholly disregarded. But Mr. Gardner is otherwise situated. He is a poor man, undistinguished, and surrounded with a large and peculiarly helpless family. He has been once nominated for an office and rejected. Producing additional testimonials of character and ability, he was employed on a confidential service by the Treasury Department, which he performed with distinguished ability.³ He was then employed as an Agent to negotiate treaties with the Indian bands living within the state of Ohio, and has acquitted himself with great honor. On all hands and by all parties, the treaties have been pronounced highly generous to the Indians, just to the state of Ohio which required this service from the general government, and beneficial to the nation. Not a suspicion of impropriety and not a whisper of dissatisfaction, had ever been heard of by the Executive, prior to the reception of this resolution. How is the man rewarded who has thus labored for his country with singular ability and brilliant success? By another stab in the dark. No industry, no integrity, no splendid service can save him. Though not before the Senate and asking nothing at their hands, a committee is asked for, to investigate his private character, to hunt up his foibles, to embody his errors, to ruin his rising reputation and cover him with infamy. Or at least, he must stand stigmatized on the journals of the Senate as a man worthless and abandoned, whom the Executive had employed to cheat the Indians out of their homes by deceptions, frauds and forgeries. This attack is not made in open day where men are responsible to the injured party and to their country; but in secret night, beneath a veil of sworn ~~secrecy~~ concealment which no mere citizen may be able to penetrate.

It is I who have unwittingly exposed Mr. Gardner to this attack. I see the dagger; but he does not. Conscious, I verily believe, of having rendered an essential service to his country and particularly to the state of Ohio, neither asking nor expecting any thing from the Senate he reposes in the bosom of his family at the distance of many hundred miles, least of all things expecting that his services are to be rewarded by charges of entire depravity of character, deception, fraud and forgery, made by a citizen of the state he has served and ~~to be~~ entered in perpetual testimony upon the journals of the Senate. It is therefore that I make this communication as a duty to the man whom I have exposed to unseen dangers. Herewith I send certain testimonials to Mr. Gardner's "probity and moral worth," signed by many respectable citizens of Ohio, of both political parties, especially in those places where he has resided. These papers, together with this communication, I request may be entered upon ~~your~~ the journals, as an antidote to the charges ~~you~~ which have already been admitted.

~~I hope the Senate will~~ Let not this communication be misunderstood.⁴ The Executive acknowledges no responsibility to the Senate for the moral or religious character of the Agents he employs. For the acts of those Agents he is responsible only through an impeachment by the House of Representatives. Were the resolution for an inquiry into the moral character of Mr. Gardner finally passed, and were he called on by the committee or by the Senate, he would not be bound to answer. If there be any who object to the *time* of this communication, let them reflect that its object, and its *only* object, is to repair a wrong already done to an Agent of the Executive, and not to inform the Senate. The obligation to make it would not have been at all strengthened by the adoption of the proposed resolution or weakened by ~~the its rejection of the proposed resolution.~~⁵

Draft by Amos Kendall, DLC (73; 19-0726). Draft by AJ Donelson, DLC (40); Bassett, 4:398–400. Kendall's draft is undated. Donelson's draft, which revises Kendall's, is dated January 16. This message was not sent. On January 5 and 12, AJ had submitted three Indian removal treaties to the Senate, concluded in July and August 1831 with Ohio bands of Senecas, Shawnees, and Ottawas. The U.S. commissioner for all three treaties was James Booker Gardiner (1789–1837) of Ohio, whom AJ had appointed special agent to negotiate with the Ohio Indians on March 31, 1831 (DNA-RG 75, M21-7). Previous to his Indian appointment, Gardiner had received a recess appointment in 1829 as register of the Tiffin, Ohio, land office. He was nominated to the Senate for that office on January 20, 1830, and rejected on May 10 by a vote of 46 to 0.

On January 13, 1832, after AJ's submission of the treaties, Senator Thomas Ewing (1789–1871) of Ohio had moved in executive session for a committee inquiry into whether Gardiner was of trustworthy moral character; whether the treaties were “obtained fairly, and engrossed truly,” and, if not, what “unfair or dishonorable practices were used to obtain them”; and whether Gardiner had resorted to “improper or fraudulent artifices” to prevent subsequent Indian protests against them. On January 19, three days after Donelson's draft, Ewing amended his motion to omit the inquiry into Gardiner's character singled out by AJ, and the motion was approved. On March 2, Senator Hugh L. White of Tennessee reported from the Committee on Indian Affairs that the treaties were “fairly obtained, and engrossed truly,” and that “no improper or fraudulent artifices” had been used to deter protests against them. The Senate voted without dissent to approve all three treaties on April 4 (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:199, 201, 219, 237–38).

1. This language quotes Ewing's motion almost exactly (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:199).

2. Senate executive sessions, concerning treaties or nominations to office, were conducted in secret.

3. Following Gardiner's rejection for the Tiffin land office, AJ had received protests and testimonials in his behalf from Ohio. The *United States' Telegraph* printed some on June 12, 1830.

4. Donelson's text reads: “I trust that this communication will not be misunderstood.”

5. Donelson's text adds a closing request for the return of the testimonials after copying.

To Hardy Murfree Cryer

Washington Jan'y 17th. 1832—

My Revd. friend

I intended writing you before this but a serious attack of influenza, and an operation upon my left arm to extract the ball hid there for 17 years has prevented me until now.¹ In fact, I have been kept very busy with one of the most factious corrupt oppositions in the Secrete Sessions of the Senate, that ever disgraced any nation. If it does not take the secrecy off, the duty I owe to the constitution, my country & my god, will induce me to give the people light upon those Secrete proceedings, and let the nation look once behind the senate curtains—one view will be sufficient to burst the doors forever unless where our foreign relations is the subject of deliberations. Saml Gwinn has been rejected by the Senate in pursuance of a resolution passed in Secrete Session which goes to infringe upon the constitutional power of the Executive. All I now can say, I have taken my stand upon the constitution, and the people ere long will have a full view of the subject, & decide for themselves.²

I thank you for your friendly offer of an interest in your fine Horse. But Andrew is now married, and I mean to throw the care of the farm on him, I shall never more pester myself with this worlds wealth. My only ambition is to get to the Hermitage so soon as the interest of my country and the will of the people will permit me, and there to set my House in order & to go to sleep along side of my Dr departed wife.³

I enclose a letter for my friend Mr Cotton, which I will thank you to deliver. I have said to him that you will raise by a draft on me, any sum that may be due him under the contract with my son for the training of Polly Baker, alias, Virago,—I have spoken often to my son to have this matter settled, and as I have handed over to my son & Major Donelson, my four grown colts & has referred Mr Cotton to them. I wish you my Dr sir to draw upon me for any sum due Mr Cotton from my son, as I cannot rest until justice is done him & then I give over any attention to colts & the turf. attend to this for me. I still intend keeping up my blood stock upon my farm, and will be happy to hear the blood of your fine horse crusader, his size & figure. If my stud colt Citizen should be moved from my farm, I may direct my mares to Crusader, except my oscar filly, that I intend sending to Stockholder.⁴

I will write you again soon, if I can, shall expect to hear from you. with a tender of my best wishes to your lady & family & the request that you will kiss little Rachel for me believe me your friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. The vice President is wielding his talents & shewing his vindictive feelings as it regards Van Buren. But two votes he has given in secrete Session,

it is said by some of his former friends, has sunk him beneath contempt in the senate.⁵

ALS, THi (19-0732). Cryer (1792–1846) was a Methodist minister and horse breeder in Sumner County, Tenn. His wife was Elizabeth L. Rice Cryer (1794–1833), and their young daughter was Rachel Jackson Cryer (1829–1895).

1. On September 4, 1813, AJ and four friends had a knife and pistol fight in Nashville with brothers Jesse Benton (1783–1843) and Thomas Hart Benton (1782–1858). Jesse shot AJ at close range with a double-loaded pistol, striking his left arm and shoulder. The ball in AJ's arm remained imbedded until January 12, 1832, when Philadelphia surgeon Thomas Harris removed it at the White House.

2. On February 3, 1831, the Senate had adopted, by 22 to 10, a resolution by George Poindexter of Mississippi "that it is inexpedient to appoint a citizen of any one State to an office which may be created or become vacant in any other State of the Union within which such citizen does not reside, without some evident necessity for such appointment." The resolution was prompted by AJ's nomination of his nephew Stockley Donelson Hays, a Tennessean, to be surveyor of public lands in Mississippi and Louisiana. In a subsequent compromise, Hays was nominated and confirmed as register of the Mount Salus (Clinton) land office in Mississippi. Hays died in September 1831, and AJ gave Samuel Gwin (c1794–1838) a recess appointment to succeed him. Gwin was another Tennessean, the son of Methodist minister James Gwin, AJ's neighbor and friend. AJ nominated Gwin to the Senate on December 8, 1831, and the Senate rejected him on December 22 by 25 to 13. AJ drafted a formal protest, but did not send it in. On January 10, 1832, a motion to rescind the February 1831 resolution was made and tabled in the Senate (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:150–51, 158, 161, 181, 188–89, 196–97; *Jackson Papers*, 9:82–83, 791–94). AJ renominated Gwin on June 11 (below).

3. AJ's wife, Rachel Jackson (1767–1828), died at the Hermitage on December 22, 1828, shortly after his election to the Presidency.

4. John Brown Cotton (1778–1849) of Sumner County was Cryer's maternal uncle and a horse trainer. Stockholder, sometimes stabled at Cryer's, had sired AJ's stud colt Citizen (or Young Citizen) and filly Polly Baker. Oscar had been a noted stud horse. Cryer had procured Crusader to stand in 1832.

5. On January 13, Senator John Holmes of Maine moved in executive session to recommit Van Buren's nomination as minister to Britain for a committee inquiry into the causes of the dissolution of AJ's first Cabinet and whether Van Buren had "participated in any practices disreputable to the national character" in order to operate on AJ's mind and procure his new appointment (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:198–99). The motion was tabled. Van Buren's nomination was then tabled, 21 to 21, with Calhoun casting the tie-breaking vote. The nomination was later taken up and rejected on January 25, with Calhoun again breaking a tie (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:199, 203).

To James Alexander Hamilton

(private)

Washington Jan'y 18th. 1832.

My Dr. Sir,

I have just recd your note, confidential, and on its receipt, addressed a note to the Postmaster Genl, directing the precaution intimated by you. I think it the only way by which the Govrt. will be secure; if it be true, that your Postmaster has lost the sum of forty thousand dollars, and

the directions I have given that his accounts be kept in the U. Bank, the checks on the P.O. fund, specifying the object of the check, may guard him against the temptation, to apply the public funds to meet his private engagements.

With my respects to your family I am very respectfully your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NN (19-0756). Hamilton *Reminiscences*, p. 237.

From John Hunt Brodnax

Browns Hotel 19 January 1832¹

To the President of the United States.

In relation to the payment of the last Years Annuity to the Creeks by the Agent. From your observations the other day to me when on a visit with the Secretary you must have been informed that he did not act in accordance with directions from the War Department. Being an eye witness & knowing all the circumstances connected with that settlement, can not refrain from laying before you a late order from the department which was for his government that you could not have been informed of. A statement from me is due to that officer to say that he paid off no judgments against Indians or either was there any presented for payment at the last payment of the annuity. Therefore he has been treated baesly by those who lodged the information. For the correctness of my statements upon that head I refer you to the Honorable Mr Mardis from Alabama and to the United States Interpertar who is now in the City of Washington.² The money was all presented to the Council and the order from the Department, read and interpreted, to the chiefs of which the Chief replied that they wanted all debts settled that was of a public Nature, then the agent named it was for them to adjust their claims & to report to him which should be settled, of which was done. And in no case was there claims deducted from the Annuity only in and through the advice & consent of the Council. The Agent appeared very particular & frequently rehursed his instructions. I respectfully submit this for your Consideration, & beag to be excused With the highest regard & Esteem your most Obdt.

John H. Brodnax

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-434). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0777). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, p. 24 (Serial 246). Brodnax (b. 1790) was in Washington as advisor and interpreter for a Creek delegation from Alabama.

On June 18, 1830, the War Department had instructed Indian agents to distribute tribal annuities henceforth directly to families and individuals rather than through the chiefs (DNA-RG 75, M21-6). Former Alabama congressman John Crowell (1780–1846) was the Creek agent. He reported on June 7, 1831, that payments to white claimants for expenses

authorized by the Creek chiefs would consume most of the year's annuity, and that it would save great trouble and expense to pay the remainder to the towns as before rather than parcel it out in small sums to individuals. Samuel S. Hamilton (c1782–1832), then head of the War Department's Indian office, replied on June 29 that the government had nothing to do with the claims, which were a private affair between Indians and claimants and should not be paid directly from the annuity. Crowell was to distribute the annuity severally if practicable; but if not, he could exercise discretion and pay it "so as to give general satisfaction" to the Creeks (DNA-RG 75, M234-222; M21-7). On October 5, 1831, AJ complained to Louis McLane, then acting secretary of war, that Crowell was violating instructions by paying white claims out of the annuity (*Jackson Papers*, 9:606). At McLane's direction, Hamilton wrote Crowell for an explanation on October 6. Crowell replied on October 22 that the charge of paying large sums to whites from the annuity was "as false as it is malicious" (DNA-RG 75, M21-7; M234-222). With this letter to AJ, Brodnax enclosed a copy of Hamilton's June 29, 1831, instruction to Crowell. AJ wrote Secretary of War Lewis Cass about the matter on January 20 (below).

1. Jesse Brown (c1768–1847) operated the Indian Queen Hotel in Washington.

2. Samuel Wright Mardis (1800–1836) was an Alabama congressman.

From Joseph Mills White

Washington Jan 19th. 1832

Sir,

In the frequent conversations I have had the honor to hold with you on the subject of the interference of Federal officers in popular elections, you have always avowed a determination to turn out any one who should be proved to be guilty. I now have the honor to submit for your consideration three affidavits of most respectable citizens of Florida, shewing that *patronage*, & *money* of the Government have been offered to influence public sentiment in the recent election in Florida. The Indian Agent John Phagan it appears announced to a crowd of people that no one who voted for me should be employed at the Agency, which was an indirect attempt to bribe all who wanted employment to vote against me. To Capt Priest (at present a member of the Legislative Council) he held out the idea that the people of the Territory would not be protected by the General Government unless they voted for Col Gadsden.

To Mr Geo Downs a Justice of the peace, he promised office for his vote, & influence

If these affidavits do not shew that the "Federal power has been brought in contact with the freedom of elections" I shall despair of ever adducing proof that will be deemed satisfactory.¹ I have the honor to be your mo ob servant

Jos. M. White

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-800). *TPUS*, 24:633–34. White (1781–1839) was the Florida Territory delegate to Congress. In 1831 he had won reelection for the third straight time against AJ's friend and former comrade-in-arms James Gadsden (1788–1858). John William Phagan (1782–1858) had been appointed Seminole Indian agent by AJ in 1830. White's three affidavits, from George Downs, Stephen W. Walton (d. 1837), and Gabriel Priest

(1782–1861), were taken in December 1831 (*TPUS*, 24:634–35). AJ referred White’s complaint to the War Department, and on January 24, 1832, Indian bureau head Elbert Herring wrote Phagan for explanation (DNA-RG 75, M21-8). Phagan replied on February 6 that White’s proofs of his abuse of power were “mere accidental conversations” and that his only real offense was daring to oppose White’s reelection (DNA-RG 75, M234-800). Phagan remained as agent. He was dismissed for submitting falsified payment vouchers in August 1833.

1. AJ’s inaugural address in 1829 had pledged “the correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections” (Richardson, 2:438).

To Lewis Cass

Janry 20th. 1832.

The President with his respects to the Secretary of War, encloses for his information a letter from Mr Broadnax (creek interpreter) which he has accompanied with a copy of a letter, purporting to be from Mr Hamilton of the Indian Bureau which he also encloses.

Altho, this letter of Mr. H. is positive in its instructions that the order of the Dept. of War of the 18th. of june 1830 to the agent should be complied with, it contains in its sequel, a discretionary power inconsistent with the views of the Executive as to the distribution of the Executive.¹ The object of this note is to draw your attention to the subject, and that hereafter no such discretionary power be permitted to be given but by your express direction in writing. The Indian agents receive their salaries, they have no duty, within the States, to perform but to pay the Indian annuities, and surely they can for their salaries, take the trouble to visit the villages that compose the nation, take the census, and distribute to the heads of families the annuity, agreeable to a just ratio of numbers in the family and when thus paid, let the individuals apply it as they please, for any supplies they have received, or necessities furnished for their festivals. Unless positive instructions are given, & the agents held responsible for their execution, the annuities will be misapplied, the wealthy, & the chiefs, receive the whole, & the poor will receive nothing. When paid to they Individuals they can apply it to the payment of their own contracted debts, with which the agent ought to have nothing to do.

AD, DNA-RG 75 (M234-434). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0798). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 23–24 (Serial 246). Lewis Cass (1782–1866) was secretary of war. He replied this same day that AJ’s order would be given “full effect” (DNA-RG 107, M127-2).

1. The text printed by the Senate corrected this to “distribution of the annuities” (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, p. 24, Serial 246).

To John Coffee

Washington Jan'y 21st. 1832—

My Dr. Genl

I have been trying to obtain as much leisure as to write you—but the press of business from the different branches of Congress, but particularly from a factious opposition in the Senate with Calhoun & Clay at its head, for they have formed a Union, and with a severe attack of the prevailing influenza, & an operation on my left arm, by which the half Bullet prepared by Doctor & Nat McNairy, for jessie, was extracted; has given me but little time to write to any one.¹

I have no hesitation in saying that Calhoun is one of the most base hypocritical & unprincipled villains in the United States—his course in secrete session, and vote in the case of Mr Van Buren, has displayed a want of every sense of honor, justice or magnanimity—his votes has damd. him by all honest men in the Senate, and when laid before the nation, and laid it will be, will not only dam him & his associates, but astonish the american people. From the vote in secrete session Moor has shewn his adherence to Calhounism. The Senate would reject Van Buren for his virtues, but it dare not. the factious & unprincipled opposition know that his rejection would first make him Vice President, & then President, indeed they see that the indignation of the people are aroused every where at the attempt of persecution. They are getting alarmed, they begin to think if the senate will not take off the injunction of secrecy, that I will—and this I am sure to do, that the people may see & judge for themselves. more hereafter—but one thing I tell you, there are a combination seretely formed & forming from this place all over the Union, and James Jackson is the Nucleous with Lewis & Moor here for Alabama; and James & his satilites in Alabama—at your next election have him left at home, and begin in time, & let Moor feel by meetings if they can be got up, that his course is one not pleasing to the people of Alabama.² This combination they know cannot effect me, but it is to bring Calhoun or clay into the Presidency four years hence—a greater curse could not befall our country. I believe Clay, as bad as I think of him, a better man than Calhoun. Solomon says, “that there is a time for all things,”³ and the time I think is fast approaching when an opportunity will be afforded to place him before the nation with all his duplicity & hypocrisy unvailed & naked to the world.

I will thank you at as early a period as your leisure will permit, to advise, if any, & what funds, can be collected for me. My sons marriage has increased my expence. The marriage of Mary Easton which is to take place the 14th. of next month, will add a little more to it, & the conduct of my overseer, & the smallness of my present crop, will give me nothing from my farm—therefore the desire that I have to know all the means I can command and shape my expences accordingly. Miss Mary is to marry

Capt Finch of the Navy a worthy & gallant man, but not wealthy, but worthy in every respect about 40⁴

Hutchings visited me in the Hollidays, & urged me for permission to visit Philadelphia. Miss Mary McLamore is there. I yielded to his request, & furnished him in forty dollars for the trip & to return him to his college. I enclose an account. I did not take his receipt as I know he will acknowledge it—and my son and Major Donelson & Mr Brand of Neworleans his companion has knowledge of it—you will add this to my credit with the estate⁵

I am interrupted with company, and must close with my respects to you all in which my son & daughter, Major Donelson Emily & Mary Easton with Mr Earle & Major Lewis unite yours truly

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (19-0808). John Coffee (1772–1833), now residing near Florence, Ala., was AJ's close friend, relation by marriage, and former comrade-in-arms. His wife, Mary Donelson Coffee (1793–1871), was Emily Donelson's sister and Mary Ann Eastin's aunt.

1. AJ and the McNairy brothers of Nashville had long been bitter foes. In 1797 AJ quarreled explosively with John McNairy (1762–1837), U.S. district judge for Tennessee. Attorney Nathaniel Adams McNairy (1779–1851) dueled with Coffee in 1806, and physician Boyd McNairy (1785–1856) attacked AJ's character in the 1828 campaign. AJ believed that Nathaniel and Boyd McNairy had abetted the Benton brothers in the feud leading to the gun battle of September 4, 1813, in which Coffee fought on AJ's side.

2. In December 1830, Gabriel Moore (1785–1845), then governor of Alabama, was elected U.S. senator by the Alabama legislature. His candidacy angered AJ and Coffee, who charged that he had betrayed a pledge not to contest the reelection of incumbent John McKinley. Moore voted for the January 13, 1832, motion tabling Van Buren's nomination as minister to Britain. James Jackson (1782–1840), an estranged former associate of AJ, was president of the Alabama state senate in its 1831–32 session, and Dixon Hall Lewis (1802–1848) was an Alabama congressman. AJ wrote Coffee again about the three on January 27 (below).

3. Ecclesiastes 3:1.

4. Mary Ann Eastin was engaged to marry Navy captain William Bolton Finch (c1792–1849), later known as William Compton Bolton. The engagement was broken, and on April 10 Eastin married Lucius J. Polk.

5. AJ was the guardian of Andrew Jackson Hutchings (1811–1841), the orphaned son of Rachel's nephew and AJ's late business partner John Hutchings (c1776–1817). Coffee was co-executor with AJ of the Hutchings estate. Hutchings had enrolled at the University of Virginia in September 1831, but wrote Coffee on January 10 that he had withdrawn (Coffee Papers, THi). Coffee wrote AJ about him on February 6 (below). Mary McLemore (1816–1873) was the daughter of AJ's friend John C. McLemore of Nashville and the grand-niece of Rachel Jackson. William Brand (1780–1849) was a builder in New Orleans.

From Johann Georg Goentgen

[The Harmony Society was a pietist religious sect founded in Germany by Johann Georg Rapp (1757–1847). Rapp emigrated to America in 1803. He and his followers, known as Rappites or Rappists or Harmonists, built a community in Pennsylvania named Harmony, which grew to some 800

members. In 1814–15 they sold Harmony and removed to a new location in Indiana, dubbed New Harmony. In 1824–25 they again sold their settlement and returned to Pennsylvania to found a third and final community named Economy. The Society practiced communal property and celibacy, and it amassed considerable wealth under the direction of Rapp and his adopted son, Frederick Rapp (1775–1834).

Johann Georg Goentgen (1791–1858), who sometimes took the first name Samuel, was a German theologian and librarian. In 1829 he wrote to Rapp on behalf of Bernhard Müller (1788–1834), proclaiming him the Lion of Judah and announcing his intent to come to the United States to lead the Harmony Society. Müller, who assumed various names and titles including Maximilian Ludwig Proli and the Count de Leon, landed in New York in 1831 with Goentgen as his secretary. He was at first welcomed by Rapp, but his presence at Economy soon precipitated a leadership contest and a schism within the community.]

Pittsburgh Jan. 22d. 1832.

To His Excellency, the President of the United States, General Jackson.

I have the honor to present herewith to Your Excellency the expression of the most sincere feelings of gratitude, on the part of his Highness Maximilian Count de Leon, for the answer in Your Excellency's own handwriting, returned in due time through the hand of Mr Kahl Consul of the United States, an answer equally gratifying and obliging to the liberal and truly republican sentiments of the Count de Leon.¹ He has, at the same time, entrusted me with the charge of making to You disclosures connected in some measure with the honor of the United States themselves, and therefore perhaps, important enough to attract the attention of Your Excellency.

In the midst of this celebrated Republic, the happy constitution of which has been sealed with the blood of so many thousand noble patriots, who sacrificed all, to win freedom, the highest of all earthly gifts of God; in this Republic there exists, on the very spot of our present temporary abode, viz: at Economy in Beaver County Pennsylvania, a Colony of German Protestants, forming a community of Christians; so called, who, through the most tyrannical oppressions of their ecclesiastico-political chief, by the name of George Rapp, live now in a state of degradation and desponding slavery, equally demoralizing to the unfortunate subjects, as dishonorable to the Republic of the United States: by presenting an instance of a community of free-citizens, rendred, through the violence exercised over their consciences, more wretched, as the negro slaves in the same Republic.

Announced and expected at Economy since two years, for the very purpose of ameliorating the whole of the in- and outward relations of this community, we arrived there only to witness its misery, and to feel

the bitter mortification, that all the rumors and reports concerning Rapp's arbitrary and usurpatory government, were but too well founded in truth, and the insulting title of "Dutch slaves" justly applicable to his subjects. For, this people of Rapp, not incorporated, yet apparently forming a religious society, under the free constitution of the confederate states, groans under a tyranny, scarcely paralleled in the history of nations, and surely not to be found in any of the Kingdoms of Europe, where the head of any religious denominations could never dare, to commit unpunished, acts of injustice, oppression, and rapine; like those, which Father Rapp has done undisturbed in the midst of the only free nation of the world.

This state of things in that unhappy community, would perhaps yet for a long time have continued, unheeded and undenounced, had our residence, short as it is, not given occasion to the contrast between the liberal, just, and strictly moral principles, founded upon the pure Gospel Doctrine, which we did not hesitate to pronounce, where ever opportunity offered, and the machiavellic system pursued by Rapp. The unhappy men began to feel the force of truth, and Rapp, fearing the consequences, used every means to maintain his usurped dominion over the bodies and souls of his deluded fellow-citizens.

It could not fail to become very soon manifested, that our colonisation plan rests upon the broad basis of truth and right, and that the same basis, having for its cornerstone the principle of all justice and equity: "Do to others as thou wishest to be done by" ought to be applied here too; if ever this community should be made to prosper, and to attain the end, for which all its members had laboured and suffered in vain since twenty seven years; an end, for whose accomplishment Rapp himself had only pointed, during the last two years, to the advent of the Count de Leon.

But the patriarch, as he calls himself, immediately began to draw back, and declared himself more and more opposed to such principles of liberty, justice, and civil rights in social as well as in religious matters, the more our views of philanthropy and religion found access into the hearts of his people. For, he could not help seeing clearer every day, that his spiritual influence, was on the decline, and that it would at last cease altogether, when these blind-folded persons would have there consciences awakened, and the question started: if it was right, that any man could dare, without crime, to impose upon his fellow-men, and fellow-citizens, and fellow-Christians to such a degree, as to pretend unqualified submission and absolute obedience to the weak fallible, and changeable will of a mortal fellow-being, in all things pertaining to their temporal as well as spiritual concerns, for time and eternity. As soon therefore, as the first dawn of light arose in a few single individuals, hope also began to awaken, and the cheerfull prospect of freedom animated them sufficiently, to discover the depressed and grievous state; under which they had suffered until now. We are then, in consequence of all these stated circumstances, enabled, to represent to Your Excellency, from authentic sources, the actual situation

of Economy in a general survey; the particularities of which can be proved by testimony and oath, of unexceptionable witnesses, the unfortunate sufferers being ready, to make a free declaration of their grievances before any magistrate in due form.

1) In *religious* relations, George Rapp has abused the confidence of all, by establishing gradually, through assumed power over the consciences, an absolute faith and unrestricted obedience, contrary to the agreement with the community, and to the established laws and rights of the country. Mistaken selfdenial, and selfmortification carried to excess, brought on a total renunciation to all liberty of conscience and faith, and in consequence of that, a habitual readiness to believe all he said, however contradictory it might be, and to submit in blind obedience to all his commands, however extravagant and unjust they might be. The responsibility of George Rapp must therefore be aggravated in the sight of God and man, in the same proportion, as he has exceeded his original engagement, by treating his religious associates, as mere machines, and the guilt, of course, must be increased by divine and human laws in proportion; as he has abused the weakness of his fellow-brethren, to promote his own interest, by establishing his own illegitimate power. He makes his people sign an instrument; of which the fewest know the contents, and less yet are able to calculate the destructive consequence, of a donation of their own and their children property, to a man, who knows no other law, but his will; neither can they estimate conscientiously what important advantages, as men and citizens, they have resigned by such an act; for the reading of the contract is never performed in an intelligible manner; yea, often the signatures of the names have been extorbed, by the threat of immediate expulsion in case of refusal; and such a threat is, for a person born and brought up as a Rappist, more terrible than death itself, because the believe is inculcated into every one of them, that nowhere, than within the fraternity and on the spot they occupy, heaven and God itself abide, while, without in the world at large, all mankind, none excepted, are doomed to perdition in all eternity, unless they would yet all come to seek salvation under the direction of George Rapp.²

2.) In *social* relations George Rapp acts no less illegal in disposing of the common property entirely after his own arbitrary fancy, without concurrence of any other, and without giving account of the administration, and furthermore; against the stipulated application of the money given up to him, only he and his family, and a few favorites enjoy the advantage of such riches, while the rest, by hard labour, have to be contented with the meanest food, and raiment scarcely better than that of the convicts in the German penitentiaries. Also he has made it a practise to lend upon interest, and to use for mercantile and manufacturing speculations, altogether for his own aggrandisement, the hard-earned money of his poor slaves, without ever taking a thought for any amelioration of their miserable condition. All the rest must deny and mortify themselves, whilst he alone

lives in splendor and abundance. The beverage of the people is water in the winter and souer beer in summer, while he feasts on wine, partly imported partly raised with the sweat of his people, on the premises of the community. His usual saying is: "the bread you receive, the water never fails you." In lawsuits with members, who have left the community, he makes use of the publick money, for the payment of fees, and even it is said for briberies, all to the purpose of conserving and accumulating ill-gotten money. He goes so far, as to pretend even damages from his fellow citizens, which he casts out into the world at large, without any property to live on, and intimidades, on such occasions, the poor simple souls with the expression equally absurd and ridiculous: "it is not thou, who is deceived, but I, because thy stall remains vacant for a while." If a workman in the shops of the community makes a tool for himself, when not otherwise employed, he still is denied the possession of the tool, under pretext of its being made in the masters time. It has been some times the case, that a relation of a community member has died in Europe, and left a certain sum to a person here, and that person had died here also. Upon the news of such an inheritance, George Rapp made no scruple to constrain certain other members to sign a writ of Attorney, and to pass themselves off for the true heirs of the died person on the other continent; thus making himself master of an inheritance without the least legal title. Once on a case of succession in Europe George Rapp authorised some body to draw the sum inherited, and to buy for it, without consent of the community, a quantity of wine, which he imported into the United States defrauding the legal custom, by a false declaration, that it were vinegar. Quite lately yet has been detected a case, implicating both Rapps, (the father and his adopted son) in a robbery of an inheritance of considerable value, about which the contest is yet pending in the community. But by far the greatest cheatery against the whole community has been played by George Rapp, when in the instrument by which Economy was bought, the community was entirely left out of notice, and Frederick Rapp only mentioned as the person concerned, and the whole transaction terminated without the community's knowledge, or without a reverse being given to it by Rapp; where as in the former acquisition of Old- and New-Harmony, as well as in the transaction of selling them both, the deeds were always made in the name of the community. In addition to all that, under pretext of simplifying the business, old Rapp caused a power of attorney, to be written by some persons of his own choice, and without any consent or knowledge on the part of the community, which power contained an explicit declaration, that Frederick Rapp should have full right to do with the township of Economy, as if it were his own private property. Thus, by a shamefull act of clandestine treachery, all the members of the society, in their individual as well as social capacity, are completely cut off from the right of reclaiming lawfully, what in moral point of view is their indisputable property. For even the improvements made on this vast estate, are,

according to Frederick Rapp's own assertion, lost for the community after George Rapp's decease, if they choose not a new head, while the corpse is yet warm, and that head, who else would it be, but Fredrick Rapp? Still after all that, one might think, that in the case of George Rapp's decease at least the original private property of every member might justly be reclaimed and could, under no pretext, any longer be withheld from the rightful owners: but no! even this last hope is annihilated to the poor helpless wretches, by the following master-stroke of the arch-imposter.

One day, when yet living at New-Harmony on the Wabash, George Rapp held (as it was usual with him, to do *Once* in a year) general preparation for a certain feast, combining blasphemously the Lords supper with a common banquet and having wrought, (on the preparation day) the minds of his dear people to a high glee of devotion, self-denial and brotherly union, he made the artfull proposition, that every one should now prove the earnest of his profession, by giving their consent, that the book, containing the amount of property, brought to the common stock by every individual, should solemnly be burnt, by the hands of certain delegates.

3) In *civil* relations, George Rapp tramps under foot the general laws and constitution of the country, by exercising a power, which the highest authorities in the Republick would not dare to usurpe, and by depriving his subjects of all resources to know the laws of the land. For, without his lieve they are not allowed to read a news-paper, or any other book, and frequently, a whole year goes round, without their having seen any public paper; not to mention, that even when any one is allowed to read such papers, he receives them neither regularly nor entire, but mutilated, whenever there is some thing contained in it what might give light to poor Rappists, as realy they found to be the case, when afterwards they succeeded in obtaining the same paper through other channels. So likewise he does not allow his subjects to learn english, except his few confidential assistants in the transaction of business. Even the expelled members loose through him the enjoyment of their civil rights, because they receive neither certificat as citizens nor receipt of the payments of their taxes, by which they might legitimate themselves, as lawful citizens, in any other part of the country, so that they can not vote any where else but on the place of their first residence; and unless they return there, and submit to every vexation in still more exasperated forms, they must renounce altogether the exercise of the most precious right and privilege of an American freeman,—the privilege of voting, which forms the basis of a republican constitution. As to the voting itself practised by the subjects of Rapp, it is done in the most illegal and injurious manner, which possibly can be imagined; namely, they receive a printed ticket with a name written on it, and this ticket they are enjoined to hand to the justice of peace, who functions as collector. The person named on the ticket, is to them a perfect stranger as to his character, morals, talents and any other quality; and thus although the voting individuals of the community are in themselves

political zero's, yet the author of the tickets, like a figure one before so many zero's, has a powerful weight, to carry his candidate, while it stands to reason, that: the whole of Rapp's community, after this procedure, should be reckoned only one vote of one body or moral person.

4. In *personal* relations, as a human being, has George Rapp proved himself no less an arbitrary tyrant against the laws of nature itself, in imposing upon his people a law of celibacy without being able to prevent secret sins; while on the other hand he showed very unjust partialities, by exceptions from this cruel arbitrary law, in contradiction with himself, with the communal compact and even with particular regulations, proposed by himself, sanctioned by the community. Sick persons are frequently treated against the conventional engagements, and feelings of humanity, by the neglect of attendance, and sometimes even by a prohibition of administering medical aid to them. With their outward relations are the subjects of Rapp only so far permitted to commune, as he finds it expedient; for, all the letters directed to a member of the community, are strictly ordered first to be delivered from the post office to Rapp, who opens them and gives them up to the owner or destroys, or uses them as he pleases. When a family under Rapp's government is visited by a relation, which formerly belonged to the community, but has left it; that family dares not, to keep such relation in their midst longer than half an hour; without regard if it be a brother or sister, a father or mother, young or old, strong or weak, sick or well: they must depart after a half ours time, be the weather as it may, be it in day time or night, be they exhausted or not, be the visitant alone or burdened with little children,—nothing avails: without pity or mercy, the are compelled to go away from their ancient home, without a meal of victuals or a night's lodging, even when too poor, to stay in a tavern; for, father Rapp has positively declared, that all, who leave him and join the world outside of the community, are children of the devil, accursed and condemned without exception; and on a particular occasion, when some body interceded for such an excommunicated member, to be received again, his paternal heart made him say: rather as to let her come back, he would pray God, to take from her heart, whatever good might yet be in it, that she might become completely hardened and damned to eternity. When a new member brings with it books into the society, or when books are send from without to an old member, the person is not allowed to possess and use them; but every book must first be delivered, up to the censor Rapp, who keeps some for himself; some he burns, and sometimes one or other is returned to the rightful owner. In general, the rude and unmannerly; unjust and altogether arbitrary and whimsical conduct of George Rapp, in publick assembly as well as in other relations, challenges its equal. It would seem, that he wants most, to exercise his people in the virtue of self-denial and long suffering; and because his aids in the government are not backward in imitating their master, acts of violence and cruelty are not at all unfrequent. Lastly, that

nothing might be wanting in the catalogue of the crimes of old Rapp, I cannot help adding too, that, even in his advanced stage of life, he sins yet against the virtue of pudor and chastity; and how can it be otherwise, as that such examples of such a chief will produce, amongst unvoluntary celibataires, most destructive practices of unnatural vices.

This is then a short sketch, from which however may easily be formed an idea of the most wretched situation of the inhabitants of Economy. They see the depth of misery and helplessness, into which they are plunged; they feel the loss of their privileges as citizens of the United States, and anxiously desire to reclaim them; and even a glimpse of hope is rekindled in their breasts, that, through the intercession and assistance of the Count de Leon, their situation might be ameliorated; but still they are ready to sink into despondency, because of their own utter inability, to procure help for themselves, in the ordinaire course of the law; indeed their impediments appear insurmountable; considering that they are prohibited to assemble in their private houses, neither are they permitted to leave the village, nor do they possess a cent, or receive any money for their own disposal, so that they can even not make the usual advances of the lawyer fees; yea, from want of the knowledge of the english language, it is impossible for them, to consult a lawyer, or make application to a magistrate.

More than hundred of them are indeed ready, with next spring, when we lieve Economy, to abandon all and wholly destitute, to follow the Count of Leon; but that would not only occasion useless perplexities and expensive lawsuits; but the Count himself,—although from principle most chearfully ready at all time, to succour the notorious poor and helpless, whenever he finds them possessed of a honest and good heart, of love and sense for truth and right, and ready and willing to the best of their abilities, to promote the general good,—still he wishes at the same time, to act, under all circumstances, in conformity with the laws and institutions of the United States. He requires therefore of every one who would join him, not only to be disengaged from all previously contracted private obligation, but also that such a person must be able to bring in, all his lawful substances, so that the burden and responsibility may not rest altogether alone upon Count of Leon.

But besides the before mentioned number, there is yet a considerable part of that community, perhaps a great majority of the whole sum, who at any rate, are determined to separate themselves from the unjust stuart, should they join Count Leon's institution or not. Both these parties, agree in general about the grievances against Rapp, and have therefore, in a social capacity, a legal right, to call him to an account, and to insist upon a division of the common property, because 1) he has on his side altogether and alone transgressed against and broken down the compact, (which, undeniably, in itself was an immoral one, from the first beginning, because all the advantages were but on the one side)—through all those acts of iniquity, enumerated until now, and to which it is even here a proper place

to add yet some very striking traits of impiety, namely: instead of teaching, as he has promised, the doctrine of the Bible pure and unadulterated, he abolished altogether the ordinance of baptism, profanated the Lords supper by changing it into a common repast, destitute of every thing what might be called holy, solemn, and edifying, kept the horse mill going on the Lords-day, until meeting time; yea declared often without reserve, that he would change the Lords-day altogether into a work-day, was it not for the weak minds of the common people; he put the dayly prayer by disrecommandation and mockery out of use in the community, pretending it to be a mere mechanical formality; preached superstition, and nonsense, with blasphemous declarations; and misled his people, by all that, to perverse views of the moral law, even to such a degree, that they would make false oaths, or false signatures, when he commanded and constrained them by threatenings, to do so. Finally, after having pronounced his own inability to lead the community any further to their ultimate destination, and that Count de Leon was the man commissioned for that, yet when it came to the fact, he recanted, although a part of the community, were decided and willing, that the Count should have the supreme authority. From all which follows evidently, that the deluded members of the community have a right, to discharge George Rapp from all his functions and to choose an other chief, or live independent from any superior, under the sovereignty of the laws of the United States alone.

2) He has himself formally and publickly broken down the compact, by an evenement, which occurred on the 31. Aug: 1831. namely: a certain difference, about the matrimony of two young members of the community, arose between George Rapp and the community; the former, from motifs of partiality, insisted upon an exemption from the law of the society; the latter would have strict adherence to the law. Rapp at last pushed to extremities, in order to gain his point, declared firmly and explicitly, that the law in question as well as all the other laws, should henceforth be abolished, if the community had nothing to object? Immediately they accepted the proposed dissolution; and thus the mutual compact was by mutual consent really dissolved. Now, as a new contract has not been made since, the continuance of the society rests only on the basis of tacit conivance, from the plain reason, that no other prospect has yet opened for a new and better order of things, unless the expected and promised arrival of Count de Leon. He came on the 18. October 1831 and was, with his suite formally received by Rapp and his community as the announced and long expected reformer. But as soon as the Count began to develop his philanthropic principles of justice, truth and righteousness, Rapp began to shrink back; and seeing, at the same time, a part of the community declaring for the Count, his jealousy stirred him up, to plan, out-and with the assistance of his adopted son Frederick, to put in motion a variety of intrigues. Thus it has come to pass that the discontentment, disharmony,

and distressed feelings, which already before disturbing the general happiness, prevailed more and more, and have now attained their climax.

For, the excitement between the parties is actually such, that violent conflicts are to be feared, if not soon the high authorities of the land interpose a prompt redress of the grievances of this suffering community.

Having considered it our duty, at the same time with this present, to inform his Excellency the Governor Wolf of Pennsylvania, of these transactions, we leave it now trustfully to Your Excellency's high intelligence, to determine, what proceedings may be best adopted to the case, praying Your Excellency to be kindly pleased, to communicate your views, resolutions or advises on a subject so closely touching the sympathies for suffering humanity, and the honor of the United States, by directing such communication to: Rev. David *Kammerer* minister of the German Church at *Pittsburgh*; we ourselves being at eve of a tour for the purpose of looking out for land.³

Filled with sincere affection for Your Excellency's benevolent disposition, as well as high esteem of the patriotic virtues, which shine forth through Your Excellency's public career, we would not but deeply feel, the very provoking expressions of insult, against Your Excellency's character, which we had the grief to hear from the mouth of Frederick Rapp, when he called Your Excellency an assassin, in presence of many respectable persons, amongst whom the Consul Kahl felt high indignant, being an officer under Your Excellency's own patronage. So much the more, then, we solicit most respectfully Your Excel: high sense of justice and philanthropy to take at heart the before described state of things between Rapp and his community that the one may be brought to a deserved punishment for the crimes, committed with his helpmaids, and the others be relieved from their highly distressed situation.

Finally, we beg lieve yet in a few words to express our thanks for the kind advise given to us, through an oral communication from the Consul Kahl; viz: to solicit from Congress the reimbursement of the heavy duties paid at our arrival in New York for the private goods brought with us, for our own personal use.

Count de Leon having thus first satisfied his own impulses of humanity by making the necessary steps in favor of the poor sufferers at Economy, who deserve a better lot; will take into consideration the kindly advised application to Congress, not so much for our own utility, as that of our countrymen, which are to emigrate in future, in order to find shelter against the impending storms and commotions, which menace the kingdoms of Europe.

Count de Leon, sensible of all the kindness with which he acknowledges himself honoured by Your Excellency, will omit no opportunity of showing himself worthy of the continuance of the same, by employing all his power and energies for the promotion of the prosperity of this, his

long desired, now adopted new home; and looking hopefully towards the sollicit and, by Your Excellency, benevolent accorded protection in all our concerns with conformity to benign and equal spirit of the laws of the Republick, I have the honor; most respectfully to remain: Your Excellency's humble obedient

Dr: Samuel George Goentgen
Privy Secretary to His Highness Maximilian, Count of Leon

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). The schism at Economy deepened in succeeding weeks. The dissidents moved to depose Rapp as head of the Society, and presented their grievances in a petition to the Pennsylvania legislature and a published appeal to the American people. On March 6, Müller and about 250 separatists agreed to leave the Harmony Society and relinquish all claims to property in exchange for their personal belongings and a sum of \$105,000. They subsequently organized the New Philadelphia Society in nearby Phillipsburg (Karl J. R. Arndt, ed., *Economy on the Ohio, 1826-1834* [Worcester, Mass., 1984], pp. 690-91, 712-15, 744-49).

1. Müller had written AJ on September 7, 1831, announcing his arrival in New York, claiming descent from European nobility, and asking aid and protection. AJ's reply of September 14, in Andrew J. Donelson's handwriting, welcomed Müller and promised the protection of "the benign and equal spirit" of the country's laws (DNA-RG 59, M179-71; 18-0756; Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, pp. 587-91, 602). Frederick Kahl, appointed a U.S. consul in Germany in 1829, accompanied Müller as an adviser.

2. The Harmonists operated under formal articles of agreement, adopted in 1805 and most recently revised in 1827, which surrendered all property to Rapp and the Society in return for schooling, housing, clothing, and food (Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, pp. 122-36).

3. George Wolf (1777-1840) was governor of Pennsylvania. David Kammerer (c1802-1893) was a German Reformed minister in Pittsburgh.

From Ratliff Boon

Washington Jan. 23d. 1832

Sir,

The inclosed letter from the Editor of the "Western Sun" printed in Vincennes Indiana; was directed to me; and my mind has been brought to the conclusion that it would be proper in me to inclose the letter to you. I have recieved letters from several other gentlemen of influence, complaining in much stronger terms than the Editor who has been neglected. Vincennes is the oldest and most populous village in the State, and a very important point at which to sustain a paper *friendly* to you. The change should have in *Salem paper*[.] I have the honor to be very respectfully
Your friend and obt. Servt.

R. Boon

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (19-0816). Boon (1781-1844) was the congressman from the first of Indiana's three districts.

[Enclosure: Elihu Stout to Boon]

Vincennes, 8th. Jan. 1832

Dear Sir,

I was, indeed, surprised at the information you communicated in your last—that the first District in the State, and one containing probably half the population of the state, should be left without having the laws published in any one paper within its bounds, is not doing justice to the state. I claim nothing for having been an original Jackson man, and in the first contest, the only Editor in the state supporting him, but I do complain, that the half of the state should be neglected. I shall publish them for the benefit of the people. I shall anxiously look for the names of the persons who have produced the change. Mr. Judah, assures me, that I was recommended, and the change to have been from *Salem* to Indianapolis—both being in the same District[.]¹ Respectfully, Yours

Elihu Stout

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (19-0817). Elihu Stout (1782–1860) edited the Vincennes *Western Sun*. The State Department designated newspapers to publish the laws at government expense. For the previous Congress, these had been Stout's *Western Sun* and papers in Lawrenceburg and Salem. For the current Twenty-second Congress, the Indianapolis *Indiana Democrat* had replaced the *Western Sun*. Boon complained again to AJ on December 1 (below).

1. Samuel Judah (1798–1869) of Vincennes was the U.S. district attorney for Indiana.

From John Adams Cameron

[On January 2, the garrison of Vera Cruz rose in arms against the government of Mexico, issuing a proclamation that demanded the resignation of the cabinet of vice president and acting president Anastasio Bustamante (1780–1853). On January 3, General Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794–1876) assumed command of the insurgency.]

Consulate U.S.A. Vera Cruz Jan: 25th. 1832

Sir!

I have endeavoured to keep you advised, through Mr. Livingston, of the events which are transpiring in this Country; and if any of the four letters, which I have written to him on the subject, have reached him, you will have been apprised of the occurrences which took place, previous to the arrival of San-Anna's Messenger in Mexico, demanding the resignation of the Ministry. Upon the receipt of that demand, the Ministers tendered their resignations, which the Vice President refused to accept. He laid the matter before Congress, and each House passed a Vote, disapproving of the Conduct of the Garrison of Vera Cruz, and approving of Bustamante's refusal to accept the resignation of the Ministers.¹ A few days there after,

Facio, Secretary of War, left Mexico, *in his Coach*, came to Jalapa, and invited San Anna to a Conference, at the *Puente Nacional*. This was declined. *Facio* then sent a Commission of three Persons, of whom *Perez*, Deputy Governor of the State of Vera Cruz was at the head, to this City, to have a Conference with San Anna. This Conference was conducted before the Public, in the Palace. The Commissioners, on their part, proposed, that if San Anna and the Garrison of Vera Cruz would lay down their Arms, their Conduct would be forgiven by the Government: on the other side, San Anna and his Officers insisted, that the Ministers should be dismissed and punished. The Conference broke up, with threats on the part of the Commissioners, that Vera Cruz should be invested both by sea and land, in a short time, and by threats from San Anna, that he would be in the City of Mexico, by the 15th. of March, at the head of his Army. Whether either of these threats will be put into execution, or were mere idle gasconade, time will develope. It is said and believed that Government troops are on their March from Jalapa to this place: the City Gates will be closed in the Course of this day. I have no idea that the Government troops have Artillery with them, or that they expect a regular siege: if they calculate upon taking the City, it must be by stratagem or by storm. The City is walled, with four outer Gates, and Bastions at each Gate: on the water side, besides the walls, it has two small Forts at each extremity of the City. The walls are weak. The Number of the Government Troops, on their March here, is very little known: some say 2,000 men, and others 500. Besides the Garrisons of Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulua, amounting to about 800, Gen: San Anna has been joined by the Garrison at Alvarado and Azuacan—making his force something like 1800 regular Troops. The whole Marine Force of the Mexican Republic consists in two Ships of War, which are dismantled, and being moored in this Harbour, save for Prison or Guard Ships. Besides these, there are a few Launches, which may carry one Gun each. Of all these, San Anna has the possession, and of Course, the threat of the Ministers, to invest Vera Cruz by land and water is idle, unless they expect Foreign Aid. The Intelligence from the Interior is Contradictory: the Government party say, that San Anna will receive no succour or Countenance out of Vera Cruz, while he and his friends are sanguine of great support in all parts of the Republic. How these matters are to end, it is difficult to foretell. In the mean time, all Commerce is at an end: business is perfectly stagnant: Money has disappeared, and Confidence is gone. Congress have passed a Law declaring the Port of Vera Cruz to be shut, and forbidding the Merchants from paying their Custom House Bonds to any but to the Government: in the mean time, San Anna has given Orders to the Collector of the Customs to go on collecting the Duties as usual. Thus the Merchant is subjected to a double payment, while he is unable to sell his goods, or to obtain payment for those he has already sold.

I have taken the liberty of writing to Commodore Elliot, requesting him to come or send down, to this point, a part of his Squadron.² It may become highly important to the interests of American Citizens and their property that some of our Ships of War should be here. Indeed, it would be well, under all circumstances, that this place should be visited by our Squadron oftener than it is. I have the honor to be Most respectfully Your very hum: Ser.

J. A. Cameron

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M183-2). Cameron (1788–1838), of North Carolina, had been appointed consul at Vera Cruz in 1831. He wrote AJ again on February 2 (below).

1. Cameron had written Livingston about events at Vera Cruz on January 4, 5, 8, and 13 (DNA-RG 59, M183-2). Bustamante's ministers were war minister José Antonio Facio (c1790–1836), foreign minister Lucas Alamán, minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs José Ignacio Espinosa, and treasury minister Rafael Mangino (1789–1837).

2. Captain Jesse Duncan Elliott (1782–1845) commanded the West India squadron. Cameron's letter and Navy Department orders of March 17 reached him at Pensacola on April 25. On May 5 he sailed for Vera Cruz with the sloop *Fairfield* (DNA-RG 45, M125-169). "Commodore" was an unofficial title accorded to senior Navy captains.

From John Houston McIntosh Jr. et al.

Alachua County East Florida
January 1832

To the President of the United States

The Subscribers Citizens of Alachua County Respectfully Represent

That the present situation of this County & its inhabitants induce them to request that a Company of U. S. Troops may be ordered from Cantonment Brooke Tampa Bay or some other Station to Camp King, near the Seminole Indian Agency & to suggest as reasons therefor that there are a much larger proportion of slaves than white persons owned by the citizens within 30 miles of the Northern Boundary of the Seminole Indian Nation and more than 1600 Indian Warriors & 1100 slaves belonging to the Indians many of whom are traversing the County night and day

That the two Companies stationed at Cantonment Brooke Tampa Bay are over 100 miles distant from the Seminole Agency & at too great a distance to render any assistance in case of emergency

That Barracks are already erected at Camp King & provisions can be transported by Water communication within two miles of the same

The subscribers would also respectfully suggest that the troops could not only be advantageously employed in opening or repairing the roads passing through the lands of the United States but would be considered a great safeguard & protection to the Citizens of the County thereby

inducing many to purchase & settle on the public lands & increasing the Value thereof[.] All which is respectfully submitted

Jno. H. McIntosh, Junr.
Chas. Waldron
Geo. Downs
R. R. Tarver
David Levy

[Forty-nine additional signatures follow.]

[Envelope endorsed by AJ:] War Dept. referred A. J

DS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-76). TPUS, 24:644–45. McIntosh (1802–1852), Charles Waldron, and George Downs were prominent Alachua residents. David Levy (1810–1886), later named David Levy Yulee, was a future territorial congressional delegate and U.S. senator. An infantry company stationed at Fort King or Camp King, now Ocala, Fla., had been removed to Cantonment Brooke at Tampa in 1829. A January 23 public meeting at Micanopy chaired by Bonaparte Toscan and R. Russell Waldron authorized the drafting of this memorial. Toscan and Waldron enclosed it to Lewis Cass on January 25. Major General Alexander Macomb, commander in chief of the Army, replied to McIntosh on February 23 that it would “be duly considered.” An infantry company was ordered to Fort King in June and regarrisoned it in July (TPUS, 24:339–40, 643–44, 663, 723).

To Henry Baldwin

[On December 26, 1817, John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war under President James Monroe, ordered Jackson, then U.S. major general in command of the Army’s Southern Division, to assume direct command of troops on the southern frontier and suppress the Seminole Indians. The Seminoles had been raiding across the border from Florida, at that time a province of Spain. Calhoun’s directive to Jackson referred to orders sent ten days earlier to General Edmund P. Gaines, his predecessor in field command, which authorized pursuing the Seminoles into Florida but forbade attacking the Spanish there without further instruction (Calhoun Papers, 2:20, 39–40).

From March through May of 1818, Jackson campaigned through Florida, not only defeating the Seminoles but assailing and capturing Spanish bastions at St. Marks and Pensacola. In July Monroe’s Cabinet considered privately whether to discipline or repudiate him for transgressing orders, but decided against it. Subsequently the administration, including Calhoun, publicly defended Jackson against heated congressional, foreign, and newspaper criticism by justifying his conduct as a response to Spanish provocation in inciting the Indians. Jackson himself claimed, then and later, that he had full authority from the administration for everything he did.

At the time, Jackson traced much of the public outcry against him to the presumed machinations of his then political arch-enemy William Harris Crawford (1772–1834) of Georgia, who was Monroe’s secretary of the Treasury. However, ten years later, in 1828, Crawford revealed to Jackson’s intermediaries that in the secret Cabinet deliberations Calhoun, not he, had favored disciplining Jackson. In May 1830, Jackson confronted Calhoun with Crawford’s charge and demanded an explanation. Calhoun replied with a lengthy self-justification. Jackson accused him directly of treachery, and the two entered into an involved correspondence that also drew in ex-president Monroe and other members of his late Cabinet as witnesses (Jackson Papers, 8:255–60, 305–22, 337–40, 352, 390–91, 433–34, 502–6). Regarding Jackson’s accusation as the product of a conspiracy mounted by Crawford to malign his character and destroy him politically, Calhoun exposed the controversy by publishing the correspondence in the United States’ Telegraph and as a pamphlet on February 17, 1831. Through the remainder of the year, Jackson gathered materials for a rebuttal publication, of which he composed several undated drafts.

Calhoun’s December 26, 1817, orders for Jackson’s Seminole campaign had crossed a confidential letter Jackson wrote to Monroe from Nashville on January 6, 1818. In it, Jackson had proposed seizing all of Florida as an indemnity for Spanish outrages, and pledged to accomplish it within sixty days “without implicating the Government” if given a private go-ahead, perhaps through his friend John Rhea (1753–1832), at that time a Tennessee congressman (Jackson Papers, 4:166–68). This “Rhea letter” became a focus of the 1830 controversy. Monroe acknowledged receiving it but said he had not attended to it and had then mislaid and forgotten it. Both he and Calhoun denied that it had ever been before the Cabinet or influenced its decisions.

Beginning with a January 4, 1831, letter to Rhea himself, Jackson attempted to gather proof that Monroe had not only received this confidential letter, but had authorized Rhea to answer it with a letter to Jackson approving his Florida plans—a letter, Jackson said, that he had later burned at Monroe’s own request. Prompted by Jackson, Rhea wrote to Monroe on June 3, 1831, demanding that he confirm this account. Monroe, near death, signed a statement on June 19 declaring the whole “utterly unfounded & untrue” (Jackson Papers, 9:8–11, 109–10, 153–54, 209–10, 282–83, 286–88).

Jackson’s conduct of the Seminole campaign had come under attack in both houses of Congress in its next session in 1818–19. In the Senate, Abner Lacock (1770–1837) of Pennsylvania chaired a select committee which on February 24, 1819, produced a scathing report condemning Jackson. Henry Baldwin (1780–1844) had then been a Pennsylvania congressman. He was now a Supreme Court justice, appointed by Jackson in 1830. In 1831 Jackson sent him to query Lacock about whether he had known about Jackson’s Rhea letter when writing his report. Baldwin

reported on October 18 that Lacock, while preparing the report, had had “full knowledge” of the letter “from the highest authority” and had “conversed freely & repeatedly” with Calhoun on the subject. The conclusion Jackson drew was that Calhoun, having failed to get him punished in the Cabinet, had then set up Lacock’s attack by showing him Jackson’s confidential letter while concealing information of Monroe’s approving response. Jackson incorporated this version of events into drafts of his projected publication on the controversy, probably composed in late 1831 or early 1832. Meanwhile he pressed Baldwin to interrogate Lacock further (Jackson Papers, 9:628–30, 649–50, 663–65, 669–70, 701, 797–826).]

Jan’y 26th. 1832

The President with his respects to judge Baldwin, asks him to have the goodness to state whether Mr. Lacock stated that he had a copy of my confidential letter; if he had by whom furnished 2nd. Whether Mr Calhoun had furnished him with his views expressed in the Cabinet, or the views of any other of its members—and whether Mr. Calhoun said any thing to Mr Lacock on the subject of a reply to my confidential letter, and if he did, what.

AD, PMCHi (19-0865). AJ wrote Baldwin further this same day and again on February 27 (both below).

To Henry Baldwin

26th. Jan’y 1832

Dr Sir,

I have recd. your note in answer to mine of today, and will thank you to write to Mr Lacock for explicit answers to the points submitted to you, and if he will yield it, a copy of his letter to Calhoun, or the substance of it. your attention to this subject, *early*, will greatly oblige yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PMCHi (19-0866). AJ wrote Baldwin again on February 27 (below).

To Amos Kendall

Jan’y 26th. 1832

The President with his respects to Mr. A. Kendall will be happy to see him tomorrow at 12, and if convenient to take a family dinner with him at

4 P.M.—he has seen judge B. & the Judge has written to obtain explicit answers to the points submitted, & a copy of the letter written to C. If you can have it finished by saturday night I would like to have it to submit to one or two confidential friends, & then determine the time & the manner. The speech of Miller in the Senate when seen will afford, perhaps, a fit time.¹

AN, Alexander Autographs, March 2, 2002, sale, lot 197 (mAJs). Amos Kendall (1789–1869) was fourth auditor of the Treasury, a confidential advisor and message draftsman for AJ, and a writer for the *Washington Globe*, the administration's quasi-official newspaper voice.

1. Stephen Decatur Miller (1787–1838) was a U.S. senator from South Carolina. He had voted on January 25 against confirming Van Buren as minister to Great Britain. His speech against the nomination was published in the *Washington National Intelligencer* on January 31, after the Senate lifted the injunction of secrecy on the proceedings. In it, Miller charged Van Buren with perverting the course of the administration and estranging AJ from South Carolina, dishonoring the U.S. by his conduct of diplomacy, and corruptly manipulating the patronage, the Eaton and Seminole controversies, and the Cabinet rupture in order to secure the presidential succession to himself (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1367–76).

To John Coffee

Washington Jan'y 27th. 1832

My Dr. Genl,

I have only time to say to you, that the factious opposition in the Senate day before yesterday rejected the nomination of Mr. V. Buren by the casting vote of the vice President. Miller & Hayne of So. C. with Moor of Alabama & Poindexter voting against him. Here is the high minded chivalrick feeling of South Carolina, no better could be expected from Moor & Poindexter, they would betray their god let alone their Country & I am sorry Hayne has joined the ranks of Clay &c.¹ Miller made a most disgraceful speech in the secrete session, him & Calhoun are both politically damd. The feeling & indignation of the public run high, and it is the univarsal cry, we will wipe off the disgrace done to our country & national character, by placing V. Buren in the vice Presidential chair. He will be I believe taken up by acclamation. I trust you & Col McKinley will see to it, that James Jackson will no more Preside in your Senate, and that your citizens do not approve of Moors course. If you will have a meeting at Florence, condemning his course & inviting him to resign it will be followed all over your state & theer is nothing that will destroy him here so much & so soon as such a movement of the citizens. Lewis is as bad as Moor & his constituents ought to know it.²

expecting soon to hear from you & with a tender of my kind salutations with that of all my House hold I remain your friend. It can now I trust be seen by my connections, the injury done me, by their joining the

vile persecution of Against Eaton, with the view to destroy me, it is now against Van Buren with the same view, & there is not a more perfidious man than John Branch amongst the opposition, he is devoid of truth honor or principle and his associates Poindexter Moor & Calhoun &c &c³

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THI (19-0881).

1. On January 25 the Senate rejected Van Buren for minister to Britain on a 23 to 23 vote, with Calhoun breaking the tie against. On January 26 the Senate removed the injunction of secrecy from the proceedings (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:203, 204). Senators Robert Young Hayne (1791–1839) of South Carolina and George Poindexter (1779–1853) of Mississippi voted against the nomination, as did Stephen D. Miller, Gabriel Moore, and Henry Clay.

2. Defeated by Gabriel Moore for the Senate in 1830, John McKinley (1780–1852) had been elected a state legislator. Coffee chaired a public meeting at Florence on March 3 which condemned Moore's vote and called for his resignation (*Washington Globe*, March 21, 1832).

3. AJ's private secretary Andrew J. Donelson and his wife Emily had opposed AJ's course in the Eaton affair. Donelson's brother Daniel Smith Donelson had married a daughter of then Navy secretary and now congressman John Branch in 1830. AJ had accused Daniel of unfriendly political conduct in 1831.

To James Alexander Hamilton

Washington Janr'y 27th 1832

My Dr. Sir,

yours of the 24, accompanied with the Bark jacket is just rec'd. and my Dr Sir, I sincerely thank you for your kind solicitude for my health, and Mrs. Hamilton, for the trouble she has taken in preparing it.¹ But the chronic Diarrhea has left me, and I am afflicted with costiveness, in its stead. I receive the jacket with thankfulness, will keep it as a memento of your friendship, a kindness, & should the old complaint return, will wear the preparation as directed.

With a tender of my kind salutations to your Lady & family & best wishes for your health I remain yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. The factious opposition in the Senate rejected the nomination of Mr Van Buren day before yesterday, by the *casting vote of the vice President*. I am told that Miller of S.C. made one of the most disgraceful speeches that ever was heard in any deliberative body. The injunction of Secrecy has been taken off, and I am told we will have the speeches published. The injury done to our National Character by this wanton act in all Europe, is an account that the people have to settle with the Senate who has brought this disgrace & injury upon us. I mean the factious opposition, who have degraded that august body, once the admiration of the world,

lower than a Spanish inquisition, and from report of Millers speech has changed the debates in the Senate to that of—I cannot find an epithet that will convey a proper idea of its blackguardism, & demerit. While I mourn over the degradation that the factious opposition has brought the Senate, still I cannot help but rejoice at the proper indignant feeling expressed by the public, at this cruel & unjust act—it is, I am told, universal; except the opposition and nothing is spoken of but redress of Mr V.B.s injured feelings, & the insult offered to our government by placing V.B. vice President, by acclamation I suppose the journals will speak.

A. J.

ALS, NN (19-0885). Extract, Hamilton *Reminiscences*, p. 237.

1. A jacket made with pads of cinchona or other tree bark was a common remedy for digestive disorders. Hamilton's wife was Mary Morris Hamilton (1790–1869).

To Eli Simpson Davis

Washington
January 28th. 1832

Dr. Sir,

I receive with feelings of much sensibility the walking sticks which you so kindly present to me in the name of Dr. Blanding. ~~as the growth of my native land~~ They possess all the interest which can be inspired by ~~its~~ the many endearing recollections of my native land, ~~but in addition when they become the~~ and as an evidence of the tender regard with which the people of Lancaster have watched my career since I left them, ~~I am at a loss for words to measure their value~~ acquire a value which can be scarcely expressed in words.

Tho' conscious that I am far from meriting the distinguished place in the affections of my fellow citizens of So. carolina which you have assigned me, I may hope by an honest devotion to the duties of the office of Chief Magistrate which they thought me not unworthy to fill to make some return for their confidence. It shall be my constant aim to second their patriotic endeavors to promote the love of our union and strengthen the principles on which it is founded.

[*Endorsed by AJ Donelson:*] Note to Dr. E S Davis 28th Jany. 1832

Draft by AJ Donelson, DLC-Donelson Papers (mAJs). Washington *Globe*, February 2, 1832. Davis was an Abbeville, S.C., physician and state legislator. The backcountry settlement where AJ was born straddled the then undrawn line between North and South Carolina, but AJ always claimed a nativity on the South Carolina side, in Lancaster County. In his address to AJ accompanying the presentation of several walking sticks from his birthplace, Davis had said that “in presenting the renewed testimony of the affectionate recollections of the people of Lancaster, let me assure you that with a very limited exception, the same generous and friendly feeling animates all Carolina. Whatever may be the expedients to which certain

men resort with a view to injure you, the people of that State are not prepared to abandon you. They consider you as identified with the great principles, if not with the very existence of the Republic" (*Globe*, February 2, 1832). Shubel Blanding (1795–1859) was a South Carolina physician.

From Samuel Smith

Capitol Hill, 28th. Jany. 1832

Private

Dr. Sir,

I Called this morning to have had a free and frank Conversation. But I found that the Gentleman present, was determined to sit me out. On my Return to my Lodgings, I found the Enclosed Letter from my Son. it speaks my sentiments. I agree with him that Van Buren ought not to be a Candidate for the V. Presidency. It would subject him to a torrent of abuse, and you to much mortification. he ought to Come to the Senate next year. Mr. Dudley would probably retire¹—he Could then meet those gentlemen on the proper Arena. We want such a Man in the Senate. The opposition are powerful in talents, and their hostility knows no Bounds. I have the honor to be, Sincerely your friend

S. Smith

Please to return this Letter

ALS, DLC (40; 19-0898). Smith (1752–1839) was a U.S. senator from Maryland.

1. Charles Edward Dudley (1780–1841) of New York had succeeded Van Buren in the Senate in 1829.

[Enclosure: John Spear Smith to Samuel Smith]

Thursday

Dear Sir

Well, the Senate has disgraced the country and insulted the President and his friends, by rejecting Mr Van Buren. This act has caused me to despair more of the permanence of free government, than any thing that has happened, since we have been a nation. Four & twenty gentlemen, selected for their presumed worth and talents, with the Vice President of the United States have, to gratify their malice and personal revenge, combined to mar the welfare of the country, and to prevent the successful career of the administration. It is scandalous—it is atrocious. Bitter as was the opposition to Mr Jefferson, yet his enemies always allowed him, to select his own instruments for the public service. Faction now, it seems, has become more selfish, more personal, and stripped even of the semblance of principle. The effect abroad of this shameful proceeding, will be pernicious in the extreme. It will shake all confidence in our institutions—cripple the negotiations of the President, and make us appear a nation of heartless demagogues. I had my heart set on the important negotiation

entrusted to Mr. Van Buren—had felt deeply indebted to the President for his foresight in undertaking it, and assured that if any one could succeed it would be this much abused man under the auspices of Genl. Jackson.¹ All these bright prospects must now give place, to the vengeance of faction. The spectacle is a singular one. We have a President eminently successful in every thing he has attempted for the benefit of the Union and supported by nine tenths of the people. We have a Senate notoriously misrepresenting their constituents. We have in that Senate two Catalines, candidates for the Presidency, and personally interested in defeating every act, however good, which may give credit to the man they are trying to displace.² And these men are not only *personally interested*, but *willing* to do these acts. How is all this to end? Some say that it will make Mr Van Buren Vice President. I doubt it. But even if this should be the result, the wound to the dignity of the Government is not healed, and the dangers of a factious Senate, holding its place by so long a tenure, still remain. My remedy should go to the root of the evil. Cut them down to two years, and strip of them of the power of confirming and rejecting nominations. Why should they have this power? When there is a decided majority for the administration, it is too subservient—when as at present, it is governed by the feeling of reckless partyism.

I sympathise most sincerely with the President in this untoward affair, and wish I were present to offer my condolence, in person. He has the satisfaction, however, of a free conscience, which his enemies cannot possess—and he is assured of the support, and increased affection of the people.

It is not possible to imagine any situation more unpleasant than that of Mr Van Buren, when he receives the intelligence. In a foreign land, just having made an acquaintance with its leading characters—unable to make them comprehend the causes, and thus publicly disgraced before all Europe, is too mortifying—too much almost for human nature to bear. I am sure that I should sink under it.

The feeling in Balt: is that of deep, unqualified indignation. I hope the injunction of secrecy will be taken off, that we may now see who are the perpetrators of this great act of “proscription.”³ affectionately

J. S. S.

Will any honorable man now be willing to risk his reputation and his feelings, by having his name submitted to such a Senate? I wish you would call on the President and offer your condolence, in fact, all his friends should seize the opportunity of so doing.

ALS, DLC (59; 19-0899). John Spear Smith (1785–1866), Samuel’s son, had been chargé in London and a Maryland state senator. His letter was written Thursday, January 26.

1. Smith may have alluded to the longstanding issue of impressment, which Van Buren’s State Department instructions of August 1, 1831, had urged him to finally resolve (DNA-RG 59, M77-73).

2. Lucius Sergius Catilina (108–62 BC), or Catiline, had led a famous conspiracy to overthrow the Roman republic.

3. AJ's opponents had branded his removal of government officers for political opinion as "proscription."

To Amos Kendall

Janry 29th. 1832

Will Mr Kendal be good enough to inform the President, whether he gave him for Perusal the confidential report of Mr Irwin late minister to Madrid, on the subject of his negotiation with Spain for the delivery of the Floridas & the boundery of Louisiana. I cannot find it where I kept it, and if he has not given it to you or Major Barry for Perusal it has been, clandestinely taken out of my Bureau. Please inform me if you have it, & if you have, please return by the first safe hand

AN, R & R Enterprises, December 12, 2007, sale, lot 99 (mAJs). AJ also wrote Livingston this same day (below). George William Erving (1769–1850) had been minister to Spain from 1814 to 1819. On December 17, 1829, Erving had furnished AJ a report charging that then Secretary of State John Quincy Adams had grossly mismanaged the Florida cession negotiations with Spain in 1818–19, thereby giving an opening to fraudulent land claims and throwing away an easily obtainable more westerly Texas boundary. Erving claimed he could have procured a far better treaty at Madrid had Adams allowed him charge of the negotiation (DLC-37). He wrote AJ on February 5 (below).

To Edward Livingston

January 29th. 1832—

The President with his respects to Mr Livingston informs him, that a Report made to him by Mr Irwin Minister to Spain confidential, on the subject of his negotiating a treaty with Spain for the cession of the Floridas, & the establishment of the boundery of Louisiana to the Rio Grand, & of his writing to Washington for powers to execute the treaty thus concluded, when in reply he received instructions to transfer it to Washington where the Treaty with Spain was concluded making the Sabine the line, I, upon search, cannot find it, a thought has occurred to me that I handed it to you for perusal, if so, will you please inform me, as that report may be serviceable, & wanted, when the treaty of boundery with Mexico becomes the subject of discussion, & action.

[*Endorsed by Livingston:*] Enquiring about a Paper in relation to the treaty with Spain. Ansd. I had not seen it

AL, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). Erving wrote AJ on February 5 (below).

From Montfort Stokes

Raleigh NC Jany 30th. 1832

Sir

I am constrained to make a personal application to you in behalf of my son David M. Stokes, who has been dismissed from the Navy in a manner that is not marked by justice and impartiality. He served three years in the Pacific, where it was impossible to obtain that instruction in Mathematical studies which is required, to enable a Midshipman to pass his examination with credit. Immediately on his return to the U. States, he was permitted to go to Washington for examination, but was not examined, nor before the Commissioners or Board. He was ordered to the West India Station, and performed the duties of an acting Lieut. on board as many as three different Government Vessells, the Captains of which have all Certified to his good conduct and Capability. These Certificates I have seen. The accounting officer of the Navy has refused the additional pay as Lieut. under a regulation made by Branch, who passed claims of a similar kind immediately before he made the order alluded to.¹ This however is a matter of wages, which, tho' unjustly decided, I care little about. The act of injustice as regards my son is this: The Midshipmen who were to undergo an examination in Jany and Febr. 1831, were permitted to return home for preparation as early as October 1830. Capt. Elliott refused this permission to my son, and only granted him leave of absence on or about the 15th. February at Havanna, to attend an examination at Norfolk on the January preceeding. My son arrived at Charleston Feb. 22d. sick; and before he recovered, the examination was over, and he was stricken from the list for not attending. The Navy department pretends that no Midshipman has been suffered to neglect two examinations without being dismissed. This is not so. Midshipmen Saml. Swartwout and Augustus H. Kilty and others have missed as many as two examinations each, and have then been passed and promoted.² The truth is that Capt. Elliott in whom I had confidence has deceived me; and has shown a marked hostility to the advancement of my son.

It is with great reluctance that I lay this complaint before you, because I have been unwilling to find fault with any agent acting under your administration. I am a Seaman myself, Sir, and my son is as good a Seaman as Capt. Elliott. He is deficient in the knowledge of Mathematics, necessary to make a perfect Navigator, which he has never had an opportunity of acquiring.

I hope you will forgive me for speaking thus fully and freely on matters only interesting to myself and family; and I beg you to consider me as one who can never cease to have the most respectful attachment for you.

M Stokes

[Endorsed by AJ:] Govr. Stokes of No.C. recd. February 7th. 1832 A. J.

referred to the sec. of the Navy for a report of the facts in this case A. J.

If true, that he was prevented by sickness from attending the examination, it would be an act of cruelty for this, to dismiss him without, & before an examination—the father is Govr. of No.C. & a man to be relied on. A. J.

I approve of the Letter of dismissal being recalled & giving Mr Stokes an examination of which if he fails to pass, he must be dismissed A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-131). Montfort Stokes (1762–1842) was governor of North Carolina. His son David Montfort Stokes (1799–1838) was dismissed from the Navy in July 1831 for twice failing to take his midshipman's examination. David had claimed in letters to AJ on November 14, 1830, and to Navy secretary Levi Woodbury on July 25, 1831, that extended ship duty, illness, and lack of funds had prevented his preparing for and taking the examination (DNA-RG 45, M148-64; M124-129). Woodbury replied on August 3, 1831, that he would have to petition the president for reinstatement. Woodbury also wrote Montfort Stokes on September 26 that David would need to furnish proof that his failure was not the consequence of his own neglect, and that lack of funds was an inadmissible excuse (DNA-RG 45, M209-7).

On February 8, 1832, the day after AJ's receipt of this letter, Woodbury wrote Montfort Stokes that AJ had ordered the recall of David's dismissal, based on his own "personal recollection" that Stokes's reporting for ship duty in 1830 had not allowed him time to prepare for the examination (DNA-RG 45, M209-7). Stokes left the Navy in 1833 to join the revenue cutter service as a third lieutenant.

1. In his July 25, 1831, letter to Woodbury, David Stokes also claimed pay for performing a lieutenant's duties on the schooners *Grampus* and *Shark*. He provided certificates from their commanders Isaac Mayo and Thomas Webb. Woodbury wrote Montfort Stokes on November 1, 1831, that, by a March 10, 1830, order of then Navy secretary John Branch, David could not receive a lieutenant's pay without a written appointment as acting lieutenant (DNA-RG 45, M209-7). David had also served on the frigates *Brandywine* and *Constellation*.

2. Samuel Smith Swartwout (1804–1867), nephew of New York City customs collector Samuel Swartwout, was warranted as a passed midshipman in June 1831, as was Augustus Henry Kilty (1807–1879) in April 1832.

From Pawhuska et al.

To His Excellency Andrew Jackson President of the United States

Father,

We the principal Chiefs, Councillors and Braves of the Big and Little Osage Nations of Indians most respectfully Send you this Our talk.

Father, We are desirous of visiting the City of Washington in Order that we may have an opportunity of taking you by the hand, and to State to you in person our wants and grievances. Many years have rolled over the heads of our people Since this privilege has been granted to them.

most of those who visited former Presidents of the United States are either dead or have become Superannuated. Our old chiefs “White Hair” and “Clermont” are dead, and their Sons now are at the head of our nation; they are anxious to visit you whom our people have never Seen, and to renew the pledge of friendship that was given by their forefathers; Our object is to keep the Chain bright and to remain in peace and friendship With our White brothers. The favor we ask for, is granted to other Indian Nations when in trouble and wish to See their great father, we therefore hope it Will not be refused to our nation.

Father, We wish to See you and have a long talk. Many years ago we were a powerfull nation, Since which our Strength has been taken from us, and we now find ourselves a poor nation of people. Necessity compelled us to Sell the greater part of our land, Our hunting is destroyed and we find our Country bounded on the North South and Eastern Sides by nations of Indians who have been induced to cross West of the Mississippi by the Government of the United States. When we made Our treaty of 1825 with the government of the United States, we were in hopes that the land we ceded would be occupied by Citizens of the United States and that other tribes of Indians would not approach our frontiers; we now however find Ourselves Very differently Situated. We have the Delawares Shawnees &c on Our North the Creeks and Choctaws On Our South and the Cherokees On Our Eastern frontiers, and worst of all the Pawnees (our Sworn enemies) On our Western frontiers.¹ A few years back it was Only necessary to go a few miles and we Could procure plenty of Buffalo and Deer meat, now we have to go hundreds of miles and cannot procure a Sufficient quantity for Our Own use. Our Situation is truly distressing, the various tribes in Our neighbourhood hunt On Our land. The Creeks, Cherokees Delawares Shawnees &c. take from us our means of Subsistance, and driven by Starvation (as many of Our people last were Winter) it is almost impossible to prevent depredations being Committed On the stock of our neighbours. We however paid out of our Annuity for the damage done last Winter, the consequence is that many of our people now are Suffering for the want of Blankets to shield them from the inclemency of the weather.²

Father, We have buried the tomahawk with all nations except the Pawnees, this tribe of Indians have been Our natural enemies. We hear however that the Creeks and Cherokees are about applying to you to Send Commissioners amongst the Western Indians to effect if possible a general peace between the Eastern and Western tribes. Although we have Suffered much from the Pawnees, yet should it be the wish of government to send Commissioners to make peace, we Would be governed by the advice of Said Commissioners, and having understood that the Creeks have recommended Col A P Chouteau to be appointed as One of the Commissioners, we sincerely join them in the request, as we are well acquainted with him he having lived amongst us for many years, and we place implicit

Confidence in his judgement and integrity, he is also well acquainted, with the Indians in general.³

Father, We have another reason for wishing to see you. We have been informed by our Agent that the Government of the United States have changed the mode of paying us Our annuity, that we must be paid in money and by heads of families. When we Signed the treaty of 1825 it was Stipulated in the 3d Article that “In consideration of the Cession and relinquishment aforesaid (our lands) the United States do hereby agree to pay to the Said tribes, or nations, yearly, and every year, for twenty years from the date of these presents, the Sum of Seven thousand Dollars at their Village, or at St Louis, as the said tribes or nations may desire, either in money or merchandise, provisions or domestic animals at *their option*. And whenever the Said annuity, or any part thereof, Shall be paid in merchandise, the Same is to be delivered to them at first Cost of the goods at St Louis free of transportation.”⁴

Father, We have been told on many occasions by Our Agent, that we are bound to respect the treaties we have made with the United States Government. We therefore wish to know whether the Government is not equally bound to Comply Strictly on their part in fulfilling their treaties with us. Can the United States Government by any Subsequent act, alter the mode of paying us Our annuity without Our approbation we presume not. We Sometimes may require money to pay for depredations &c, but in general we shall require goods for Our people, as we can give much more Satisfaction in that way than by paying them in money of which they know not the value.

Father, We have received Our annuities from Our Agent for the years 1830 & 1831 in the manner we requested, the goods were divided amongst Our people to their Satisfaction, and we have paid the Creeks Cherokees and others for the damage our people did to them last Winter, and it is Our intention to avoid as far as lies in Our power to prevent further mischief being done.

Father, We have many other Subjects to talk to you about which we Cannot explain to you fully in a memorial. We therefore request that you will permit a deputation of Big and Little Osages Chiefs to Visit you at Washington City under Care of Our Agent at as an early a period as you may think proper. And may the Great Spirit guard and protect you for many years is the prayer of your Red Children.

Done in the Osage Nation at Our principal towns in the month of January 1832.

Belonging to White Hair's Band of Big Osages

Pahuska or White Hair	his X mark	(Seal)
Singawassa, or the Handsome Bird	his X mark	(Seal)
Wassabba Tunga, or Big Bear	his X mark	(Seal)

Kihega Washinpechai or Bad Chief	his X mark	
Shabba Shinga or Little Beaver	his X mark	

[Seventeen additional signatures follow.]

Witness Present

P. L. Chouteau U.S. ind Agt for Osages.
Alex W. McNair U.S. Sub Agt Osages
Baptiste his X mark Mongrain US Interpreter for Osages
Thos Anthony US Sub Agt for Osages
A. P. Chouteau
P. M. Papin⁵

[Endorsed by AJ:] Referred to the Secretary of War for consideration A. J.

DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-631). Copy, DNA-RG 75 (M234-631); Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0557). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 354–56 (Serial 246). Pawhuska (d. 1833) and Clermont had succeeded their fathers, who bore the same names, as leaders of the two bands of Big Osages, who resided north of the Little Osages. This memorial was signed by Pawhuska, Clermont, six members of each of their bands, and eight Little Osages. On April 6, Osage agent Paul Liguist Chouteau (1792–1851) wrote Secretary of War Cass enclosing the memorial and urging approval for an Osage delegation to visit Washington. William Clark, Indian superintendent at St. Louis, forwarded the memorial and Chouteau's letter to Cass on May 17 (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 353–54, 356–57, Serial 246).

1. On June 2, 1825, the Big and Little Osages signed a treaty at St. Louis ceding lands to the United States in present Kansas and Oklahoma (*Indian Treaties*, 2:217–21). Later treaties, including the 1828 Treaty of Washington with the Western Cherokees, awarded portions of those lands to other Indian nations.

2. The Osages had committed depredations on Creek and Cherokee property in the winters of 1830 and 1831. In May 1831 the Osages concluded treaties of “peace, amity, and friendship” with both nations, settling mutual grievances and pledging payment of damages out of their annuity (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 497–506, Serial 245).

3. Auguste Pierre Chouteau (1786–1838), Paul's brother, was a prominent fur trader.

4. *Indian Treaties*, 2:218. On June 18, 1830, the War Department had ordered Indian agents to henceforth pay annuities to family heads or individuals instead of to tribal leaders or governments (DNA-RG 75, M21-6).

5. Alexander Washington McNair (1812–1849) and Thomas Anthony were Osage sub-agents. Baptiste Mongrain was the U.S. interpreter. Pierre Melicourt Papin (1793–1849) was a trader and cousin of the Chouteaus.

February



To Powhatan Ellis

Febry. 2nd. 1832

The President with his respects to Judge Ellis & has requested Major Donelson to call upon him with the name of the individual recommended by Mr Plumer to fill the receivers place at Mt. Salus, vice, Crutcher deceased. Mr Plumer informs the President that Mr. Ellis will make no objections to Mr. [Preston,] will the judge answer thro Major Donelson, if he has objections to him, & if so, who he prefers.

AN, NcD (19-0934). Powhatan Ellis (1790–1863) was a senator from Mississippi, and Franklin E. Plummer (c1795–1852) was the state's sole congressman. George B. Crutcher (c1800–1832), nominated and confirmed as receiver of the Mount Salus land office in December 1831, had died on January 2, 1832. On February 10, AJ nominated George B. Dameron, previously the receiver at Augusta, Miss., to succeed him. The Senate confirmed Dameron on February 20.

From John Adams Cameron

Consulate U. S. America
Vera Cruz Feb: 2nd. 1832.

Sir!

Since I had the honor last to address you, the political aspect of affairs in this Country has not materially changed. The States of Jalisco, Zacatecas and San Louis Potosí have joined with the Garrison of Vera Cruz in demanding the dismissal of the Ministers. The Ministers have, again tendered their resignations, which the Vice President has again refused to accept, and in which he is sustained by Congress. No direct demonstration has been made upon this City by the troops of the Government, though you will see by some newspapers, which I have the honor of sending to Mr. Livingston by this Packet, that an attempt was meditated by means of corrupting the Commandant of the Castle of San Juan de Ullua. Upon the disclosure of the attempt, two young men, of this City, who were the Agents of *Facio* were thrown into Jail, and are to be tried by a Military Commission, as they were to receive large rewards for their Agency. One

of them, *Garay*, brother to the Gefe Politico of this City, was to have been rewarded with \$10.000 and a Secretaryship of Legation, and the other *Ituante*, a Clerk in the Customs, was to recd. \$10.000 and been appointed a Minister abroad.¹

Santa-Anna is still in Vera Cruz, and is daily adding to the defences of the City, and, slowly, to the number of his Troops. It is said that he has now near 2000 under his Command. A report has been prevalent for a day or two, that the Garrison of Campeche were on their way to join San Anna, but Col: Mexia, the agent whom he sent to Campeche returned to this City this morning, being sent away by the Governor of that State, and reports, that altho' the Garrison there are not ripe yet to join San Anna, yet that their Commander, who is the Brother in Law of San Anna, has strong hopes, that they will do so in a short time.²

The Government have some Troops on their march towards this place under the Command of Calderon.³ They are in the neighbourhood of Jalapa, where they have been encamped for several days. *Facio* is in Jalapa.

No blood has been spilt yet, though from the temper of the parties, I think it quite likely, that this will prove a sanguinary Contest. I have it from the highest source, that the Ministers are determined to have Santa Anna's life at *any Cost*, and by *any Means*, and he now makes no secret of his determination to shoot them as soon, and wherever, he can lay his hands upon them.

Col: Tate, who is the Bearer of the Mexican Copy of the Treaty, goes passenger in this Packet.⁴ When he was about leaving Jalapa Mexico, Col: Butler was apprehensive that he might be stopped by San Anna, and wrote to me to provide against such a Contingency. I addressed a Note to San Anna on the subject, which he answered in a style conciliatory and highly complimentary to me and our Country, and sent me a letter for Col: Tate, in which he assured him of his great desire to facilitate the objects of his Mission. The letter I sent to Col: Tate to Jalapa, and he arrived here without any obstruction.

The reason of the Compliment to me was this: all the foreign Consuls in Vera Cruz have taken a very open and active part for San Anna except myself. This has occasioned Complaints against them to their Ministers by the Government. The Complaints against the British Vice Consul have been so loud, that O'Gorman, the British Consul General, set off to come to this place, but was met at the walls by San Anna's order not to enter the City—on the ground, that he was coming as a Spy for the Government.⁵ The Compliment to me was for my neutrality. The fact is, that neither myself or any American in Vera Cruz have deviated, for a Moment, from a due respect to the Government. I have not yet seen San Anna.

I was told today by a Gentleman who is, or affects to be, in the Confidence of San Anna, that he saw yesterday in San Anna's possession the Copy of a Correspondence of a singular nature: being a Correspondence between Alaman and some persons about the Court of

Ferdinand of Spain, the object of which was to marry young Iturbide to a Spanish Princess—recall him to this Country and make him Emperor, under the protection of Spain. Upon enquiring how San Anna could obtain the Copy of such a Correspondence, I was told, that the Originals had been entrusted to Altmonte, (who left this Country last Summer as Secretary to Cañedo—had been recalled—and just had arrived here) and that, with a view to injure the Ministers, he took the Correspondence to San Anna, who had it copied, and the original Packets sealed up again. I give you this story, as I heard it.⁶

A great many Spanish Subjects have arrived in this Port within the last two Months—more than 300. No obstacle has been thrown by the Government in the way of their free ingress. Within the last ten days some 30 or 50 have arrived, all of whom San Anna has ordered to re-embark. It is confidently said and believed, that if he is successful, there will be a second expulsion of Spaniards. They all, of this City, seem to look for such a measure.

It is difficult to predict how this Controversy is to terminate, nor do I think that it matters much, which party is successful. It is only one of the many intestine Commotions to which this Country is doomed. From the very nature of things it is impossible that order and tranquility can exist here for any length of time. There is too much unchastened ambition and too much petty jealousy among the higher order of men—too much servility and proneness to change among the Middle and lower order—and too little intelligence and Virtue among all orders, ranks and Classes of Men. The Government never can be stable while the Army is kept up in it's present Condition—it will always be the instrument, in the hands of ambitious & designing Men, of subverting the existing order of things. But how to get rid of the Army, is a question of difficult solution. The system of Pensions presents a serious difficulty in the way of disbanding the Army, and even if it was disbanded, the difficulties would not be at an end. The officers and men are too *poor* to live without their pay and their pensions—too *lazy* to labour, and unfit, from their habits, for Civil pursuits. If disbanded, they would roam about the Country in bands, as Highway men and Robbers, and be, always ready to enlist under the banner of any man for more daring and more criminal purposes. How thankful should our Countrymen be for the happy form of Government which we possess, and for the able Manner in which it is administered!—a Manner, which makes us happy and rich in all blessings at home—respected and admired abroad.

The Civil Commotions here have very much impeded the Operations of Commerce. Indeed, they are pretty much suspended. There is no safety in transmitting Goods from the Coast into the Interior, nor in bringing Money from the Interior to the Coast—and therefore, neither are attempted. Santa-Anna allowed the last Dividend on the British Loan to be shipped, but he has laid his hands upon all the rest of the Money in the Custom House here, and has directed the Collector to go on Collecting Bonds for

Duties as they become due; while on the other hand, Government has issued an order, declaring such payments to be invalid. This is putting the Merchants in an awkward situation: Santa-Anna Compels them to pay, and the Government, who hold their bonds in Mexico, declare that such payments are null and invalid. Among the sufferers in this stagnation of Commerce is your humble servant: my Consulate has not produced me one hundred Dollars for the last two months, while my necessary and indispensable expences have been five times that amount. Indeed, my office does not pay my office rent alone.

I was in hopes that before this time some portion of our West India Squadron would have been on this Coast, but none have made their appearance yet. Circumstances may arise to make the presence of some of our Ships of War here very desirable: indeed, it is much to be regretted that they visit this Port so very seldom.

I have been very ill lately, and am now very weak and emaciated. I mention this as an apology for the imperfections of this Communication, and as an additional inducement for availing myself of your kind permission to visit my family this Spring. If I should go home, I will leave the business of the Consulate in the hands of an American Citizen, worthy of the trust.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect, Your friend & obt St.

J. A. Cameron

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M183-2). Cameron wrote again on February 6 (below).

1. The gefe politico, or provincial governor, of Vera Cruz was Ramon de Garay. With this letter, Cameron sent a note to Livingston enclosing issues of the Vera Cruz paper *El Censor* (DNA-RG 59, M183-2).

2. José Antonio Mexía (1790–1839) had been secretary of the Mexican legation in the U.S. from 1829 to 1831. Santa Anna's brother-in-law was Martín Perfecto de Cos (1800–1854).

3. José María Calderón (1780–1834) commanded the government forces against Santa Anna.

4. Messenger Joseph Tate arrived in New York on March 22 on the brig *Neptune* bearing Anthony Butler's commercial treaty, which Mexico had ratified on January 14.

5. Charles Thaddeus O'Gorman (1785–1853) was the British consul general in Mexico.

6. Ferdinand VII (1784–1833) was King of Spain. Agustín Jerónimo de Iturbide y Huarte (1807–1866), eldest son of the deposed late emperor Agustín de Iturbide, was at this time secretary of the Mexican legation in the U.S. Juan de Dios Cañedo (1786–1850) had been Mexican minister to South America and Brazil, with Juan Nepomuceno Almonte (1803–1869) as secretary of legation.

From Samuel Cushman

Portsmouth, Newhampshire 3 February 1832

Sir,

I regret extremely the rejection of the Hon Mr Van Buren as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St James. I now hope that the Democracy of the Country will unite as with one voice to elect that gentleman as Vice President at the next Presidential election. The opposition in this case was influenced by the same spirit that they possessed when Hon. Mr Hill & myself were rejected. It is very evident that the Glory of the Senate has departed.

This, I trust, however, is only for a season. There can be no doubt the people will correct the evil as fast as they can do it constitutionally. Mr Holmes will have permission to stay at home after March 1833.

I pray that the Bank of the U S may not be rechartered. Especially, without many restrictions, and also with a provision that the capital stock shall be gradually reduced from 35 to 20 millions.

There will be made, by the Aristocracy, during the present winter, a most tremendous effort, to renew the charter with all its present provisions. It may therefore, devolve upon yourself to say whether it shall become a law or not.

Should this be the case, and should you put your Veto upon it the people will undoubtedly sustain you. I am informed by good judges, that even the Great body of the people of Massachusetts would rejoice at such a result, and would in consequence of such refusal, ~~would~~ give you their hearty support at the next election. Be this as it may, the Great body of the people throughout the Country will approve of your rejection of the bill. You have had moral courage enough to bring us back to Constitutional principles, and I pray God, your life may be preserved for another four years Term. I do not desire that you should propose me for any situation which would bring my name before the Senate so long as that base and corrupt John Holmes, and a few others which I could name, are members of that honorable body. But I should be extremely thankful if you would give me some temporary appointment, the emoluments of which might benefit myself and family. I have the honor to be, Sir, very devotedly your Obedient Servant,

Samuel Cushman

ALS, NN (19-0936). Cushman (1783–1851), later a New Hampshire congressman, had been given a recess appointment by AJ in April 1829 as U.S. district attorney for the state, but the Senate rejected his nomination by 36 to 9 on March 29, 1830. On April 12, 1830, the Senate had also rejected Isaac Hill (1789–1851) of New Hampshire for second comptroller of the Treasury. Senator John Holmes (1773–1843) of Maine had voted against both nominations, and also against Van Buren's for minister to Britain.

To John Silva Meehan

Feb'ry 4th. 1832

Mr. Meehen will please let Mr. Breathitt have such Books out of the library as he may call for, he giving the necessary receipt for their return.

Andrew Jackson

ANS, ICHi (19-0954). Meehan (1790–1863) was the librarian of Congress, appointed by AJ in 1829. George Breathitt (1807–1833) of Kentucky was a clerk in the Post Office Department who also sometimes served AJ as private secretary.

To Graves W. Steele

Washington 4th. of Febyry 1832—

Sir

yours of the 12th. ultimo has been recd. and I will thank you to send me on, an account in full of the expences of the farm & that as soon as possible, & how paid, and the account for the supplies furnished Mr Morrison, in such a way as I can fairly understand it—the one given I cannot send in its form to Mr Morrison.¹

I have directed Mr Nichols to pay you, your full wages (five hundred dollars) for the year 1831 out of the proceeds of the cotton when recd. & have directed Col White to sell the cotton shipped so soon as in his judgt. the market will justify a sale, & remit the amount of sales to Mr Josiah Nichol, who will pay you your wages for the year 1831.²

Having promised Mr Morrison to pay him in cash for the improvement stipulated to be made by him, & having expected the \$150 for which you sold my Carryall & pair of horses to be paid over to & which I had so directed you ~~to pay to him~~ I have now to remit him the ballance of his account \$187 or thereabout—you will therefore hold yourself accountable, to account with me, for the \$150 dollars for my horses & carriage sold at auction for cash last spring

I have written to Pittsburgh to have sent to the care of Mr Josiah Nichol six bushels of clover seed—this will sow 32 acres full, thick for cutting, which you will sow in the race tract field—with the oats, or shortly after they are up so that the seed may be covered from the frost should it fall after sown

you will see Mr William Donelson, and know of him whether he has determined to let me have, for my son, Saml Donelson Lott of land adjoining me—if he has, then you will plant it in cotton or sew it in oats as you may judge best. ~~& you will sow in oats the ground where the clover is to be sowed~~ I want at least this year planted in cotton one hundred & Eighty

acres measured, that I may have one good crop in four years, if the season should be favorable.³

You will also ascertain from Mr. William Donelson whether he has determined to let me have, for my son, Alexanders Lot of land which adjoins his brothers Samuel, and if he has, then you will unite with Mr Donelsonson, in extending a fence on the Western line of Alexanders, & the Eastern line of the track he gets of Mr George Martin thro the entire tract, or to the road as laid out to the mouth of Stones river, and on the dividing line, and planting or sowing the good land on that lot so that it may be a pasture for my stock in the fall.⁴ Write on the receipt of this what Mr. D. has determed on.

My son will be out early this spring. yours respectfully

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (40).

1. AJ had engaged Nashville architect David Morison, or Morrison (b. 1797), to renovate the Hermitage mansion and to erect a stone monument over Rachel Jackson's grave in the garden. On December 6, 1831, Morison had sent AJ a report on his progress and his expenses for labor and supplies (*Jackson Papers*, 9:756–58).

2. Maunsel White (1783–1863) was AJ's cotton factor at New Orleans.

3. William Donelson (1795–1864) was AJ's nephew, the son of Rachel Jackson's late brother John Donelson. Samuel Rucker Donelson (1810–1851) and Alexander Donelson (1816–1887) were AJ Jr.'s brothers by birth. William Donelson was both their first cousin and the widower of their late elder sister Rachel. AJ had written William on November 5 and December 7, 1831, proposing to purchase the brothers' land adjacent to the Hermitage for AJ Jr. (*Jackson Papers*, 9:665–66, 758–60). He wrote William again on February 6 (below).

4. George Washington Martin (1792–1854) had married AJ Jr.'s birth sister, Lucinda Rucker Donelson.

From Felix Grundy

February 4th 1832—

Dear Sir,

In answer to your note, I can speak confidently as to myself, and altho, had Mr Van Buren's nomination been confirmed, I should have felt unwilling to see him run for the Vice presidency, I am now willing to unite in putting him in that place—

My mess consists of Buckner, Hall Isaack, Blair, Standifer, Johnston, Lyon, Boon, Carr, McCarty, Thompson. The subject, has often been talked of amongst us all, and I have never heard one dissenting voice from the opinion above expressed. yrs with great respect

Felix Grundy

Mr Fitzgerald lives at parson Brown's¹ Gr

[*Endorsed by AJ Donelson:*] The substance of the note of the President to which Mr. Grundy refers on the other side of this sheet, was an enquiry whethr Mr. Grundy had been correctly understood in a previous conversation with the President, as saying that the members of his mess without an exception were now favorable to the election of Mr. Van Buren as a candidate for the Vice Presidency.

And J Donelson
4th. February, 1832

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] judge Grundy in reply to my note of this morning on the subject of him & his mess being *now* in favor of Mr V. B. for vice P. A. J

ALS, DLC (40). Felix Grundy (1777–1840) was a U.S. senator from Tennessee. Alexander Buckner (1785–1833) was a senator from Missouri. Grundy's other messmates at Mrs. Barnes's boarding house on Pennsylvania Avenue were congressmen: William Hall (1775–1856), Jacob C. Isacks (1767–1835), John Blair (1790–1863), James Israel Standifer (1782–1837), and Cave Johnson (1793–1866) of Tennessee; Chittenden Lyon (1787–1842) of Kentucky; Ratliff Boon, John Carr (1793–1845), and Johnathan McCarty (1795–1852) of Indiana; and Wiley Thompson of Georgia (1781–1835).

1. Tennessee congressman William Fitzgerald (1799–1864) boarded at the house of Obadiah Bruen Brown (1779–1852), a Baptist minister and chief clerk of the Post Office Department.

To Edward Livingston

Febry 5th. 1832

My Dr. Sir,

Reflecting on the French treaty, & its conditions, it appears to me, that it had better not be promulgated until the act of congress is passed making the reduction of duties agreeable to the Treaty. The collector could not comply with its terms, and I have no doubt but many vessels are on their passage to this country, and will enter our Ports on the promulgation of the Treaty. Pause and reflect upon this subject before you have it published. It may bring us into colision with congress, & a few days delay, until we know what congress mean to do, can prove no injury. yrs respectfully

Andrew Jackson

[*Endorsed by Livingston:*] Presidents Directions with respect to the French Treaty.

ALS, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). On July 4, 1831, U.S. minister to France William C. Rives had concluded a convention, or treaty, by which France engaged to pay an indemnity of 25 million francs for spoliations on American commerce during the Napoleonic Wars, while the U.S. pledged a reduction for ten years in import duties on French wines. AJ submitted

the convention to the Senate on December 7, 1831, and the Senate approved it, 41 to 0, on January 27, 1832. Ratifications were exchanged at Washington on February 2, and an official proclamation was prepared bearing that date (*Treaties*, 3:641–51). On February 7, AJ sent a message to Congress, noting the exchange of ratifications and “that some important conditions” of the convention could not be put into effect without legislation, which he requested “without delay” (Richardson, 2:564). Congress passed a law to implement the convention, including the reduction in wine duties retroactive to February 2, on July 13, 1832 (*Statutes*, 4:574–76). The proclamation was issued the same day, with the date altered from February 2 to July 13 in the manuscript text (20-1065).

From George William Erving

Kalorama Feby. 5—1832

Dear Sir—

Major Lewis asked me on Wednesday or Thursday last, what had become of the paper which I drew up for your inspection some years ago, & when I replied that I supposed it to be still in your possession, he told me that you had not been able to find it, tho’ probably on reexamination you might find it: That you may not have any further trouble in looking for it, & supposing that you may desire to refer to it, I have thought it best to make out another copy; The paper which I take the liberty of transmitting herewith is I think an exact copy (a few verbal alterations excepted) of that which I made pursuant to your desire & submitted to you on the 17 Decr. 1829. There are some matters in this paper more especially that marked thus X—in the 18 page which possibly may attract your particular attention; if any such should seem to you to require more development or further explanation, I shall be happy to receive your orders. Dear Sir always with the most sincere & respectful Attachment very faithfy. yrs

George W. Erving

ALS, DLC (40). Copy, ScCleU (19-0968). *Washington Globe*, May 1, 1844. Kalorama was a Washington residence. On December 17, 1829, Erving had given AJ a report condemning John Q. Adams’s conduct of the Florida cession negotiations in 1818–19 (DLC-37). AJ had inquired of Amos Kendall and Edward Livingston for it on January 29 (above).

From Green Berry Jameson

New York Feby 5th, 1832

Dear Sir

This is the third time I have addressed you on the same subject. I still inform you that I am here with dispatches from Col. Butler in Mexico & am without the means of getting to Washington. I suppose the reason you have not sent me money is the overwhelming crowd of business you have on hand at the commencement of this important session of Congress

I sent you some of Col Butlers Letters Concerning the Legation in Mexico to convince you that I was barrer of dispatches & to induce me you to send me money you will now send me a bill or check on some Bank here in haste or I will be compelled to remain here all the season you will please write me in haste if you have not already written me so that I may know what to depend upon

I am well aware that no transaction of the late Cabinet can reflect more importance on the Nation than the treaty I now have with me & that has been under strict prosecution for the last seven years[.] Yours with Due Esteem

G. B. Jameson of Kentucky

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). AJ forwarded this letter to Livingston on February 9 (below). Jameson (1805–1836) had arrived in New York on January 23 carrying an unratified copy of the commercial treaty with Mexico. Anthony Butler had written AJ on December 23, 1831, to expect him (*Jackson Papers*, 9:783–85). On February 3, State Department chief clerk Daniel Brent had written Jameson that Livingston had just received a letter from him repeating a previous request for \$200 in travel funds, and that the money had already been sent to New York and was waiting for him at the custom house (DNA-RG 59, M40-23). Jameson also wrote to Treasury secretary McLane on February 5. He complained that he had written to AJ three times and Livingston twice without reply, and threatened to take his dispatches back to Mexico if he was not promptly sent \$200 (DNA-RG 59, M179-72).

To William Donelson

Washington February 6th. 1832

Dr. Sir,

I wrote you some time since on the subject of Samuel & Alexanders Lots of land which had been proposed for sale, and my son had a wish, as it was to be sold, to buy, having made an exchange with Thomas.¹ I informed you in my letter that I would buy these two lots, giving for each, fifteen hundred dollars, paying for Samls. (as I found that was wanted for Mr G. Martin) the sum of fifteen hundred dollars on the first day of april next, and the same sum for Alexanders Lot, on the 25th. of December next. If it would be a convenience to you, & Mr John Donelson, I would let you have the note for \$500 payable in the B. Bank at Nashville in august next—the payment of which is guranteed by Doctor Butler.² This is for my stud Colt by Stockholder, sold by Mr Steel agreeable to my directions & for which he holds the note—& a note on Capt Stockly Donelson and others for \$312, being due this spring for the stud colt by Sir William, out of the cotton mare, This last note is ~~here & will be taken out~~ at home & will be delivered to you in the spring by my son.³ I am assured by Doctor Butler that the mony will be punctually paid, that the obligors are good & punctual men. I wish you to call on Steel for a sight of this note, and if you think proper to take it in part, you can do so—the ballance at Christmas.

The object of this letter is, to be informed whether you will let me have Saml Lot, for the sum proposed & Alexanders for my son—it is time I should have notice whether I have to pay the \$1500 on the first of april next, if so, it is necessary that I should make arrangements to meet it punctually. I have no controle of my expences here, therefore is this information to me important. Therefore I shall expect to hear from you on the receipt of this, and your positive determination on this subject. If you say, I shall get the land, say whether you prefer the mony sent to the Bank at Nashville, or whether you will draw upon me here—choose for yourself. I would prefer paying it here, but I give you the choice. Write me positively whether you agree to my proposition or not, and that on the receipt of this letter.

you will have seen the rejection of Van Buren by the opposition faction in the senate—all our representation but one (Arnold) since the rejection has come boldly out for Van Buren for vice President.⁴ There never has in the U. States a greater excitement. Clays vote made it a tie, and Calhoun gave the casting vote against him. This has politically finished both. Poindexter wielded by *Branch*, with Moor of Alabama voted against him. The insult was to the Executive, and the injury to our national character, and to all Europe and the people seem determined to put Van Buren in the Seat of him who consummated the disgrace of our national character. This is what I know of Calhoun Ingham Branch & Berrien from the first dawn of the conspiracy against Major Eaton to destroy me. This *now*, every one knows & admits. Still Moor & Poindexter, say they are Jackson men—but are wielded by Calhoun against the administration where their vote can injure it away with such hypocrites. The people of Alabama & Mississippi will settle this account with them

Present my kind salutations to Elisabeth to your mother Stockly & family to Mr and all the connection, & to my good neighbours.⁵ We all enjoy good health. I am much employed, have no time to write to friends, or on business, & no time to correct this. I wrote you my great desire to have your opinion of my (citizen) stud colt by Stockholder his appearance & size—of my Sir William guelding, and my Sir William stud colt out of the oscar filly, & the rest of my blood stock, but suppose you have not time, & Mr Steel is bad at description. I am very respectfully your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, College of Life Foundation, Inc. (mAJJs). AJ Jr. also wrote William Donelson this day about purchasing Samuel and Alexander Donelson's land (37-0433). AJ wrote George Martin about it on March 5 (below).

1. Thomas Jefferson Donelson (1808–1895) was AJ Jr.'s birth twin and the brother of Alexander and Samuel R. Donelson.

2. John Donelson (1807–1879) was another of AJ Jr.'s brothers by birth. William Edward Butler (1790–1882) was the husband of Rachel Jackson's niece, Martha Thompson Hays Butler.

3. Stockley Donelson (1805–1888) was William Donelson’s brother. The stud horse Sir William stood at Hardy Cryer’s stable. The “cotton mare” was one of two provided to AJ by Henry Cotten or Cotton in 1826.

4. Thomas Dickens Arnold (1798–1870) was an anti-Jackson Tennessee congressman.

5. William’s second wife was Elizabeth Anderson Donelson (1809–1841). His mother was Mary Purnell Donelson (1763–1848), widow of Rachel Jackson’s late brother John Donelson.

To Hugh Lawson White

Feb’y 6th. 1832

My Dr. Sir

I have requested Major Donelson to hand you this letter with the enclosed from Mr Calhoun of the 30th. of april 1828, in which he refers me to you for the name of the individual who ~~convayed~~ gave him the information that Mr Monroes confidential letter to him was in my hands. As ~~I am about~~ a crisis has arrived that makes it proper for me to unravel ~~some plots, & we have arrived at a proper crisis for this unravelling of plots,~~ and wishing to implicate that none but those who were really concerned, may be implicated; and believing as I do, that it was ~~his friend~~ & the very man who handed the letter to me, and ~~by information from~~ who had caused the Gentleman who first handed me the copy of that letter assuring me that the original would given me by the man who did afterwards deliver the original ~~that~~ to believe that this was done by the consent, or knowledge, of Mr. Calhoun, makes it *now* necessary that I should avail myself of the liberty given by Mr Calhoun to ask you for the name of the Gentleman who gave the information. Will you therefore, on the back of Mr Calhouns letter, or in other manner you think proper in writing, indicate the name of the informer. I am very respectfully yr friend
A. J.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] rough copy of a note written to judge H. L. White 6th. of Febr’y by Major A. J. Donelson enclosing one from Mr. C. of april 30th. 1828—

ALS draft, DLC (73). White (1773–1840) was U.S. senator from Tennessee and a longtime friend of AJ. In the aftermath of the Seminole campaign, James Monroe had written AJ privately on July 19, 1818, that he had transcended orders and acted on his own responsibility in taking the Spanish posts at St. Marks and Pensacola. AJ replied on August 19 that he had not transcended orders, but had been given “*entire discretion*” to suppress the Seminoles by whatever means he found necessary (*Jackson Papers*, 4:224–28, 236–39). On receiving this reply, Monroe wrote Calhoun on September 9, proposing to solicit from AJ an official statement of “his conception of his orders” in hopes that the whole affair could “be terminated, to the satisfaction of all parties” (*Calhoun Papers*, 3:113–15).

On January 13, 1827, Samuel Houston (1793–1863), then a Tennessee congressman, sent AJ a copy of this September 9, 1818, letter from Monroe to Calhoun. Houston had obtained it from Henry Lee, who later gave the original to AJ (*Jackson Papers*, 6:261–63,

376). Calhoun learned in February 1827 that the letter was missing from his files, and he wrote AJ on April 30, 1828, requesting its return. Calhoun said he was ignorant of the means and motive for purloining the letter and conveying it to AJ, “whether it was enmity to you to Mr Monroe, or myself,” but that it “was doubtless the work of an enemy for the foulest purpose.” He continued: “The mystery ought to be unveiled, and for that purpose Judge White has my permission to make known to you, in what manner, I had the first intimation, that the letter was out of my possession.” Calhoun said his informant was among AJ’s “most steadfast friends,” and he asked AJ how the letter came to him. AJ returned the letter to Calhoun on May 25, 1828, without disclosing who had furnished it to him (*Calhoun Papers*, 10:271; *Jackson Papers*, 6:450–51, 461–63).

From John Adams Cameron

Consulate U. S. A.
Vera Cruz Feb: 6th. 1832

Dear Sir!

I have but a Moment to say, that I have just now received a letter from General Mason, at Mexias, dated 1st Int., in which he says “Col: Butler is very seriously sick, and confined to bed by a Violent attack of bilious pleurisy. To day he is better, and may be considered out of danger; but from the severe ravages which the disease has made, it will be several weeks, before he can recover his strength, and many days, before he can attend to any kind of business.”¹

Martial Law was proclaimed in this City on Friday last. The advance Guard of the Government Troops advanced as near this City as *Santa Fe*, but have retrograded to the *Puente Nacional*, which they are fortifying. There they will remain, with the main body, untill more Troops are collected. In the mean while, Santa Anna is fortifying the City, and constructing Ambuscades on the several approaches to the City.

Every body has left Vera Cruz that can, and with the exception of the Military, the City is quite deserted.

No news yet of Commodore Elliot or any of his Squadron.

With the highest respect I have the honor to be yr. mst. ob.

J. A. Cameron

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M183-2). Cameron wrote again on February 14 (below).

1. Butler wrote AJ on February 19 (below).

From John Coffee

Coxes Creek near Florence
6th. Feby. 1832—

Dear Genl,

About the first of January, William Crawford was up at Florence and paid into the hands of P. F. Pearson the amount of Griffins debt to you, \$331=75. principle and interest, out of which sum I applied the balance of your account due to A. J. Hutchings, say \$211=35, which closes your account as guardian, and the books are closed and balanced as to yourself¹

The accounts of the estate since you left here have been kept by P. F. Pearson & Co. under my immediate inspection, they paying out all the necessary expences for the estate, and receiving the proceeds of the crops of cotton annually, and after settling the expences for the year, I take their note to bear interest for the balance due to the estate, as I am also clear of the estate having paid all the monies which ever come into my hands. The balance of your money recd. from Griffin, say \$120=40. I have also left with P. F. Pearson & Co. for the present, and have taken their note to you for the amount with interest, to be paid at any time and way which you may direct. I also hold the note of P. F. Pearson & Co. to you (which I cancelled Wm. S. Fultons note for) payable on the first day of August next for the sum of \$600. which is the principle and interest up to that day. I herewith enclose you \$150. money which you advanced to A. J. Hutchings last summer at Washington City, which sum is charged here to A. J. Hutchings with P. F. Pearson & Co. as they have furnished the money to refund you.² As life is uncertain, and that you may know precisely how the books now stand, I have got Mr. Pearson to make a statement on this sheet that he has closed the books and balanced the accounts as to yourself. Also a statement of the notes which are now due to A. J. Hutchings, and which includes all the money belonging to the estate at this time.³ The whole expences of Andrew for the last 12 months as well for clothing as cash advanced him, and the expences of the farm, is owing to Pearson & Co. to be paid out of the present crop which is now nearly ready for market and is a very short one indeed, owing to early frost—it will take the greater part of it to pay the accounts Just mentioned, as Andrew has been very profuse in the use of money the last year, but he is now old enough to Judge for himself in that way, I send him what he draws for, advising him to be prudent in the use of it. I purchased 80. acres of land for him, out of the school tract which run up clost to his well, at \$11=35. an acre payable in four equal annual instalments—this together with the expences of the farm, and the money which Andrew will require for *[his . . . wi]ll* swallow up the crops untill he arrives *[. . . whi]ch* is only about one year from this time—therefore the exhibit here made will be about the sum in money which will belong to him at his mature age—this sum with his estate here is quite enough for any young man to begin the world with—he has now

880 acres of excellent land, a fine farm in full operation with every thing necessary to carry it on to the very best advantage—with upwards of fifty negroes the likeliest family of negroes, take them altogether, in the united states. If he will do his duty, which I hope he will—he may prosper and do well. Dear Genl. your Obt. Servt.

Jno. Coffee

ALS, OCIWHI (19-0974). AJ replied on February 19 (below).

1. William White Crawford (b. c1790) was the son of AJ's cousin James Crawford Jr. William Griffin (c1780–c1839) owed AJ for the purchase of a slave named George in 1823. Percifor F. Pearson (1794–1839) was a Florence, Ala., merchant.

2. William Savin Fulton (1795–1844) was the secretary of Arkansas Territory, appointed by AJ in 1829. He owed AJ for Florida land purchases in 1826. On September 5, 1831, AJ had furnished Hutchings \$31.25 for clothing and \$118.75 in cash (THi, 18-0665).

3. Coffee appended a February 2 signed statement by Pearson affirming that he had that day balanced and closed the books on AJ's guardianship for Hutchings. Pearson listed notes due to Hutchings and held by Coffee, totaling \$5,954.02 plus interest, from John C. McLemore, William B. Lewis, Samuel Hogg, and P. F. Pearson & Co. AJ wrote on this statement "loaned to Mr. E Hume twenty dollars of the money recd. of Genl Coffee as [. . .] took no memorandum [. . .] the same Febr'y 21st." Hume was Ebenezer J. Hume.

From Charles Gerrit De Witt

Confidential.

New York, Feb. 6. 1832.

Dear Sir,

I send herewith a short article for the *Globe*, and would send more if my mind was not harassed with anxiety for the future. The hope which we entertained, that Congress would so amend the law for the relief of insolvent debtors as to make the office of Commissioner worth more than nothing, I fear must be abandoned; and now, since Mr. V. Buren is coming home, will you have any objection to give me the appointment of Charge des Affaires? God knows I need it for the sake of a young and helpless family of children. Dear Sir, do not let me suffer. Your faithful friend & servant,

Ch: G. De Witt.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr. Dewit—enclosing a piece for the *Globe*, & asking an appointment of Charge de affaires—*private*

ALS, DLC (40). De Witt (1789–1839) had been a New York congressman in 1829–31. On March 22, 1831, he was appointed a commissioner under a new law making provision for insolvent debtors to the U.S. to resolve their debts (*Statutes*, 4:467–69). Commissioners were not salaried, but paid daily for examining and reporting on debtors' petitions for relief. AJ had called the law "defective" in his third annual message to Congress in December 1831 (Richardson, 2:556), and on January 12, 1832, Treasury secretary McLane reported that restrictive provisions in the law had made it nearly inoperative (*HRDoc* 54, 22d Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 217). An Act of July 14, 1832, revised the law (*Statutes*, 4:595). AJ appointed De Witt chargé d'affaires to Central America on December 31.

To Edward Livingston

February 8th. 1832

The President with his respects to the Secretary of States and directs that Mr Buchanan be instructed to present a strong remonstrance to the emperor of Russia on the retrospective effects of the ukase mentioned in Mr Clays dispatch which is herewith enclosed

AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). On November 23, 1831, Emperor Nicholas I (1796–1855) of Russia had issued a ukase, or decree, raising duties on most imported goods by 12½ per cent. The new rates were to take effect on January 1, 1832 (January 13, New Style), but were also to apply to goods that had arrived previously but had not yet cleared customs. John Randolph Clay (1808–1885) was secretary of the U.S. legation at St. Petersburg and acting chargé d'affaires in the absence of a resident minister. He had written Livingston on December 3, 1831, denouncing the “unheard of” retrospective clause as a blow to commerce and a violation of national faith. His dispatch reached Washington on February 7, 1832. Nicholas had meanwhile revoked the retrospective clause on December 19 (DNA-RG 59, M35-12). James Buchanan (1791–1868) of Pennsylvania, later U.S. president, had been nominated in December 1831 and confirmed by the Senate on January 4, 1832, as minister to succeed John Randolph. He sailed from New York in April with instructions to negotiate a commercial treaty.

To Levi Woodbury

~~The Secretary of the Navy will raise a commission of three intelligent & disinterested men to take testimony the points suggested in the within report of the Secretary of the Navy—~~

In the case of Mr Stiles submitted

The President directs that a commission, ~~issue~~ be constituted of ~~two~~ judge Glen in Baltimore & Genl Vaness Mayor of the City of Washington, jointly, and severally, to take testimony on the following points in the case by Mr Stiles submitted—& to report the same to the Secretary of the Navy to be laid before the P.

first. ?What was the quality of the bread prepared under his contract with the Navy Board in March 1831, and now—as well as the bread furnished in February 1831—

2nd ?What is the general & Local meaning of *cross middlings*—& testimony as to the identity & quality of the sample in the month of January 1831 presented to the Navy commissioners by the contractor Mr Stiles.

When this testimony is furnished the Secretary of the Navy will take the opinion of the atto. Genl, whether from the testimony the contract has been fairly fulfilled, on the part of Mr Stiles and whether, if so fulfilled, the bread is now in a condition rendering it proper for the Department to receive it, & to use it—and whether the contract has been so fairly fulfilled by the contractor that the Department ought & must receive it, or from

all the [. . .] the contractor be referred to congress to be remunerated in damages, if he has sustained ~~them~~ any.

AD draft, DLC (59; 19-1023). Composed of three senior officers, the Board of Navy Commissioners had charge of naval procurement. John Steele Stiles (d. 1847) of Baltimore had contracted with the Board in January 1831 to furnish bread to the Navy for the year. In February, the Board ruled that Stiles's first delivery of bread fell below standard, being made with an inferior quality of flour called second middlings instead of the cross (or first) middlings stipulated in his contract. Stiles countered that in Baltimore cross middlings and second middlings meant the same thing, and that his bread matched the approved samples he had submitted previously. The Navy Board deducted \$140 from its payment for this shipment, rejected his next delivery in March, and terminated his contract.

Stiles protested to the Navy Department, charging the Board with oppression and abuse. On November 5, Woodbury proposed to AJ that Stiles be required to substantiate his charges before proceeding further (DNA-RG 45, M472-1). Stiles sent AJ testimonials to the quality of his bread on November 16, and appealed to him at length on January 25, 1832 (DNA-RG 45, M124-130; DLC, 19-0845). On February 8, Woodbury wrote AJ summarizing the dispute and proposing a commission to determine the quality of Stiles's bread and the true meaning of "cross middlings" (DNA-RG 45, M472-1).

Pursuant to this directive from AJ, Woodbury on February 9 wrote Maryland U.S. district judge Elias Glenn (1769–1846) and Washington mayor John Peter Van Ness (1769–1846), appointing them commissioners to take testimony in the case (DNA-RG 45, M209-7). They held hearings separately. Woodbury reported their findings to Attorney General Taney, who on July 2 opined that the facts appeared to favor Stiles but that it was ultimately up to the Navy Department to judge the acceptability of his bread, and that if he was wronged it was out of the executive power to award him damages (*HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., Serial 387, pp. 881–82). In February 1833 Stiles appealed to Congress (*SDoc* 65, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 230). An Act of July 2, 1836, awarded him \$140 (*Statutes*, 6:667).

From Benjamin B. Cooper

New Haddonfield NJ. Feby the 8th 1832.

Dr Sir

I have defered writing to you untill now as it was doubtful what I should do with Bolivar, as you will observe from the letter of Wm Doughten how things went on in Burlington County, I found Doughten to be playing the double game, and I believe now that he was in the bottom of the scheme to defeat the Company, and when he came to see about taking Bolivar, I asked him upon what terms he kept Mark Anthony for the Salem Company last year, he said they sent a groom with the Horse he boarded him and was at all expence in keeping, attending to the horse and collecting his earnings, they had two thirds of the earnings of the horse and he one third.¹ I then asked him if he would take Bolivar upon the same terms. he said no—then replied, I you cannot have him, you have returned me the Constitution without a name from Burlington, the horse is now free from Company. and is Ours and whe will make the best of him—and we can do mutch better with him than put him at such prices—he wished much to have him and give us one half and said he could have General Ervins horse, or Mark Anthony. I told him there was now an end

to the Companys having him, and to his having him. I had promised the horse to him at the time the Company refused to take him upon the terms he took Mark Anthony from which he departed, and could not now have the horse. I the same day sent word to Mr John West, who owns and keeps the Stage house in Moorestown a man of much respectability and worth, withall a Clayite, who has for the last ten or fifteen years been in the habit of keeping two Studs and making great seasons with them. he come to my house and took Bolivar upon the terms of the accompanying agreement, so that I think we have every reason to expect a great season from Bolivar. upon Doughten not agreeing to take Bolivar I had him remooved to the Stable of a Mr Jinnett a great horse Racer and keeper and requested him to be put in good condition for the season.²

I informed Mr West that he was not to depart from the prices in any instance, tho he might make a present of the season of a Mare to two or three influential men, that had good Mares.

Thus far I have done. Now it rests with you to make out his pedigree and advertisments. Some of the good people of this country suppose you to be so far in the wilds of America as not to be in possession of the best Blood, tho they find Diomed in both sier and dam of Bolivar. Mr West requested that you get from Col. Johnson (so well known and respected with us,) Certificates of horses and prices he has sold to you. That would add much to your and our interest in the season of Bolivar as he had understood that you had paid much money to him for the best blood horses in our Country.³

If not procured send me a statement of those fine horses and prices that you have purchaced ~~and paid for~~. I can add it to the advertisements. If you have no objections by way of remark

General Jackson disirous of improving the Breed of Horses upon his stock farm at the Hermitage as well as imparting those advantages to his country purchaced—

Feby the 13th 1832

I drew up this letter on the 8th instant, also the agreement, and requested my son to make three Copys of it, that each party might be in possession of one, and signed them, ~~and~~ sent him to Mr West to have them signed by him. he not being at home prevented my sending them until this morning. Mr West has procured an excellent groom and wished to take Boliver into his care immediatly. I gave him an order and ipect he will be in possession of him to day. Most respectfully your Sincere Friend and Obet Srt

Benjn B. Cooper

PS you undoubtably must have supposed there had been unnccessary delay. I assure you that I prest matters as far, and fast, as I thought they would

beare: you had been a little too good in the outset in offering Boliver to the Company when he arrived at New Jersey, instead of the Committee. experience tells me that there is not a Horse in the United States, that would be taken at his value by a general call of the Company, as each individual has his favourite horse, or idea all voting against One, in addition to the dissatisfied that wish to dissolve on account of sinister views. I understand that there has not been a horse taken for either of the stands at the Ferry's. Doughton has been to Sallem for Mark Anthony returned sick, Mr West says that they have not had information of his taking him, I would suppose he will do us but little harm. The Gloucester Horse Eclips Lightfoot (nothing better) has been to the Gloucester Company mares trice year and they want something *New*.⁴ I hope you will send the advertisement or materials, as I wish to have him advertisd early in March. please let there be no more delay than cannot possibly ~~cant~~ be avoided BBC

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr Cooper—

ALS, DLC (40). Cooper (1779–1835) was a New Jersey land dealer, agricultural improver, and former state legislator. Bolivar was AJ's stud horse, sired by Oscar out of a Pacolet mare. In 1831, AJ had offered to sell him through Cooper to the "New Jersey Association for Improving the Breed of Horses." In October 1831, AJ had sold Cooper a quarter interest in Bolivar for \$500 and sent the horse to New Jersey to sell to the company for \$2,000. In November, however, the company had declined the purchase (*Jackson Papers*, 9:384, 637–38, 713–15). Cooper sent AJ the new advertisement for Bolivar on March 12, 1832 (DLC-40), and AJ replied on March 20 (below).

1. William Doughten (c1783–1844), a Moorestown, N.J., innkeeper and stage operator, was a member of the New Jersey Association as well as a new United States Association that Cooper had organized on December 1, 1831, to purchase Bolivar for \$2,000 (DLC-40; 18-1533). Cooper enclosed to AJ his January 14 note to Doughten inquiring about his success in selling shares in the new company, and Doughten's reply of the same day saying that none had been subscribed (DLC-40). Mark Anthony, a thoroughbred raised by John Randolph, had stood at Salem, N.J., since 1827.

2. Cooper enclosed his agreement with John West, dated February 8, leasing Bolivar to stand at West's from April through July at prices of \$15 for the season of a mare and \$25 to ensure a foal (DLC-40). "General Ervin" was probably noted horseman Callender Irvine (1775–1841). James Jinnett or Jennett was a Gloucester County horseman.

3. Bolivar was descended from Diomed, a famed English thoroughbred imported to Virginia in 1798. William Ransom Johnson (1782–1849) was a Virginia politician and renowned horseman. His horse Arab had stood at Hardy M. Cryer's stable.

4. Eclipse Lightfoot was foaled in 1825 and sold at age four to a New Jersey company for \$1,500.

To John Campbell

(private & in haste)

My Dr. Sir,

I thank you for the perusal of judge Parkers letter, which I herewith inclose. His feelings, are that of an enlightened Patriot, who sensibly feels

the indignity offered to the Executive, & the insult to the nation—he sees the subject in its true light. The stroke was levelled at the Executive, & Mr. V. B. made the victim of their malice, and so far as the *popularity* of the Executive could be *lessened* by this factious vote of the opposition, it would, in the same degree, lessen Mr. V. B. But the people will view it rightly, and resent the insult properly, by placing Mr. V. B. in the seat of him, who from vindictive feelings gave the casting vote for his rejection. This is the only way that the indignity offered to the Executive & nation, and the insult to Europe can be repeled, and confidence restored in our Foreign relations. yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (19-1025). Cover, DLC-Van Buren Papers (mAJs). John Campbell (c1788–1866) of Virginia was Treasurer of the United States. He had forwarded to AJ a February 3 letter from Virginia judge Richard Elliott Parker (1783–1840), denouncing the Senate’s rejection of Van Buren as “an act of gross & manifest injustice” and a “direct attack upon the president.” Parker predicted that public outrage would make Van Buren vice president and then president as AJ’s successor. Campbell forwarded the entire exchange to Van Buren on February 10 (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

To Edward Livingston

February 9th. 1831—

The President incloses for the information of the Secretary of State a letter this moment received from Mr Jameson bearer of the treaty of with Mexico, and requests that he take the earliest means of having it brought on & delivered here.

AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-70). AJ enclosed Green Berry Jameson’s letter of February 5 (above). Livingston wrote Jameson this same day that \$200 had been sent to the New York customs collector on January 26 for his use, and that he must “instantly and speedily” bring the treaty to Washington (DNA-RG 59, M40-23). AJ submitted the treaty to the Senate on February 24.

From Robert Maskell Patterson

University of Virginia.
Feby. 9th, 1832.

Sir,

Among the enactments by which this institution is governed there is one to the following effect: “If any student shall, in the opinion of the Faculty, from habitual delinquency in all or any of his classes, or from habitual idleness or inattention, or from any other bad habits, be not fulfilling the purposes for which he ought to have come to the institution,

and be not likely to fulfil them, and his parent or guardian do not withdraw him, after having received timely notice thereof, the Faculty may dismiss him from the University.”

The Faculty, from the representations made to them, believing your ward, Mr. A. J. Hutchings to have brought himself under the terms of this law, by his habitual inattention to his studies, resolved, at a meeting held on the 6th inst., that notice be given, that, if he did not make a sensible improvement, before the next monthly meeting, he would render himself liable to dismissal.

When this communication was made to him, he stated his wish to withdraw immediately from the institution, and ~~stated~~ mentioned that he had liberty to make the application, as he had always been allowed the free control of his own movements, and was virtually his own guardian. His application was accordingly laid before the Faculty, at a meeting held last evening, and was granted: so that he is no longer a member of the institution

It is proper to state that your ward is not accused of any moral delinquency whatever, and that the only reason why he could not maintain a standing among us was his unwillingness or inability to submit to the habits of restraint and application which are alone suitable to a college life. With very high respect, Your faithful Servant, &c.

R. M. Patterson

[Endorsed by AJ:] Professor Patterson University va—answered 11th. Febry recd same day 1832 & one enclosed to Hutchings—requesting to know the situation of his funds—& to come here on his way to Tennessee A. J. to be filed A. J.

ALS, DLC (40). Patterson (1787–1854) was professor of natural philosophy and chairman of the faculty at the University of Virginia. He enclosed a February 1 monthly attendance sheet recording Andrew J. Hutchings’s absences from lecture (DLC-40). AJ wrote Hutchings on February 11 (below).

From Nathaniel Pitcher Tallmadge et al.

Albany, February 9, 1832.

Sir—

The undersigned in the performance of the duty with which they have been charged by the republican members of the legislature of the state of New York, have the honor to transmit herewith, the proceedings of a meeting held by them in the Capitol of this state, on the 3d instant.¹ In doing so, they cannot restrain the expression of the strong feelings of indignation with which they view the act to which those proceedings refer.

A great majority of the citizens of this state have given repeated evidences of the high estimation in which they have held your administration of the affairs of the nation. The inflexible integrity which has marked every act of your public life—the more than military courage, with which the responsibilities of your high station have been assumed, and the constant regard manifested by you to the purity of the Constitution, have strengthened their attachment to your person and your government; and they have not been regardless of the manner in which the splendid career of a military life, has been followed by the many signal blessings which your civil administration, has bestowed upon our country.

This state witnessed with pride, the selection of Mr. Van Buren by your Excellency as your Secretary of State: Our citizens had given repeated evidences of their confidence in him. With the watchfulness becoming a free people, they had regarded his conduct, in the various stations to which he had been called, by the constituted authorities of the state. They had witnessed his attachment under all circumstances, to the principles of the democracy of the country, and they had then recently evinced the extent of their confidence by elevating him to the highest office within their gift. They felt that your Excellency's removal of him to a wider sphere was an act of justice at once to his capacity, honesty and fidelity to the constitution, and to the character of this state and the feelings of its people. They cheerfully acquiesced in that removal and freely surrendered their most distinguished fellow-citizen to your call, because they recognised in it additional confirmation of the high hopes they had imbibed of the character of your administration.² They saw with undissembled pleasure, his efforts to aid your Excellency in your successful attempt to restore the government to its purity; and when his withdrawal from the high station, to which your partiality had exalted him, became necessary for the preservation of your peace against the attacks of those who were alike enemies to your person and your principles, they beheld in your continued confidence in him, irrefragable proof, that no combination could close the eyes of your Excellency, to the cause of your country, and no personal considerations, arrest your efforts for the common welfare. They saw, that amid the assaults made upon your principles by unfaithful servants, the honor of our country was not lost to your view, and they felt, that the same ardent patriotism, which had been manifested on the walls of New-Orleans, had been brought into the administration of the government. They saw and felt this, in the effort made by your Excellency, to acquire by frank and honest negotiation, that for which we had warred with Great Britain; which had been abandoned if not surrendered by subtle diplomacy; and upon which your Excellency, at least, had not been silent.³

The people of this whole country, felt indeed that their confidence in your Excellency was not misplaced, for they saw and knew that no considerations of a private nature could for a moment affect your ardent desire to promote the common weal.

It is true they were aware that there were citizens in this Union, who could justify and participate in this surrender of “free trade and sailor’s rights,” who could “calculate the value of the Union,” and who could laugh at our calamities in a period of war and general distress.⁴ But they could not believe that such feelings could sway any branch of our hitherto unsullied government, and least of all, that they would ever dare combine to impede the attempt of your Excellency, to secure that for our country, for which we had expended millions of our money, and for which thousands of our citizens had laid down their lives.

Your Excellency has ever appreciated the feelings of the people of this country, and it will not now be difficult for you to judge of those which pervade this whole community, against an act unprecedented in the annals of our country; which has impaired the hitherto exalted character of our national senate—which has insulted a state that yields to none in attachment to the Union; and which has directly attacked an administration that is founded deep in the affections of the people.

The state of New-York, sir, is capable in itself, of avenging the indignity thus offered to its character, in the person of its favorite son. But we should be unmindful of our duty, if we failed in the expression of our sympathy with your Excellency’s feelings of mortification, at this degradation of the country you have loved so well. Yet be assured, sir, that there is a redeeming spirit in the people, and that those whom we have the honor to represent, ardently desire an opportunity of expressing their undiminished confidence in an administration, which has exalted the character of our country, which has restored the purity of the government, and has shed abroad upon the whole nation the continued blessings of peace and prosperity.

In the fervent hope, that your Excellency may yet be spared many years to bless and adorn the only free nation upon earth, we remain Your sincere friends, and Very humble servants,

N. P. TALLMADGE,
THOMAS ARMSTRONG,
LEVI BEARDSLEY,
JOHN F. HUBBARD,
J. W. EDMONDS,

[Ten additional signatures follow.]

Printed, *Daily Albany Argus*, March 1, 1832 (mAJs). *Niles*, March 17, 1832 (19-1027). Tallmadge (1795–1864) was later a U.S. senator. He, Thomas Armstrong (1785–1867), Levi Beardsley (1785–1857), John F. Hubbard (1795–1876), and John Worth Edmonds (1799–1874) were New York state senators. AJ replied on February 23 (below).

1. On February 3, self-described “Republican Members” of the New York legislature had met in the capitol at Albany and adopted resolutions praising Van Buren and condemning his rejection by the Senate (*Albany Argus*, February 4, 1832).

2. Van Buren had been U.S. senator from New York from 1821 until 1828. In 1828 he was elected governor, serving briefly before resigning to become AJ’s secretary of state.

3. Van Buren's instructions as minister to Britain had included seeking British renunciation of the right of impressment, a primary American grievance before the War of 1812 that was left unaddressed in the Treaty of Ghent ending the war.

4. "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights" was a popular rallying cry during the War of 1812. In a July 2, 1827, speech against the protective tariff, University of South Carolina president Thomas Cooper had famously predicted that South Carolinians "shall 'ere long be compelled to calculate the value of our union; and to enquire of what use to us is this most unequal alliance" (*Columbia Telescope, and South-Carolina State Journal*, July 13, 1827).

To [Lewis Cass]

(Private)

Febry 10th. 1832—

My Dr Sir

I have this moment recd. the enclosed with a private note from Genl Eaton of the 26th. of January—at that date he had not recd. The power for him & Genl Coffee, to conclude with the Choctaws an agreement for such portion of the 17 million of acres conveyed to them as will suit the Chikisaws to settle on.¹

I wish to draw your attention to the appropriation of \$500,000 in ~~May~~ 1830 for the removal of the Indians. In May next if not reappropriated it must be transfered to the sinking fund—attend to this—for if congress will not reappropriate it, for the purpose of removing the Indians, our humane plan is blown up, & our hands tied. If congress will not act, then, before the two years expire it must be drew out of the Treasury, & put into the hands of some agent for these purposes—*attend to this yrs*²

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Genl Eaton says the chikesaws will now make the arrangement, there is no doubts

ALS, Sotheby's (mAJs).

1. The 1830 Treaty of Franklin with the Chickasaws provided for their removal from Mississippi and Alabama, contingent on their finding a satisfactory new homeland in the west. U.S. commissioners John H. Eaton and John Coffee had proposed to the Chickasaws and Choctaws together on December 7, 1831, that they "unite and become one and the same people" in the western domain provided for the removing Choctaws by the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Neither nation agreed, and on December 30 Coffee and Eaton had again addressed the Chickasaws, urging the necessity of removal and proposing that as an alternative to merging with the Choctaws they try to obtain land from them by purchase. To this the Chickasaws acceded on January 15, 1832 (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 11–21, Serial 246). Cass had written Eaton and Coffee on January 12, authorizing and instructing them to continue their efforts to settle the Chickasaws within the Choctaw domain, their "only limit" in negotiation being "the exercise of a just economy" (DNA-RG 75, M21-8). Cass wrote the two again on February 11, the day after this note from AJ, urging them to "omit no opportunity of accomplishing the object" (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, p. 765, Serial 245).

2. The Indian Removal Act of May 28, 1830, had appropriated \$500,000 for Indian removal west of the Mississippi (*Statutes*, 4:411–12). Under law, any funds that had not been expended two years after the end of the year in which they were appropriated were to be deemed surplus and directed to the “sinking fund” established to retire the national debt.

To Andrew Jackson Hutchings

Washington February 11th. 1832—

My Dr Hutchings

This morning I had the deep & heartfelt mortification to receive from R. M. Patterson Esqr chairman of the Faculty of the University of Virginia his letter enclosing me the monthly report of your being three times absent from recitation in Natural Philosophy—and three times in chemistry—and on the 9th instant, I am furnished with the enactments by which the University is governed—and the decision of the faculty in your case. “That my ward A. J. Hutchings having brought himself under the terms of this law (the law for the government of the University) by his habitual inattention to his studies.” Resolved, “if he did not make a sensible improvement before the next monthly meeting he would render himself liable to dismissal” and further that this communication was made to you, you stated your wishes to withdraw immediately from the institution, and that you had liberty to make the application, as you had always been allowed the free control of your own movements, & virtually your own guardian”

“This application was laid before the faculty on the evening of the 8th. instant and granted.” ?How humiliating to my feelings this intelligence. How useless has my various admonitions, and your promises to me when last here, that your application should be redoubled, and your obedience to all the rules of the University strictly observed, if I would permit you to visit Philadelphia

I have been unwearied in my attention to have you given a first rate education. My solicitude that you should come well into life, could not have been exceeded by your Dr. Father who bequeathed you to me—but enough, my present solicitude is to know where you are, your determination being taken to withdraw from the University without my knowledge & consent, & your want of funds to take you home, has doubled that solicitude. There is one, and only one consolation left me, & that is, that you stand *accused of no moral delinquency*. Your moral character being still maintained I can forgive, ~~you~~ and take you to my bosom again.

On the receipt of this you will apprise me of your pecuniary situation, the amount that will close all your accounts, and take you to Tennessee, where you will await my further instructions after you receive the funds to take you there[.] your affection but much distressed Uncle

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Write me on the receipt of this, where you are, & what is your situation. If you are still at Charlottville you had better come here forwith & go from here to Tennessee—fail not to write me on the receipt of this

A. J.

ALS, THi (19-1066).

From Silas Enoch Burrows et al.

WASHINGTON CITY, Feb. 11, 1832.

SIR:—

The Committee to superintend the erection of a monument in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, Va., over the remains of the Mother of Washington, anxious to commence the work, have made us their organ, respectfully to request you to officiate in laying the corner-stone at the earliest period it may suit your convenience.

We have the pleasure to be, with every consideration and respect, Your obedient servants,

SILAS E. BURROWS,
JOHN H. WALLACE,
EDWARD H. CARMICHEL,
GEO. WASHINGTON BASSETT.

Printed, Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, February 14, 1832 (19-1060). February 22, 1832, marked the centennial of George Washington's birth. George Washington Bassett (1800–1878) and physicians John Hooe Wallace (1793–1872) and Edward H. Carmichael (c1796–1854) headed a “Monumental Committee” in Fredericksburg to erect a monument over the remains of Washington's mother, Mary Ball Washington. On February 8, Burrows (1794–1870), a New York merchant, had offered to fund the construction costs. On February 9 the committee accepted his offer, made him an honorary member, and invited him to join in addressing AJ (*Nat. Intelligencer*, February 14). AJ replied below.

To Silas Enoch Burrows et al.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11, 1832.

GENTLEMEN:—

I take pleasure in answering your note of this date, honoring me with an invitation to assist in laying the corner-stone of the monument proposed to be erected to the memory of the Mother of Washington, in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg.

As nothing can be more pleasing to me than to testify my approbation of a measure calculated to perpetuate the memory of one to whom we are so much indebted as the mother of the man who is so justly styled the Father of his Country, I shall with much cheerfulness unite with you on this

occasion, and will for this purpose fix upon an early day after the close of the present Session of Congress, of which you shall be duly notified.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, Your obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, February 14, 1832 (19-1061). AJ and a large entourage attended the ceremonial laying of the cornerstone on May 7, 1833.

To Martin Van Buren

(Private)

Washington Feb'y. 12th. 1832

My Dr. Sir,

I am this moment advised that the secretary of State is making up a mail for you by the packet of the 16th. instant. I cannot forego the pleasure of dropping you a note; still I hope, if you are not engaged in closing the important negotiation on the subject of the impressment of our seamen, & what shall be contraband of war, you will ere this reaches London, have left that city for your country, that is prepared with open arms to receive you.

I must refer you to other friends for a detailed account of the disgraceful scene in the Senate of by the faction in the opposition, in that Senate once august body, on your rejection. Their speeches were disgraceful to themselves & degrading to the Senate, & humiliating to our nation, & national character, & insulting to all Europe, but particularly, to England where you are accredited, & have been received with so much cordiality. The people will properly resent the insult offered to the Executive, and the wound inflicted in our national character, and the injury intended to our foreign relations, in your rejection; by placing you in the chair of the very man whose casting vote rejected you. My last will have furnished you with the names of the members who voted against you—and the Newspapers which the Sec. of State will forward you, will shew, ~~you~~ the proper feelings of the people on the occasion you will see that Genl Hayne has voted against you, and his reasons given has plainly shewn, that he has fallen from that dinified & magnanimous course, that we have always ascribed to him. Richie has criticised his speech *well*, & in such a way that he cannot excuse himself from that disgrace that now awaits Calhoun Clay and Webster.¹ How mortifying it must be to a high minded honorable man, to be associated with such an unprincipled faction. Time will not permit me to say more. I expect to see you in all april unless engaged in the important negotiation & with prospects of success. With my best wishes for your speedy & safe return I am yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (19-1074). Van Buren replied on March 13 (below).

1. Senator Daniel Webster (1782–1852) of Massachusetts had spoken and voted against confirming Van Buren. Robert Hayne’s speech opposing the nomination was first published in the *National Intelligencer* on February 7. Hayne accused Van Buren of manipulating “causes of discord and dissension” to advance himself and his friends, thereby dividing AJ’s administration, alienating its truest supporters, and bringing “incalculable evils upon this country” (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1380–82). Thomas Ritchie (1778–1854) edited the *Richmond Enquirer*. On February 11 the *Enquirer* charged that Hayne’s partiality for Calhoun had inspired him to voice such false and slanderous accusations.

From John Adams Cameron

Consulate of the U. S. A.
Vera Cruz Feb: 14th. 1831

Dear Sir!

The sailing of the British Packet for the Havanna; this Morning, furnishes me with an Opportunity of presenting you with some additional information, in relation to the affairs of this Country.

There has been no Conflict yet between the Government Troops and those under the Command of Santa Anna. The former retain their position at the Puente Nacional. A report has been in Circulation, this Morning, that they would March this day, and that we might expect them here in the Course of two or three days. But I do not believe in the truth of it. There may be fighting, though I much doubt it. The Ministry, having failed in all their attempts to obtain possession of Vera Cruz by stratagem, must rely upon force now to effect their object, and there is no question, but they would, at once, attack this City, if they thought they could do so with a Certainty of success. They must, very soon, either attack it, or withdraw their Army into the Interior, for it is already becoming too warm for military Operations upon the Coast, to Men not accustomed to this climate. If they attack this place and are not successful, or if they withdraw without attacking, in either Case, the Ministers are lost, and the Government will be subverted. Already the symptoms of disaffection and desertion are alarming in the Government troops, and in either of the supposed Cases, those Causes would soon leave the Ministers without any Army. Santa Anna seems perfectly aware of these things, and it is said, will maintain his position here as long as he can, and will not be the first to strike a blow.

Reports vary very much as to the strength of the two Contending parties. San Anna said today, that there was a Muster of all the Government Troops at the Puente on Sunday, and that the total Number, *including all*, was 1343 men. Others say, the Number is much greater. San Anna’s force is somewhere between 1500 and 2000 men, but this includes his *Iractos* or *Cossacks*—the peasantry of the adjacent Country.

Congress has passed a Law for closing the Port of Vera Cruz, with the View of cutting off the money Supplies of San Anna. As they possess

no naval force to enforce this decree, it would be entirely inoperative, but for the effect it may produce hereafter. It may be, that all goods sent hence into the Interior, subsequent to the passage of this Decree may be either seized and forfeited altogether, or they may be charged with the payment of full duties, although the Import Duties may have been paid here. The Congress has also passed a Law forbidding the payment of any duties in Vera Cruz, and declaring all such payments as Void.¹ Some of the Merchants here have expressed a Wish to remove to Alvarado, and to receive their Consignments there. I have advised our Countrymen to wait a while, before they determined on such a step and to see first the probable Course of events. In the mean time, by my advice, they have taken an Inventory of all their Goods and Effects, a Certified Copy of which has been lodged in my Office, so that in Case they meet with any losses by means of the Military Operations of the Country, they may be prepared to make, through you and your Ministers, a proper demand on this Government for payment for their losses.

When I wrote to you last, Col: Butler was very ill. He is now better. In a letter received from him by the Mail of yesterday, he says "I beg you will say to me what San Anna means to do—and whether he will advance to attack Mexico soon, because I wish to be here if he comes, and as General Mason is anxious to proceed, and I mean to go with him part of the Journey, we must postpone the Commencement untill the other question is settled, for I should regret being absent if there was a Commotion here, as my Country men might require my Services.

"If Santa Anna is not very Certain of success by his Advance, he must remain where he is, and so force them (the Ministry) to advance against him, or starve them out. You may be assured that the Government must go down of itself in less than two Months, if San Anna is able to maintain himself in his present position.

"In a Conversation with Mr. Alaman, two days ago, he stated most explicitly, that the Government was without a Dollar, and that if they did not gain Vera Cruz very soon, the Army would abandon them and, no doubt, begin a horrid system of Robbery. He says, that a very strong effort must soon be attempted to gain Vera Cruz, and if that failed, *they must be off*: so that San Anna has nothing to do, but support himself where he is, for two Months, or perhaps less, and the Controversy is over."

I called to see San Anna yesterday, to procure Passports for a fellow Country man, who wished to go into the Interior. The General, (as he always does) spoke highly in Commendation of our political Institutions—paid many handsome Compliments to our Country, and made many kind enquiries about you. He seems deeply grateful for some offer of service or protection you had offered him in some past time and he desired me, when I next wrote to you, to express to you, in his name, his great respect for person and noble actions, and his ardent wishes for your health and happiness.

General Santa Anna is now about 35 or 38 years of age—about the ordinary height of Men, but thin and apparently feeble, though said to be capable of much bodily fatigue. His face is completely Mexican—his Color, dark—his eye, black, and rather more expressive than Mexican eyes usually are. He is plain and unostentatious in Manner, of pleasing address, Voluble in Conversation, has read somewhat, and is, *apparently*, a great admirer of Republicanism, and of our Government. His Rancho, or Hacienda or Estate, as we would call it, is about 7 Leagues from this City. He is a great breeder of Cattle, and is extremely popular with his Tenantry and Country Neighbours—all of whom, are now in Arms for him.

My health is improving, though I still feel many ill effects of my last attack. I have the honor to be with every sentiment of respect yr. mo. ob St.

J. A. Cameron

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M183-1). Cameron wrote again on February 25 (below).

1. On February 22, acting president Bustamante issued a decree closing rebel ports and requiring that customs duties be paid to the nearest loyal officers or directly to the national Treasury.

From William Carroll

Nashville, Feby. 14th. 1832.

My dear Genl.:

I have this moment received your letter of the 4th. instant, and as the mail will close in a few minutes, I have only time to say, that you may rely *most positively* on my best exertions for the promotion of Mr. Van-Buren to the Vice Presidency.

The people here feel as they ought on the Subject of his rejection, and they will do their duty.

You shall hear from me fully by next mail. Sincerely yr. friend

Wm. Carroll

ALS, DLC (40). Carroll wrote again on February 20 (below).

To [Levi Woodbury]

Feb'ry 16th. 1832—

The President having read the letters of Capts. Newton, Skinner & Mix, in behalf of Lt Weaver, & with his respects returns them to the Dept. with the following remark that the case of the Lt. in the Navy now before the Senate admonishes me, that we ought to restore to the service officers

who have been dismissed from it by the finding of a courtmartial, with great caution & particularly, as it has been intimated that commodore Stewart, has strong objections in the case of Mr Weaver.¹ It would be well, before any thing is done in this case, that Commodore Stewart is seen & conversed with

AN, DNA-RG 45 (M124-131). In 1824, William Augustus Weaver (1792–1846), then a Navy lieutenant, was court-martialed and cashiered for misusing his official station to further a private speculation on a grain shipment to Peru. He applied unsuccessfully for reinstatement to presidents Monroe and Adams. He had recently applied again to AJ, alleging illegalities in his trial. On February 3, AJ had requested, through AJ Donelson, a written opinion from Woodbury (DNA-RG 45, M124-131). On February 6, Woodbury reported that, “though *highly impressed with Lieut. Weavers* professional skills,” he could not recommend reinstatement in light of the two previous rejections, the essential fairness of Weaver’s trial, and the great lapse of time since (DNA-RG 45, M472-1). John Thomas Newton (1794–1857), Charles William Skinner (1789–1860), and Mervine (or Marvin) Peck Mix (1786–1839) were all master commandants in the Navy. On February 15, Woodbury had forwarded to AJ letters from Newton and Mix recommending Weaver’s reinstatement (DNA-RG 45, M124-131). Captain Charles Stewart (1778–1869) had been Weaver’s commanding officer on the ship *Franklin* at the time of his court-martial. On February 17, the day after this note, AJ met with Weaver and advised him to seek a letter from Stewart supporting reinstatement. Weaver wrote Stewart requesting one on February 18, and Stewart wrote back refusing on February 20 (DNA-RG 45, M124-131). Weaver was not reinstated, but was shortly appointed by the State Department to compile *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* for the years 1783 to 1789, a work authorized by Congress on May 5, 1832, and published in seven volumes in 1833–34.

1. The Navy lieutenant was Hampton Westcott (c1804–1837), dismissed in 1830 for involvement in a Philadelphia duel. AJ had nominated him for reinstatement on January 27. The Senate tabled his nomination on February 20 and later confirmed it on July 14 (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:206, 278).

To John Coffee

Washington Feb’y 19th. 1832

My Dr. Genl

I have this moment recd. your two letters of the 6th. instant—one enclosing me one hundred & fifty dollars, and a statement of the sum recd. on Griffins debt from William Crawford, and the change of judge Fultons debt to Mr Pearson & Co, with a statement of the situation of my ward A. J. Hutchings estate, for which I thank you. I am truly happy that my account with that estate is fully closed, and you have adopted the system you have in keeping the accts. by Mr Pearson—it will save you of much trouble & must be satisfactory to all.

I have just been advised by the professor of the university of Virginia & Master Hutchings himself, that he has withdrew from the university—on receipt of this information, fearing he might be without funds, I wrote him to advise me of his wants & I would supply them for his return to Tennessee—he wrote me he had wrote you for funds, and I am happy to

learn you have forwarded them; I requested him to come by this place, on his way to Tennessee, by a letter wrote by him to my son & recd. to day he declines coming here, & I suppose will soon be with you, as he writes me, he intends going to his place & residing there. I am happy to learn from the professors, that his moral conduct is without blemish, that he had failed to attend three recitals, and was, I suppose, severely lectured upon this subjects, and threatened with expulsion, and he with three others, I understood, withdrew. Hutchings says, the professor of one branch of his studies was sick, & failed to attend, and reported them absent, when he was not there to hear them. Be this as it may, I am happy to inform you, that he stands remarkably high in the estimation of all his fellow students, and the citizens of Charlottesville—he has improved very much, both in his size & education, & I have no doubt now, but he will apply himself to his farm—& if he does, & gets a few good Books, a well selected little library, he will make a useful citizen; but he cannot bear the subordination of a university—he has talents but as yet, lacks application.

your other letter gives me your views as to the chikesaws. I view them correct. I would let Levy Colbert manage this matter with the choctaws in his own way, & when matured, reduce it to an agreement—the sooner this can be, the better, as I have no doubt but in a few days a full delegation from the creeks will be here to make a treaty & all agree to go to the West.¹ There the four southern tribes can form their confederacy. The Publication said to be Harkins, is the works of some tool of Clay, Webster, & Calhoun for political effect but it must all fail.² The late disgraceful conduct of the unprinpled faction in the Senate, in the rejection of Mr V. Buren, headed by the above trio, has raised such indignation against them & their unprinpled faction, that has sealed their political fate forever. Yes your honorable Senator Moor, with his fit associate Poindexter, voted with this faction & Mr Branch, & the notorious clements were the secrete witnesses.³ It is a novel coalition—who would have thought that Calhoun would ever have been found in a league with Webster & Clay—and your honorable Senator & Poindexter their associates. The people will set this right, & will repel the insult & injury to our national character to the Executive, as it would appear, from the excitement of the people, by placing Van Buren in the chair that give the casting vote for his rejection

I am sorry you & your daughter cannot come on this Spring—rumor said we were to have another wedding in our family here—but from some very prudent cause on Marys side, I believe it is posponed or I may say entirely off. The intended, is a high minded honorable man to whom no objections could properly be made, something colateral, that he could not controle nor could attach blame to him, I believe, was the cause It is said by letter that Mr Polk is coming on—if so, he will find her disengaged as I suppose.⁴

My son & daughter will leave here next month for the Hermitage where, if I can, I will unite with them for a few days. Congress cannot rise

before june & whether it will do any good I know not. My friends need not fear my energy—should the Bank question come to me, unless the corrupting monster should be shoaren of its illgotten power, my veto will meet frankly & fearlessly.

Accept of my kind wishes and present them to Polly & your amiable family, & all friends, & believe me yours

Andrew Jackson

P.S. If I go to Tennessee I will pass by your House from So Carolina via French Broad Springs—

ALS, THi (19-1161). “Polly” was Coffee’s wife, Mary.

1. Levi Colbert (c1759–1834) was the principal chief of the Chickasaws. He wrote AJ on February 23 (below). A Creek delegation from Alabama was already in Washington. On February 29, Creek agent John Crowell wrote Lewis Cass that a second delegation would soon join it, with powers to negotiate a full settlement (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, p. 220, Serial 246). The Creeks signed a removal treaty at Washington on March 24.

2. George Washington Harkins had replaced his uncle Greenwood Leflore as principal chief of the Choctaws in 1830. In an eloquent and widely circulated farewell address “To the American People,” Harkins lamented removal as the lesser of two evils, declaring that “Choctaws rather chose to suffer and be *free*, than live under the degrading influence of laws, when our voice could not be heard in their formation.” Harkins denied that removal was voluntary, charged white authorities with betraying the Choctaws’ trust, and looked sorrowfully to their future as “wanderers in a strange land” (*The Natchez*, December 2, 1831; *Niles*, February 25, 1832).

3. On February 7, the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* reported that former Brooklyn postmaster Samuel E. Clement had been retained by Moore and Poindexter “to coin falsehoods, and do such other dirty work as the new *triumvirate* may carve out for him,” including supplying false reports of Van Buren’s conversation on the Cabinet breakup. Clement called the charge “a base and infamous *falsehood*” in the February 11 *US Telegraph*.

4. Coffee’s daughter was Mary Donelson Coffee (1812–1839). Lucius Junius Polk (1802–1870), son of William Polk, was a planter and state senator from Maury County, Tennessee. He married Mary Ann Eastin at the White House on April 10.

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 19. february 1832

My dear Sir,

Being yet scarcely able to sit up, I use the first moment to write and to tell you that I am recovering, but slowly recovering from one of the most severe attacks of inflammatory fever combined with pleurisy that ever Man escaped from. On the 29. January, I was seized very suddenly with chill, fever & pains in the breast, hip and loins that in two hours placed me in a condition according to the opinion of my physicians altogether hopeless: thank Heaven with the aid of a good Constitution I have disappointed both the Disease and the Doctor, and have fair hopes of recov-

ery although as yet extremely feeble, from bleeding, blistering & Bolus administered to me *ad libitum* during about 12 days.

During the last three weeks I have known but little of what was doing in politics. I recover however and find that Gen. Santa Anna still holds Vera Cruz, and that the Government on their part believe, or affect to believe in their capacity to put down this (so called) rebellion whenever they shall please to make the effort: It certainly augurs favorably for the Administration that Gen. Santa Anna has hitherto been able to make no impression against them, and should no difficulty arise to the present Government on account of their deficiency of funds I cannot doubt but that they will sustain themselves.

I know that when Gen St. Anna first made his pronunciamiento, the Governt. here were in great panic. I know this from a member of the Governt. itself, who spoke to me very freely on the subject. This panic has passed away: On yesterday the Secretary of State called to see me, and in the course of the Visit touched a little on politics, and the state of the Country. He seems assured that no other part of the Confederation will take part with the Revolters of Vera Cruz, and that the Administration will eventually put down the insurrection. This may eventuate as Mr. Alaman supposes—but my knowledge of these people acquired after two years patient observation of their character convinces me, that St. Anna or some one else may by another pronunciamiento or Grito overturn the present order of things in 48 hours, as Bustamente by the plan of Jalapa overturned the Government of Gen. Guerrero. It is an unquiet season—the Election for President is going on—all the fiery ambitious spirits are on the *qui vive*—each leader has his object and his partizans, and the great question is who shall first seize the vantage ground—patriotism does not exist—the Constitution is a dead letter or a stalking Horse.¹ The ballot box is nothing, the Cartridge box every thing, and he who can command the greatest number of the latter is for the time Lord of the Ascendant.

Gen. Santa Anna has a respectable force, a very strong position, and the Command of the richest Custom House in the Republic, and could he calculate on the fidelity of those who surround him, there is little doubt but he might hold Vera Cruz against any force the Governt. could send against him: But he so well knows the character of his Countrymen, their unsteadiness, disloyalty, and corruption, that I shall not be surprised to hear that he has seized all the Money at Vera Cruz and embarked for some foreign port in less than two months from this time. He may nevertheless determine to remain where he is and his men may continue faithful—in this Case he may bring his position to act on the ensuing election and turn the scale.

I shall endeavour to close as speedily as possible *my business* with the present Govert. having no hope that the next will be more favorable to us, and for that purpose will begin the moment my strength will permit me to talk to Mr. Alaman about T—. if I suffer no relapse, and my strength

should increase according to every fair expectation, it will be in my power to write you something in a month or six weeks. The Secretary and myself *are on the very best possible terms*, and I do not think it is hazarding too much to say, that he will concede to me as much as he would to any foreigner in Mexico. I will not undertake to say he would do more—others believe he will.

My strength will not permit me to say more at present, but merely add my good Wishes for your health & prosperity and assurance of my sincere Respect and friendship

A: Butler

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Col A. Butler 19th. February 1832

[*Endorsed by Martin Gordon:*] New Orleans 14th March 1832 Received and forwarded by your Ob Hl Servant Martin Gordon

ALS, THer (19-1155). Butler wrote again on February 23 (below).

1. A grito is a call or shout, in this context a proclamation. The Plan of Jalapa of December 4, 1829, had proclaimed the uprising that deposed then Mexican president Vicente Ramón Guerrero (1782–1831) and installed Bustamante. Guerrero was later executed. Mexico was scheduled to hold a presidential election on September 1, 1832.

To Levi Woodbury

(Private)

February 20th. 1832—

The President with his respects returns the papers handed him by the secretary of the Navy to day, & informs him that he has seen commodore Stewart & gave him the ideas submitted by the P. to the sec. to day.

The President has read with some care the publication, and commodore Rogers letter. It appears to him that Capt Renshaw will not ask a court of inquiry, or he would have done so, on the receipt of your letter, & in his reply thereto. ?Will commodore Rogers apply *now* for his arrest—it is not thought he will, as he did not on the receipt of the information of improper conduct, from Mr Cooper, as the good of the service then, if ever, required it. ?ought the Government, *now*, after his various letters furnished in behalf of his good conduct, and your letter, agreeable to my directions, to Capt Renshaw. This would require some deliberation. Capt Renshaws application by note to Commodore Rogers for a statement in writing of the facts charged by Mr Cooper, It ~~would~~ is infered, he intends to apply for Coopers arrest.

Capt Rogers being ordered to the command, to which Capt Renshaw from the date of his commission, was entitled, places commodore Rogers in a peculiar delicate situation in this matter, and our situation is not free

from being a delicate one¹—hence it appeared to the President, from all the circumstances of this case that no other apology ought to be exacted from Capt Renshaw except what a due regard for the good of the service, & a proper subordination required, leaving out of view all colateral considerations—therefore did I conclude that the publications of the two last paragraphs of Capt Renshaws letter with a decorous preface was sufficient under all the circumstances of this case.

A. J.

ANS, NHi (19-1195). AN draft, DLC (40). James Renshaw (1784–1846) was a Navy captain. On December 7, 1831, Woodbury had informed him that he would be passed over for command of the Brazilian squadron because of “representations unfavorable” to his character on file with the Board of Navy Commissioners. Protesting that he had been told nothing of such charges, Renshaw asked for the name of his accuser. On December 12 Woodbury referred him to Board president Captain John Rodgers (1773–1838). Rodgers described the allegations to Renshaw and named his former shipmate, Master Commandant Benjamin Cooper (1793–1850), as their source. On December 15 and 22, Renshaw wrote Rodgers asking him to state Cooper’s charges in writing. Rodgers made no reply. Renshaw then solicited testimonials from officers who had sailed with him and Cooper and forwarded them on to Woodbury. On January 25, 1832, Woodbury wrote Renshaw that henceforth his requests for command would “be entitled to full and favorable consideration, in connexion with the requests of others of the same rank.” On January 30, Renshaw protested his treatment to the Navy Board, declaring that “malicious and insidious representations secretly made, affecting his reputation, cannot be forgiven.” On February 1 he published a pamphlet address to his fellow Navy officers. He included his exchanges with Woodbury, Rodgers, and the Navy Board, and branded Cooper’s charges as “vile” and “too gross in their nature” to be put into print. The two closing paragraphs of Renshaw’s pamphlet praised Woodbury’s “candor and frankness,” pointedly exonerated the other two Board members, captains Charles Stewart and Daniel Todd Patterson, of complicity in “the machinations of invidious and malicious slanderers,” and observed that Rodgers had still yet “to say why he has countenanced the dark and unseen attacks upon my character,” in defiance of “common justice” (DNA-RG 45, M125-167).

Rodgers wrote Woodbury on or near February 9, complaining that Renshaw’s pamphlet “manifested a degree of insubordination which, if passed over, may produce serious injury to the service” (DNA-RG 45, M125-167). On February 24, four days after this note from AJ, Woodbury replied to Rodgers that, by AJ’s direction, “no further step is deemed necessary to be taken by the Department, in relation to the subject” (DNA-RG 45, M149-21).

1. The delicacy arose because the junior captain given command of the Brazilian squadron in preference to Renshaw was George Washington Rodgers (1787–1832), John Rodgers’s younger brother.

From William Carroll

[This letter is available only in typescript.]

Nashville, Feby 20th 1832.

My dear General:

I was in the Post Office late on Saturday evening, when I recd. your letter of the 4th inst. and had only time before the mail closed to acknowledge its receipt & promise a more full reply subsequently.

Four years ago I first became acquainted with Mr. Van Buren and as we travelled several days together without much interruption by company, I had a favorable opportunity of forming an opinion of his real character. Contrary to what I had previously heard of him, he was frank, open, and liberal in his sentiments on public affairs, and possessing a vast fund of useful information on political matters. I then determined that unless some great change should take place, I would at any future period contribute my humble mite, to elevate him to any office within the gift of the American people. That determination so far from having undergone any unfavorable change, has been strengthened by recent events.

Although the Senate appeared to manifest great reluctance in acting upon the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, yet I did not think it possible that it was seriously intended to reject it and for an obvious reason, it was admitted that he was eminently qualified for the station, and that there was no defect of moral character. What excuse then could they give to the American people for disregarding the courtesy which has always been extended to the Executive by confirming his appointments, except where the most satisfactory reason's existed. Why the instructions to Mr. Wm. McLane? Yes the instructions, which they had seen eighteen months before without ever raising a murmur of disapprobation.¹ But there was one other ground upon which I thought that the opposition would not reject Mr. Van Buren's nomination. They consider him a skilfull politician, able to concert plans, to promote his own views, and to disconcert those of his enemies. It seemed to me then, that on the score of policy they would consent to his remaining in England. But I have been mistaken. They have rejected him, and thereby placed him in an attitude before the American people, which cannot be shaken. Two men know him now, to one, that knew him sixty days ago, and it is in the very nature of things that he will be almost unanimously supported by the Jackson party. So far as Tennessee is concerned, we shall scarcely have a struggle for the Vice Presidency, and our efforts must be directed so as to produce effect in the adjoining States. Measures will be immediately taken throughout the State for the appointment of Delegates to attend the convention at Baltimore in May next. You have doubtless seen the Whig and Banner. It has taken very decided grounds in favor of Van Buren and will continue to do so.² The other papers in the state I have no doubt will soon be induced to take the same course. The friends of Mr. Calhoun have all disappeared in the last ten days, and the watch word with the old and the young is Van Buren forever!

I have had a long conversation today with E. N. Foster, who declared for Van Buren the moment he heard of his rejection, and has written a number of letters to different parts of the state for the purpose of setting the ball in motion. He says that he has nailed his flag to the Dutchmans mast & will sink or swim with him.³

There is one circumstance in relation to the rejection of Mr. Van Buren, which struck me with peculiar force, as an evidence of preconcerted

arrangement on the part of the opposition. I mean the fact that all their speeches were immediately published. This was doubtless intended to produce an effect on the public mind before the speeches on the other side could be got out.

I will only again repeat that you may rely with the utmost confidence on my advancing by every honorable means in my power the claims of Mr. Van Buren to the Vice Presidency; and if at any time you believe that I can render you any service, I beg you to command me, and you will not find me wanting. I trust that it is not necessary to say that I shall never forget the sacredness which is due to private correspondence, more especially that which comes from the Chief Magistrate of the Union.

It is not often that I make an apology for the imperfections of my letter's. Those that you may find in this one, you will ascribe to two of your beautiful female friends who have amused me greatly with their prattle while I have been writing.

Mr. McLemore is not at home.⁴ On his return, I shall see him and he will no doubt enter fully with your views. With assurances of my best wishes for your success and happiness. I am, dear Sir Most Sincerely Your friend

Wm Carroll

N.B. Since writing the following, I have received the Whig & Banner, which I enclose that you may be apprised of the tone of that paper.

W. C.

Typed copy, DLC (73).

1. In 1830 Louis McLane, then U.S. minister to Great Britain, had concluded an arrangement to reopen direct American trade with the British West Indies, which the British had closed in 1826 following a diplomatic impasse with the Quincy Adams administration. Van Buren's initial instructions to McLane of July 20, 1829, had authorized him to conciliate Britain by repudiating previous American negotiating demands (*SDoc* 20, 21st Cong., 2d sess., pp. 3–15, Serial 203). In debate on AJ's nomination of Van Buren to succeed McLane, opponents charged him with humiliating and dishonoring the U.S. in order to reach a degrading agreement (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1310–86).

2. Acting on a call issued by a New Hampshire convention in June 1831, Jacksonians planned a national convention at Baltimore on May 21 to support AJ's reelection and nominate a candidate for vice president. The *National Banner and Nashville Whig* had reported Van Buren's rejection on February 9 and criticized it in increasingly strong terms since. On February 20 it predicted "the undivided support of the party" for his vice-presidential candidacy.

3. Ephraim Hubbard Foster (1794–1854) was a Nashville lawyer, politician, and later U.S. senator.

4. John Christmas McLemore (1790–1864) was a Nashville businessman and AJ's confidant and nephew-in-law.

From Martin Van Buren

London Feby. 20th 1832

My dear friend

I looked over the papers by the last Packet with no small degree of impatience for a letter from you—not that you owed me one for I am ashamed to say that on that point I am greatly your debtor, but from my anxiety to learn the precise effect which the extraction of the ball from your arm has had upon your health and comfort. The several grave suggestions in your long & interesting letter will not be lost sight of but may be deferred without prejudice until things become a little more settled with you & we see things in a clearer light than at present. The opposition are feeding fat their old antipathies agt me I see & what I confess surprises me a little, is to find that Mr Clay is so blind as not to see the advantage which in the eyes of all honorable & liberal men he gives me over him by his course in the Senate in respect to my nomination. I assure you with the greatest sincerity that the only mortification which I receive from the course pursued by the Senate in regard to myself, is the apprehension that you may allow the matter to give you pain under a mistaken view of my own feelings—a result which could not fail to gratify the opposition greatly. Dismiss I beseech you all such feelings if you possess them. Nothing is clearer to my mind than that every thing they have done or can hereafter do must ultimately redound to my credit and advantage. Indeed I feel myself highly complimented by being thus singled out as the special object of their malice & shall only begin to question the correctness of my course & the estimation in which it is held when I become in any degree the object of their favor. In the course of my political life I have never yet seen an instance in which the old aristocratic & Federal spirit of the Country was enlisted in behalf of a politician of whose defection to the Democratic cause they were not either certain or for the time being entertained hopes. Your own case furnishes a striking example of the truth of this remark. Seizing upon the liberal & soldierlike expressions in your letter to Mr Monroe they every where manifested towards you in 1824 a strong leaning but the moment [*you*] evinced by your continued adhesion to the principles upon which you had based your political creed, & which were laid down in your letter to Dickinson they became your mortal foes, & there is nothing that you have or can do that will in their estimation atone for the crime you have committed in bringing back the Government to the Republican track.¹ But you do not want their aid and cannot be affected by their malice—that has done its worst & you remain unscathed; and you may rely upon it that of all the good fortune that has befallen you, your escape from their embraces has been the greatest. No man has ever escaped from them & he is a political idiot who thinks he can retain their & the peoples good opinion at the same time. They ruined Burr

beyond redemption—they crippled Clinton—gave Calhoun his first mortal wound & to for[m a] correct estimate of the favor which they [. . .] made with poor Clay it is only necessary to contrast his present situation with what it was when he was the leader of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives² I have thank God had the firmness hitherto to resist their allurements—their hostility I am not afraid of. But enough of this, of which I have already said more than I intended.

Mr Clays remarks upon the subject of the payment of the national debt are really puerile, & it is impossible for him to escape the imputation that they spring from feelings of envy towards a successful rival—the greatest weakness with which a statesman can be afflicted. He would not pay off the debt, forsooth, because a part of it draws but three per Cen. interest whilst the money in the hands of the people would be worth more & what then would he do—leave it for ever, because that same fact will always be true. For the pitiful saving of a few thousand dollars interest money he would a small but permanent national debt, of by a way of nest egg, to be added to according to circumstances, & abandon the [*great*] moral power which will inevitably result from our entire emancipation from debt—a result of infinitely greater value than thousands for the obtainment of which the most onerous & sanguinary wars have been waged.³ What is it that rivets the attention of the civilized world upon the U.S. at this moment, and excites the hopes of the liberal, & the spleen of Tories every where. The success which has attended your administration in several particulars, has doubtedly done much towards it, but above all it is the influence of that single fact that we will soon have no national debt. it is this that in every bodies mouth & that makes our country the theme of every political discussion. Nor will the good effect of the payment of the public debt be confined to its influence abroad. What administration will venture to begin a new one unless upon the most urgent and imperious necessity but on the contrary how little hesitation would there be too add a little now & then to our existing debt through the facilities of the Bank—which is every where the prolific father of debt. The influence which the necessity of creating a new debt and the fear of doing so would have upon the economy of the Government must be obvious to all, and all these advantages Mr Clay would give up to save two pr. Centum upon the three per Cents. Mr Clay knows nothing of the sagacity of the people of [*U.S. &*] hopes that they will not be able to penetrate this very thin disguise. You will see by the enclosed papers that Sir James Graham the First Lord of the Admiralty, and a very able man has recommended the abolition of the Navy Board here, upon the same principles, & for the same reasons that you urged the same thing to upon Congress.⁴ The evils complained of are almost identical in both countries, and a prominent one is the character of the Navy Board in respect to their not being political bodies, and of course not so much exposed to the scrutiny of Parliament, & of course the quarter in which abuses are apt to creep. I

send you a copy of the Bill with Sir James's speech and a note from him, the friendly sentiments of which I should like you to reciprocate. The details of his plan are not contained in the Bill for reasons explained in his note. When he gives them to me I will write again. I dined ~~last~~ a few days ago in a family way with the Duke of Sussex, & had a very friendly talk with him.⁵ He [*gave*] your health with the kindest commendations upon your character & the strongest assurance of his desire to keep well with us in which I have no reason to doubt his sincerity. The Ministry are at this moment so hard pressed by the Tories and so weak in the House of Lords, that it would be unreasonable, & hazardous to press them to assume responsibilities which are not forced upon them by circumstances. It would therefore be manifestly unwise to press them to a decision upon the impressment question, as they would be very apt to raise difficulties, which under circumstances they might not think of, to get rid of the necessity of meeting their powerful adversaries with new responsibilities, in addition to the very onerous ones under which they are now literally groaning. The moment they have a breathing spell I shall (if here) push the point. I told Lord Palmerston that I was waiting for that moment to call his serious attention to American affairs, & he commended the propriety of my course very decidedly. In the meantime I embrace every opportunity to get well acquainted & upon cordial terms with the prominent men of the Ministry. Lord Grey frequently assures me of his desire to keep up the best relations with us & is very kind.⁶ It would be gratifying on some accounts to get the subject of impressment disposed of before the rising of Congress but there are also strong reasons which would render it better for all interests if a favourable result can be obtained that it should happen in the recess. Not a moment will of course be suffered to pass in which any thing favourable can be done.

Feby. 21st.

I had written thus far when I was called off, & to day I have your letter, & those of several of my friends informing me of my rejection by the Senate. The knowledge of the result has in no sense changed my views of the matter, but the accompanying expressions of public feeling have on the contrary confirmed my previous impressions. The same Packet also brought me Mr Livingstons amended instructions upon the subject of Impressment, without which I could not have concluded an arrangement if it had been practicable but I must also add that for the reasons I have alluded to, I should not yet have pressed it, if I had had them before. Mr Livingston kept them for a safer opportunity than the mail. Although this result is will as I have no doubt in the end prove beneficial, it causes me an infinite deal of vexation & no small amount of loss. I have taken my house at a heavy rent for a year, & have an establishment of Carriage, Horses, & Servants, on hand which it will require some time and management to get rid of without very heavy sacrifices. John has left me, to spend

a few months at Naples, with Nelson, & it will take me several weeks to get him back.⁷ The advice of my friends in regard to the period of my return, is, as was naturally to be expected, various. Whilst our excellent friend Mr McLane is in favour of my immediate return, & election to the Senate, the greater part are opposed to that plan, and urge strenuously that I should defer it my return until after the Baltimore convention. I have conferred as fully with Mr Irving as the few hours which are allowed to us before the Packet sails would ~~allow~~ admit of, & the result of our reflections is that ~~that plan~~ the plan of an immediate return & election to the Senate is under all the circumstances impracticable. The objections to it are numerous & formidable. There is no vacancy in the Senate from our State and no one knows positively that it would be agreeable to Mr Dudley to resign his place. There are many & strong reasons why I would not, for the world suggest, or cause it to be suggested to him. I have before had occasion to tax his patriotism by asking him to declining a nomination for the good of the cause; & under circumstances which excited regret on the part of his friends. But if it were otherwise I could at the utmost only hope to arrive a very days, possibly weeks before the end of the Session, when we all know that any thing like a useful debate upon any subject can never be had, & even then it would necessary, first, to get Mr Dudleys resignation, & then a formal appointment by the Legislature, at the close also of its Session, with its invariable excitements, which if done would unavoidably reduce the period of my seat to a few days at the utmost, the chance of making which beneficial would not to my mind be very promising. There are so many points in the proposed arrangement, the failure of either of which would be fatal, & it would moreover wear so much the appearance of a systematic scheme to hurry home, & make the most of the sympathy produced by the violence which has been done me, that I am strongly inclined to concur with those, who apprehend that the good feeling which has been excited, would, by those means be blunted, & the false imputation of an original design on my part to run for the Vice Presidency, if not confirmed certainly some what countenanced. It appears to us therefore that the more respectable, and wiser course for me, will be, to ~~adopt the opinion of those who advise~~ ~~agt.~~ ~~any~~ avoid any hasty, or feverish movement, to settle my affairs here as well as I can, & place those of the Legation upon the footing on which they ought to stand before I leave it—which will probably take me ~~to the first of April~~ a few weeks—then run over to the Continent, & avail myself of the only opportunity, that will ever be afforded me, to visit as much as I can of that portion of Europe, and return in May or early in June to the U. States—thus affording an other proof of the falsehood of the accusations agt. me, which attribute to me a desire to intrigue for the nomination at Baltimore—by leaving my fate to the unbiassed disposal, of our political friends with a determination, from which I shall not depart ~~not only~~ to abide by their decision but to be satisfied with it they always

remembering my strong repugnance to the place of Senator. I beg you to explain these views to my friends McLane Forsythe & Marcy &c. I have rec'd a very affectionate letter from the highly respectable Committee of Newyork, & shall by the next Packet reply to it—in which I shall state the determination I have here expressed in regard to the time of my return.⁸ I sincerely hope that our friend McLane will upon reflection think this the wisest course. I assure you with great sincerity that the circumstances of this difference of opinion among my friends, urged with equal confidence, ~~is the~~ has given me more uneasiness than any thing connected with the ^{whole} affair. one word & one word only in regard to my outfit. Will the malice of my enemies go so far to keep that from me also. I am certainly fully entitled to it and I am sure that if my friends can with propriety obtain it for me they will & if they cannot I do not wish to have it.¹⁰ I shall see Lord Palmerston, & have a full conversation with him in regard to our affairs at large & some particular points in regard to which Mr Livingston desires information. I am I confess not a little mortified to be thus rudely cut off from a negotiation in which I promised myself success and towards the active commencement of which I had ~~made~~ paid as I trust all proper preliminary attentions & was only waiting the receipt of Mr Livingstons last letter and the final disposal of the Reform question to make my proposition in form; but so it is & it would be unwise to repine at what we cannot help & which is not brought about by any fault of our own.¹¹ Let me make you the depository of my sentiments in regard to the future. I have the strongest aversion to another election to the Senate, the place having become very irksome to me before I left it, and God knows it has not improved since. I am deeply sensible of the many favours I have already recd. from

whole affair. one word & one word only in regard to my outfit. Will the malice of my enemies keep that from me also. I am certainly fully entitled to it & if they think they can with propriety do so I know they will obtain it for me—further than that I would on no account have them go. I shall see Lord Palmerston tomorrow or Saturday & have a full talk with him upon our affairs in general & some particulars in regard to which Mr Livingston wishes to be informed. I am I confess not a little mortified to be thus cut off from a negotiation in which I had promised myself success & to pave the way to which I thought the course I have pursued a discreet one: and was only waiting the disposal of the Reform question & the receipt of Mr Livingstons last Despatch to make my proposition in form: but it is useless to repine at what we cannot avoid & which is not the result of any fault on our own part. Make if you please my most grateful acknowledgment to my good friend Forsyth for kind manner in which he has sustained me, & which is so fully confirms the expectations I had always entertained of him. I have not time to write him by this mail.¹² Remember me also to Mr McLane and all our friends not forgetting to

thank the members of your family for kind recollection of me. Receive for yourself the assurance of my unchangeable gratitude for the sincere interest which you so uniformly take in my welfare & believe me to be Dr Sir Very truly yours

M. Van Buren

P.S. I send you a letter from our old friend Vaughan who was highly gratified by your remembrance of him in the form of a letter of introduction to Dr Macauley who is succeeding well in his gold concern.¹³

[Endorsed by AJ:] private—Mr. V. B. 1832—A. J.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (19-1171).

1. In September 1801, AJ had written Tennessee congressional candidate William Dickson (1770–1816), asking if he was “a real republican in principle” or “an aristocrat” (*Jackson Papers*, 1:256–57). The letter was invoked by AJ’s supporters in the 1824 presidential campaign as proof of his sound Republicanism.

2. Presidential aspirants Aaron Burr (1756–1836) in 1800–1801, De Witt Clinton (1769–1828) in 1812, and John C. Calhoun in 1824 had received Federalist support. Henry Clay had been speaker of the House of Representatives in 1811–14, 1815–20, and 1823–25.

3. In a January 11 Senate speech on the tariff, Henry Clay remarked that of the remaining national debt of \$24 million, \$13 million was in securities with no redemption date and paying only three per cent interest, half the prevailing market rate. Clay questioned whether “it would be wise to pay off a stock of thirteen millions, entitling its holders to but three per cent. with a capital of thirteen millions, worth an interest of six per cent.—in other words, to take from the pockets of the people two dollars to pay one in the hands of the stockholder” (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 68).

4. Sir James Robert George Graham (1792–1861) was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty in 1830. On February 14, he had proposed a bill to reform British naval administration, including abolition of the Navy Board. In his first annual message to Congress in 1829, AJ had proposed “dispensing altogether” with the Board of Navy Commissioners, replacing it with administrative bureaus with specific duties (Richardson, 2:460).

5. Prince Augustus Frederick (1773–1843) was the Duke of Sussex and younger brother of King William IV.

6. Henry John Temple (1784–1865), Viscount Palmerston, later prime minister, was foreign secretary in the Whig government of prime minister Charles Grey (1764–1845), Earl Grey, which formed in 1830 after the fall of the Tory ministry of the Duke of Wellington.

7. John Nelson (1794–1860), a former Maryland congressman, had been commissioned as chargé d’affaires to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies on October 24, 1831.

8. John Forsyth (1780–1841) was a U.S. senator from Georgia. He had written Van Buren on January 28, proposing he “return at once to the U.S. & if possible come to the Senate as a member.” William L. Marcy had written Van Buren on January 26, predicting his nomination for the vice presidency (Van Buren Papers, DLC). On February 1, a committee of New Yorkers had sent Van Buren the proceedings of a January 31 meeting at Tammany Hall condemning his rejection. Van Buren replied on February 24, giving thanks for their support and outlining his plan to tour Europe and return in early summer (*Washington Globe*, April 11, 1832).

9. A new page begins here and ends in mid-sentence below. The next page begins again at the same place and continues to the end of the letter. This first page may have been a superseded draft which Van Buren mistakenly included with the sent letter.

10. The 1810 law fixing diplomatic compensation authorized a minister plenipotentiary to receive a one-time payment for his outfit of \$9,000, equal to his annual salary. The annual appropriation Act of May 5, 1832, included this sum for Van Buren.

11. Bills to expand the franchise and reform the electoral system had been before Parliament since March 1831. The Reform Act of 1832 was passed on June 4 and given royal assent on June 7.

12. Forsyth had spoken in defense of Van Buren's nomination on January 24 or 25 (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1344–52).

13. Charles Richard Vaughan (1774–1849) had been British minister to the U.S. from 1825 to 1831. Baltimore physician Patrick Macaulay (1795–1849) was in England seeking investors for a North Carolina gold mining company. AJ had written Vaughan a letter of introduction for Macaulay on September 16, 1831 (UkOxU-AS; 18-0799).

To Nathaniel Pitcher Tallmadge et al.

Washington
February 23d. 1832

Gentlemen:

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 9th. inst. enclosing the resolutions passed “at a meeting of the Republican members of the Legislature of New York” on the rejection by the Senate of the United States of the nomination of Martin Van Buren as Minister to England.

I am profoundly grateful for the approbation which that distinguished body of my republican fellow citizens of New York have, on that occasion, been pleased to express of the past administration of the affairs placed in my charge by the people of the United States, and for their generous offers of continued confidence and support. Conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, my reliance, in all the vicissitudes of my public life, has been upon the virtue and patriotism of an Enlightened people. Their generous support has been my shield and my stay, when, in times past, the zealous performance of the arduous military duties allotted to me, though crowned with success, was sought to be made a ground of reproach: And this manifestation on the part of my fellow citizens of the great state of New York assures me that services not less faithful in the civil administration will not be less successfully defended.

When such reliance fails the public servant, public liberty will be in danger: for, if the people become insensible to indignities offered to those, who, with pure intentions devote themselves to the advancement of the safety and happiness of the country, public virtue will cease to be respected, and public trusts will be sought for other rewards than those of patriotism.

I cannot withhold my entire concurrence with the republican members of the Legislature in their high estimation of their eminent fellow citizen, whom they have so generously come forward to sustain. To this I will add the assurance of my undiminished respect for his great public and private worth and my full confidence in the integrity of his character.

In calling him to the Department of State from the exalted station he then occupied by the suffrages of the people of his native State, I was not influenced more by his acknowledged talents and public services than by

the general wish and expectation of the republican party throughout the Union. The signal ability and success which distinguished his administration of the duties of that Department have fully justified the selection.

I owe it to the late Secretary of State, to myself, and to the American people, on this occasion, to state that as far is known to me, he had no participation whatever in the occurrences relative to myself and the second officer of the Government, or in the dissolution of the late Cabinet; and that there is no ground for imputing to him the having advised those removals from office which in the discharge of my constitutional functions it was deemed proper to make. During his continuance in the Cabinet, his exertions were directed to produce harmony among its members, and he uniformly endeavored to sustain his colleagues. His final resignation was a sacrifice of official station to what he deemed the best interests of the country.

Mr. McLane, our then Minister at London, having previously asked permission to return, it was my own anxious desire to commit the important points remaining open in our relations with Great Britain to a successor, in whose peculiar fitness and capacity I had equal confidence; and to my selection Mr. Van Buren yielded a reluctant assent. In urging upon him that sacrifice, I did not doubt that I was doing the best for the country, and acting in coincidence with the public wish: and it certainly could not have been anticipated that in the manner of successfully conducting and terminating an important and complex negotiation which had previously received the sanction of both houses of Congress, there would have been found motives for embarrassing the Executive action and for interrupting an important foreign negotiation¹

I can never be led to doubt, that, in the instructions under which that negotiation relative to the trade with the British West Indies was conducted and successfully concluded, the people of the United States will find nothing either derogatory to the national dignity and honor, or improper for such an occasion.

Those parts of the instructions which have been used to justify the rejection of Mr. Van Buren's nomination by the Senate of the United States, proceeded from my own suggestion; were the result of my own deliberate investigation and reflection; and now, as when they were dictated, appear to me to be entirely proper and consonant to my public duty.

I feel, Gentlemen, that I am incapable of tarnishing the pride or dignity of that country, whose glory, both in the field and in the civil administration, it has been my object to elevate: and I feel assured that the exalted attitude which the American people maintain abroad and the prosperity with which they are blessed at home, fully attest that their honor and happiness have been unsullied in my hands.

A participation in the trade with the British West India Islands, upon terms mutually satisfactory to the United States and Great Britain, had been an object of constant solicitude with our Government from its origin.

During the long and vexatious history of this subject, various propositions had been made with but partial success; and in the administration of my immediate predecessor, more than one attempt to adjust it had ended in a total interruption of the trade.

The acknowledged importance of this branch of trade, the influence it was believed to have had in the elections which terminated in the change of the administration, and the general expectation on the part of the people that renewed efforts on frank and decisive grounds might be successfully made to recover it, imposed upon me the duty of undertaking the task.

Recently, however, Great Britain had more than once declined renewing the negotiation and placed her refusal upon objections which she thought proper to take to the manner of our previous negotiation and to claims which had at various times been made upon the part of our Government.

The American Government, notwithstanding, continued its efforts to obtain a participation in the trade. It waived the claims at first insisted upon, as well as the objection to the imposition by Great Britain of higher duties upon the produce of the United States when imported into the West Indies, than upon the produce of her own possessions, which objection had been taken in 1819 in a despatch of the then Secretary of State.²

A participation in the trade with the British West India Islands could not have been, at any time, demanded as a right; any more than in that to the British European ports. In the posture of affairs already adverted to therefore, the Executive could ask nothing more than to be permitted to engage in it upon the terms assented to by his predecessor and which were the same as those previously offered by Great Britain herself. Even these had been denied to the late administration, and for reasons arising from the views entertained by the British Government of our conduct in the past negotiations.

It was foreseen that this refusal might be repeated and on the same grounds. When it became the duty of the Executive—rather than disappoint the expectations of the people and wholly abandon the trade—to continue the application it was proper to meet the objection to the past acts of the American administration, which objection, as had been foreseen, was actually made and for some time insisted upon.

It is undoubtedly, the duty of all to sustain by an undivided and patriotic front the action of the constituted authorities towards foreign nations; and this duty requires that during the continuance of an administration in office nothing should be done to embarrass the Executive intercourse in its foreign policy, unless upon a conviction that it is erroneous. A thorough change in the administration, however, raises up other authorities of equal dignity, and equally entitled to respect: and an open adoption of a different course implies no separation of the different parts of the Government: nor does an admission of the inexpediency or impracticabil-

ity of previous demands imply any want of respect for those who may have maintained them.

To defend the claims or pretensions—as they had been indiscriminately called on either side in the previous correspondence—which had been for a time urged by the late administration would have been to defend what that administration by waiving them, had admitted to be untenable: and if that which had been by them conceded to be inexpedient could not be sustained as proper, I perceive nothing derogatory, and surely nothing wrong, in conducting the negotiation upon the common and established principle that in a change of administration there may be a corresponding change in the policy and counsels of the Government. This principle exists and is acted upon, in the diplomatic and public transactions of all nations. The fact of its existence in the recent change of the administration of the American Government was as notorious as the circulation of the American press could make it; and while its influence upon the policy of foreign nations was both natural and reasonable, it was proper, according to my sense of duty frankly to avow it if the interests of the people of the United States should so require.

Such was the motive, and such and nothing more, is the true import of the instructions taken as a whole which I directed to be given to our Minister at London, and which neither expressed nor implied condemnation of the Government of the United States, nor of the late administration further than had been implied by their own acts and admissions.

I could not reconcile it to my sense of public duty or of national dignity that the United States should suffer continued injury or injustice because a former administration had insisted upon terms which it had subsequently waived, or had failed seasonably to accept an offer which it had afterwards been willing to embrace. The conduct of previous administrations was not to be discussed either for censure or defence; and only in case “the omission of this Government to accept of the terms proposed when heretofore offered” should “be urged as an objection now” it was made the duty of the Minister “to make the British Government sensible of the injustice and inexpediency of such a course.”³

Both the right and the propriety of setting up the past acts of previous administrations to justify the exclusion of the United States from a trade allowed to all other nations was distinctly denied; and the instructions authorised the minister to state that such a course towards the United States “under existing circumstances would be unjust in itself and could not fail to excite the deepest sensibility—the tone of feeling which a course so unwise and untenable is calculated to produce would doubtless be greatly aggravated by the consciousness that Great Britain has by orders in council opened her colonial ports to Russia and France, notwithstanding a similar omission on their part to accept the terms offered by the act of the 5th. July 1825”; he was told “that he could not press this view of the

subject too earnestly upon the consideration of the British Ministry"; and the prejudicial influence of a course on the part of the British Government so unwise and unjust upon the future relations of the two countries was clearly announced in the declaration that "it has bearings and relations that reach beyond the immediate question under discussion."

If the British Government should decline an arrangement "on the ground of a change of opinion or in order to promote her own interests," a prompt avowal of that purpose was demanded; but if they should not be prepared to take that ground, "but suffer themselves to desire that the United States should, in expiation of supposed past encroachments, be driven to the necessity of retracing their Legislative steps without knowledge of its effect and wholly dependent upon the indulgence of Great Britain," they were to be made sensible of the impracticability of that course, and to be taught to expect such measures on our part as would vindicate our national interest and honor. To announce distinctly to Great Britain that we would not submit to a continued injustice on the ground of any objection to the past conduct of the American Government, whether it were right or wrong, was the obvious import of the whole instructions.

If the Executive had caused it to be stated to Great Britain that finding his predecessors to have been in error, as was implied by subsequently waiving the terms they had advocated, and had in expiation of those errors abandoned the trade to the pleasure of the British Government, the interests of the United States would have suffered and their honor been reproached: but in excluding such considerations as inappropriate and unjust, and in clearly avowing his purpose not to submit to such treatment, he hoped to promote the interests of his fellow citizens, and sustain the honor and dignity of the country.

In all this, Gentlemen, I have the approbation of my judgement and conscience. Acting upon the principle early announced of asking nothing but what is right and submitting to nothing that is wrong, I asked that only of which the justice could not be denied.⁴ I asked a participation in the trade upon terms just to the United States and mutually advantageous to both countries. I directed a simple and distinct proposition in conformity with these principles to be submitted to the British government; and, resolving to be content with nothing less, I ultimately arranged the trade upon the basis of that proposition, without retraction, modification or change. If the national honor had not been thought tarnished by retracing our steps, by claiming more and ultimately consenting to take less and in fact obtaining nothing, I feel assured that in requiring that which my predecessors had conceded to be enough, and obtaining all that was demanded, my countrymen will see no stain upon their dignity, their pride, or their honor.

If I required greater satisfaction than I derive from a review of this subject, I should find it in the gratitude I feel for the success which has crowned my efforts. I shall always possess the gratifying recollection that

I have not disappointed the expectations of my countrymen, who, under an arrangement depending for its permanence upon our own wisdom are participating in a valuable trade upon terms more advantageous than those which the illustrious father of his country was willing to accept, upon terms as favorable as those which regulate the trade under our conventions with Great Britain, and which have been sought without success from the earliest periods of our history.⁵

I pray you Gentlemen to present to the Republican members of the Legislature of New York and to accept for yourselves individually the assurance of my highest regard and consideration

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson's hand, WHi (19-1207). Envelope with AJ frank, R & R Enterprises Catalog 390, August 2012 (mAJs). *Daily Albany Argus*, March 1, 1832; *Niles*, March 17.

1. Appointed minister to Britain in 1829, McLane had formally requested leave to return home on February 22, 1831. Van Buren replied for AJ on April 26, offering him the Treasury Department. McLane wrote AJ accepting on June 6. Van Buren had meanwhile resigned as secretary of state on April 11, and AJ commissioned him to replace McLane in London on August 1, 1831. On May 26, 1830, AJ had asked Congress for authority to reopen the British West Indian colonial trade by proclamation if McLane's negotiation proved successful during the pending recess of Congress. Congress passed an Act granting the requested authorization on May 29, and AJ opened the trade by proclamation on October 5, 1830 (Richardson, 2:480-81, 497-99; *Statutes*, 4:419-20).

2. The U.S. had long sought through negotiation and retaliatory measures to procure a relaxation of British regulations that Americans claimed deprived them of fair participation in the commerce and carrying trade of the British West Indies. On May 7, 1819, then Secretary of State John Quincy Adams had instructed U.S. minister Richard Rush to propose in negotiation "that no other or higher duties shall be payable on importations from the United States, directly or indirectly, than on similar articles imported from any foreign country, or from any of the British colonies themselves" (*HRDoc* 115, 16th Cong., 1st sess., p. 14, Serial 38). On March 1, 1823, Congress passed an Act that authorized admission into the U.S. of British colonial goods in British ships on the same terms as American, provided however that American ships and cargoes be in turn admitted into British colonial ports on equal terms with those coming from "elsewhere," including Britain and her possessions (*Statutes*, 3:740-42). On July 5, 1825, Parliament adopted an Act allowing access to the colonial trade only to nations that accorded Britain most-favored-nation trading status. The U.S. not meeting its conditions, the British government closed the West Indian trade to American shipping in 1826, and the U.S. in turn closed it to British shipping. On instructions from Secretary of State Henry Clay, U.S. minister Albert Gallatin made inquiry in 1827 whether Britain would reopen the trade if the U.S. receded from its position and accepted the terms of the 1825 Act, but was told that the British government declined further negotiation. McLane's agreement of 1830 reopened the direct trade to ships of both nations on a reciprocal basis, with the U.S. dropping its pretensions under the Act of 1823.

3. Here and below, AJ's language quotes or closely paraphrases Van Buren's July 20, 1829, instructions to McLane, which directed him to offer acceptance of the terms of the parliamentary Act of July 5, 1825 (*SDoc* 20, 21st Cong., 2d sess., pp. 3-15, Serial 203).

4. In his first annual message to Congress on December 8, 1829, AJ declared that in foreign relations it was his "settled purpose to ask nothing that is not clearly right and to submit to nothing that is wrong" (Richardson, 2:443).

5. Article XII of the 1794 Jay Treaty with Britain opened the British West Indian trade to American ships for a limited time, under restrictions of tonnage and cargo. The Senate refused the article (*Treaties*, 2:245-74).

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 23. february 1832

My dear Sir,

I wrote you a few days ago, informing you of the very severe attack of inflammatory fever and pleurisy from which I was just recovering. Within a day or two, there has been an accession of fever and I am not so well now as when I last wrote you, but hope care and tonic medicine will in a few weeks put me up again.

Your letter dated on the 9th and 20th December last was received during my illness, and I have but read it now, having to go through the fatigue of decyphering which in my feeble state was a tedious affair.¹ Your injunctions shall be attended to, and obeyed to the letter so far as all my efforts will enable me to carry them into effect—from my present state of debility however I fear some time will elapse before I shall be competent to any mental effort. All my arrangements are made, the ground well explored, the strong and weak points on either side as I think well understood; so that whenever the time arrives for me to begin I feel satisfied in being able to settle the question, on the one side or the other with very little delay. If I can succeed at all, there is no doubt of my convincing the other side of the propriety of the measure very readily—if on the contrary I should fail in producing this conviction after fully unfolding my views upon the subject I shall despair of time adding to the chances of success. In the negotiation I can foresee many and great difficulties, yet I believe it will be in my power to vanquish them all; and my opinion will remain unchanged untill I make the attempt and fail. If my health is restored as soon as I hope it will be, a few weeks will serve to test the result of my efforts, of which you will have immediate notice.

You urge me in your last to write often! I assure you My dear Sir, that untill my last sickness, I have written every 10 days, or every fortnight at least either to yourself by private letter, or to the Department of State by regular despatch: and if my letters for the last 10 months past are not found either in your hands or the Department at intervals of 10 to 15 days difference in dates, then have they miscarried. I have done my duty; I shall continue to perform it, and you may expect letters from me always twice in each month—oftener if any matter of interest should occur to require more frequent communication.

Every thing between Genl. Santa Anna and the Governmt. remains as when I last wrote. The Troops of the Governmt. it seems have been coquetting with those of Vera Cruz; but have kept at a distance secure from coming to blows—there has been some marching and countermarching, retreating and advancing; nothing more.

Santa Anna having possession of the Custom House of Vera Cruz is a most serious annoyance to the actual Governmt.—and will of itself alone lead to their overthrow, if means cannot be provided by them to supply

the deficiency this creates in their Revenue. The deficit begins already to be felt—all payments from the Treasury except to the Army are withheld, and there will not be enough even for the Army three months longer, if they continue to be deprived of the resources afforded by Vera Cruz: I consider that, as the most dangerous contingency they have to provide against, and if Gen. St. Anna has looked at the question in the same aspect, it may account for the change in his originally proposed plan of operations; keeping possession of Vera Cruz and placing himself altogether on the defensive, instead of forward movements; and so waiting for the Governmt. to dissolve in the bankruptcy of its Treasury. So soon as I am sufficiently recovered to have a full and free conversation with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs I shall ascertain his views and opinions, as he never fails to converse with me in the utmost freedom on all subjects even of domestic policy.

Gen. Santa Anna is said to be a liberal intelligent man, and very much disposed to favor and protect foreigners—should he succeed in expelling the present Governmt. I hope that foreigners may find him all that they expect—for my part I know the Members of the present administration—better perhaps than I shall be able to know their successors in 12 months—and without being disposed to accuse the actual Governmt. of a very great share of liberality towards us or other foreigners, yet I should prefer taking my chance with them—than with a new and untried Administration.

My handwriting may serve to indicate the condition of my nerves. My strength is not better; as however I am not of despondent temper, I do not allow myself to doubt being entirely fit for duty in a very few weeks. and remain most Respectfully and sincerely yours

A. Butler

ALS, DLC (40).

1. AJ had written Butler a letter, partly in code, on December 9, 1831, with a postscript added December 20. He urged Butler to press the Mexican government for the cession of Texas, and to write often (*Jackson Papers*, 9:766–67).

From Levi Colbert

Chicasaw Nation
Feby. the 23 1832

my father

It is true that surveyers are runing out the choctaw nation they dont know where to Stop, because the line from the head of octibbeeha to the mississippi has to be made. the line between the choctaws & chickasaws always has been to begin at the mouth of tibbee following that main stream, up near the nachis trace to the mouth of a Small creek runing up to the old trace near the direction of the tunica old fields bordering on the

mississippi river, from the head of that creek to them old fields. I hear and I believe it is true, that greenwood lafore has picked out and Setled a man on one or more of his floating reservations. near the mississippi, and Six miles in the chickasaw Country. My father I write to you, because you, more than any whiteman, knows this line, because it is in your power to give my nation Justice and you will do it. you will not permit any man to fix his reservation out of the choctaw line¹

If my nation should ever sell its Country, that I cant tell, the govt would want to know what it bought, and we what we sell.

In the name of my nation I ask my father to have this line run by a proper person for the united States, and one delegation from the choctaws and one from the chickasaws If the surveyers run land that the chickasaws belive is their own, and the white people take it, this will make my nation sorry and bitter, and do harm every way. my nation asks their father to stop this wrong

My great father my nation Sees in your message to congress these words at the last session I had the happiness to announce that the chickasaws and choctaws had accepted the generous offer of the govt. and agreed to remove beyond the mississippi by which the whole of the state of mississippi and the western part of Ala. will be freed from indian ocupancy the treaties with these tribes are in a course of execution and their removal it is hoped will be completed in the course of 1832² In the treay of Franklin here spoken of there was read and explained to my nation a possitive condition If we did get a Country in the west suitable to the chickasaws that treaty was to be good. If no Country we liked was got, this treaty was to be dead and void. on the return of myself and people from the West, a faithfull and hard search too, our national Councill wrote the president, that we could not and had not found any home in the West at all. my nation then and ever since belived The treaty of franklin dead.³ our brothers genls. Eaton & Coffee at the choctaw agency last december at the choctaw agency told us—that this treaty went for nothing. the govt had no home for us, but to get one from the choctaws for which the two nations met as above and my father as the head of a great people and a Just man will let me for my nation Say it is uncertain whether anything ever will be done for that part the choctaws perhaps might let us have, is most of it big parairys mighty little wood water or good land. it will be mighty hard for my people to live there. I know with my own eyes it is ten times worse than our present Country, and the commrs. tel us this is all our chance and hopes. my father that high sense of Justice which has always marked your way and brought you to the presidency will not suffer you to let a few powerless Indians to be oppressed or the treaty of Franklin be presented to the Senate of the united States, when good faith considers and makes that treaty void in itself my great father you know it is your love your desire and your duty to look and take care of your white children and red children too it is mine to look for my nation for this

reason with the most respectfull and friendly feelings, I ask and hope to have your forgiveness for this letter because I and my nation in friendship is straight and because it was the words in your message which alarmed and roused the fears of my people you speak of this treaty as final. this is not our sense of it. *we have not got as yet*—any home in the West so we write to you and look to you as your children Will our father write to me soon, and plainly speak his sense of this treaty I ask this earnestly because my nation will not be willing to talk to the Comnrs. in five or six weeks and the choctaws untill your answer to this letter comes, because we all know you are head of all the Commrs. like us are your children but your talk stands by itself my nation knows verry well your candor and firm regard for your red children of every tribe If we should not finally agree about our Country and Stand the State laws my nation yet with you will be Satisfied that it is but an honest difference of opinion in the way to happiness Will our great father please to write to me myself quick as he can (so that my people see your ~~letter~~ reply to this in time before Genls. Eaton and Coffee come. how soon they will come we dont know. the choctaw chiefs will be back early in March, shortly after we look for them) fully all he may think for our good. Will my father let me talk some more. our country here is a good one (this spot we have kept and give up all the rest you know) and good trade is all about it my people have but little wants but they are supplied reasonably every where round us, and a reasonable price given them for what they sell in the bosom of our white brothers with them always at peace no enemies to fight In one minute you can see the strong and marked difference of our condition here and in the wild distant regions of the west, surrounded by none but distant and dear trade and warlike tribes thrown together, these are some of the evils Cant my nation Stand the State laws (if you by laws and treaties cant stop them) better than all the evils in the west, speak my father and let your red children live, and I beg you will speak on paper to me verry quick. your old friend and firm friend

Levi his X mark Colbert
Principle chief of the chिकासaw nation.

LS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-136). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1203). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 216–17 (Serial 246).

1. The Choctaw removal treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830 had awarded chief Greenwood Leflore (1800–1865) two square-mile reservations of land, to be located where he pleased on unoccupied unimproved lands within the Choctaw cession. The line between adjoining Chickasaw and Choctaw domains in Mississippi had never been demarcated. Colbert's description of the boundary follows Article 1 of the unimplemented 1830 Chickasaw Treaty of Franklin. Article 13 of the superseding October 1832 Treaty of Pontitock [Pontotoc] Creek called for resolving the line by consultation with the Choctaws and, in the event of disagreement, a final determination by the president "on principles of strict justice" (*Indian Treaties*, 2:313, 1035–36, 360–61).

2. Colbert's words are from AJ's third annual message to Congress, delivered December 6, 1831 (Richardson, 2:554).

3. By its own terms, the Treaty of Franklin was to be “null and void” if an exploring party of Chickasaws, under government escort, could not find west of Arkansas Territory “a country suitable to their wants and condition” (*Indian Treaties*, 2:1036). Colbert had been among that party, which went west in late 1830. They reported their failure to locate a suitable new home to AJ on May 28, 1831 (*Jackson Papers*, 9:273–75).

To Littleton Waller Tazewell

Private—

Feby. 24th. 1832

Dr. Sir,

Enclosed I send you the private letter from Col. A Butler our Minister at Mexico for your inspection and to be used as your discretion may direct

I observe that the Treaty of boundary calls for the West Bank of the Sabine. This call would authorise us to take the Western fork, it having been originally called the “Sabine”: but the Eastern fork will be contended for by Mexico altho both empty themselves into the Gulf of Mexico by the same mouth. This Western bank would leave our citizens entirely to the East. I mention this fact that the line may be understood as indicated in the ratification of the Treaty.¹ ys. respectfully

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson’s hand, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (mAJs). Tazewell (1774–1860), of Virginia, was chair of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. On this day AJ submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent the commercial and boundary treaties with Mexico that Anthony Butler had forwarded in December 1831. On December 26 Butler had written privately to AJ, urging that the boundary treaty be either withheld from the Senate, rejected by it, or stalled until after its April 5 ratification deadline, as confirming the present boundary by treaty would “have the very worst effects” on his efforts to acquire Texas (*Jackson Papers*, 9:786–87). AJ replied on February 25 (below). The Senate approved the commercial treaty by 41 to 0 on March 23 and the boundary treaty by 42 to 0 on April 4. Both treaties were proclaimed on April 5, exactly one year after signing.

1. The Neches and Sabine rivers both flow south into Sabine Lake just above the Gulf of Mexico. Following the Adams-Onís line of 1819, the treaty described a boundary running northward from the Gulf on the west bank of the Sabine. John Melish’s 1818 map of the United States, cited as authority in the Adams-Onís treaty, clearly showed the eastern river as the Sabine and the western as the Neches; but some Americans claimed that the Neches had once been called the Sabine, and was therefore the true boundary between the U.S. and Mexican Texas.

From John Coffee

Florence 24th. Feby. 1832—

Dear Genl,

In deep humiliation, we have seen the act of the Senate, in rejecting the nomination of Mr. Vanburin, seeing it is done in malace, and revenge,

against him and you, on account of your successes in the administration of the Govt. after their compleat failure, and their loss of popularity with the people of the United States—although we feel sensible, that the act of the senate, will not injure, either yourself, or Mr. Vanburen, in your high standing with the people, but on the contrary will tend to elevate you both—and of placing Mr. V. first in the Viceprecedency, and finally in the Presidential Chair—yet we feel mortified and degraded, that the world shall know, how much we are cut up divided among ourselves, in our national councils—for other governments cannot know the true cause, it will be ascribed, and so construed, with Kingly governments, that Republics cannot exist long at any time, that the people are incapable of self government—that from either folly, or design, they will divide and fall—we know the true cause is disappointed ambition—and really I feel, that it is alarming to see the influence of those high taught intrigueers, that they can so manage men, as to induce them to do acts, that the commonest capacity must see, that it will destroy them at home, with the very people, who gave them their political existence, and who alone can support them. We have not been disappointed in our Senator Gabriel Moore, it was well understood here, to be the workings of Mr. Calhoon, through his friends in the South end of this state, that caused our Legislature to turn out Mc.Kinley, and elect Moore in his place, the proof was too strong to be rejected, that the friends of Calhoon understood the part he was to act, or they would never have abandoned Mc.K. for any man in the state, but for the circumstance of Mc.K.'s having taken his stand against nullification, and if the election had turned on that principle, openly, Mc.K. would have been supported two, to one, or more—but the true object was kept secret, and the personal enemies of Mc.Kinley, (for in that respect, he was situated like Mr. Vanburen, he had several disappointed rivals in the north end of the state) united with, the nullifiers of the south, and through the intrigue of both parties, and the coalition as unnatural as that of Messrs. Clay, Calhoon, and Webster—they succeeded in placing Moore where he now is in the senate, under the most Solemn pleges that he would support your administration¹

I presume before this reaches you, that you will see the meetings held at Courtland, in Laurence County, and at Huntsville, and perhaps others, for the purpose of expressing the disgust, and disapprobation, of the people in this state, against the conduct of Gabriel Moore as one of our Senators on his late vote &c.² We have called a meeting of the people of this County Lauderdale, to meet in Florence the 3rd. of March for the same purpose, and I hope it will be well attended—although we have powerful opposition in this county, yet I hope the people will see their own interest so far, as to induce them to speak out boldly on this occasion, for there was great dissatisfaction felt and expressed at the election of Moore we are particularly unfortunate in our paper of this place, there is but one printed here, and that has always been opposed to you, very lately he

affected to change his politicks, and become your warm supporter—but your friends understood him very well—and the first information of the rejection of Mr. V. he came out as full as life, in eulogising the act of the senate, and the conduct of Moore—this is all that has come out openly as yet in his support, but I expect attempts will be made to defeat the objects of the meeting on the 3rd. of March, but I think we will overrule them.³ You'll see that Davey Hubbard, took the lead at the meeting in Courtland, he now sees that his support of Moore is about to destroy him, and he therefore comes out very warm for you, but rest assured that Davey well understood the part that Moore would act, at the time he was supporting his election, he cared nothing for that, his private illnatures to Mc.K was his governing principle, and if he was in Moores place, and it would promote his private interest, he would have given the very same vote⁴ I dont see how Mr. Poindexter expects to get along with his people, for they are more united in favour of your administration, than our state is—but I suppose that both him, and Moore, has been promised some high and honorable appointment under your successor—as I expect they have calculated, that surely one of the three—Clay, Calhoun, or Webster, must be elected President, and if so, a pledge from all three would seem to be a strong inducement for such men as Moore & Poindexter, to swerve from their duty to promote their own interest—and I think it not unlikely, that Moore has got a promise for some appointment for his nephew, who he urged so hard upon you, and which he gives as the sole cause of his displeasure to you.⁵ I think it not unlikely however, that when they see the voice of the people of their respective states, raised and expressed in the strong terms, which they must come out in, that they will become alarmed, and would be glad to get back their vote. If there is any one, who is on terms of friendly intimacy with them, who would lay open to them, their perilous situation, that the conduct of Messrs. Clay & Calhoun, would evidently tend to make Mr. Vanburen President of U. States, and thereby they would be dropt by all parties, never again to be noticed at home or abroad—for such would they merit, I think it not unlikely that they would be glad to have an opportunity, to vote again on that nomination—and if so, and either one of them, or any other Senator, who had voted formerly against the nomination, would ask you to renominate Mr. Vanburen, and if you did, they would vote in favour of him. I suppose in such event you would not hesitate to make the renomination, although it is unpleasant to be trifled with, yet, when the interest of the nation require it, there is no personal sacrafice too great to be made. In that way I think there is yet a very feeble hope, that the great evil may yet be averted—as I suppose Mr. Vanburen will not be recalled untill the rise of Congress—

These are my ideas given simply as they have ocured to me. I always hope for the best, untill the worst do really appear, and I know that I am entirely superstitious on this affair, as well as all others of a public character, in which you are engaged as a public agent—knowing as I do, so

much of your public life, and having seen so many obstacles thrown in your way, and always seeing you succeed, is certainly a strong proof to my mind, that you are under the fostering care of a kind Providence, who will continue to support you, so long as you make the public good, your chief aim, and devote yourself to the use of your Country as you have always done—knowing as I do, your unshaken firmness, and perseverance, in all transactions, as well public, as private, I can only say, do as you have always done, let the good of your country, continue to be your guide, and the great and good God, will prosper you—

My family are all in good health—and they all unite with me in tendering our best good wishes to you, and all the branches of your family. dear Genl. your friend

Jno. Coffee

ALS, DLC (40). AJ replied on March 9 (below).

1. AJ believed, as he had written John C. McLemore on December 25, 1830, that Calhoun had secretly engineered John McKinley's defeat for reelection to the Senate after finding that he opposed nullification (*Jackson Papers*, 8:711–12).

2. Public meetings held in Courtland and Huntsville condemned Gabriel Moore's vote against Van Buren's nomination. The *Washington Globe* published their proceedings on February 25 and March 9, respectively.

3. The Florence paper was the *Florence Gazette*.

4. David Hubbard (1792–1874), later a congressman, introduced the resolutions at the Courtland meeting condemning Moore for having “acted in violation of the known will of the people of Alabama” (*Washington Globe*, February 25 and 27, 1832). Hubbard had backed Moore against McKinley for the Senate in 1830.

5. Gabriel Moore had solicited AJ to appoint his nephew Benjamin Tyson Moore (c1803–1870) marshal in north Alabama, a post he had held briefly *ad interim* in 1829. AJ instead nominated Benjamin Patteson in May 1830. In addresses to the Alabama legislature before the 1830 Senate election, Moore accused McKinley of secretly backing Patteson against his nephew, and McKinley accused Moore of challenging him for the Senate because of his nephew's failure to obtain the appointment (*Jackson Papers*, 8:687–89).

To Anthony Butler

(Private)

Washington February 25th. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

Your letter of the 23rd. of December last has been received. The Treaty reached us, only, a few days past, having been detained at Newyork; the messenger when he reached there, being out of funds, and having no letter to anyone explaining his true character, and not shewing his dispatches. It was brought on by a messenger employed by Mr Jameson he being confined when the funds we sent, reached him.¹ On yesterday, I sent both the treaties to the Senate.

I could not withhold the treaty of boundery, from the Senate—the Senate additional article made it necessary that it should be sent, and I could not

violate the faith pledged in that article.² I wrote to judge Tazwell chairman of the committee on foreign relations, enclosing him your private letter to me for his own eye, and requesting, if it could not be postponed, & was ratified this session of Congress as it calls for the west bank of the sabine, the Senate might indicate in its ratification, that the line was to run up the west fork of that river, which formerly was called the sabine. This, if adopted will give us room, and time, as I am told Mexico will contend for the line to run up the East fork, which they say is the Sabine, and call the west branch by another name—which we cannot agree to, as it would take from us two populous counties.³

I fully approve of the note you addressed to the minister of foreign affairs, the day before the Mexican Congress adjourned, and I have no doubt but it was owing to that, the treaty of commerce was approved and ratified by the proper authorities. I repeat “under my own hand” that I approve that step taken by you.⁴

I have again to repeat my request that you push with all your zeal the negotiation of a new boundary *agreeable to your instructions*, and if you can, extend it to the Desart.⁵ I have but little doubt but there will be an insurrection in Texas in less than six months, which may compromit the peace & harmony of the two Governments. I will as far as I have the power prevent our citizens from taking any part in this matter, but you know we cannot prevent them from emigrating to that country, and each soldier has the right to take his rifle with him, to defend himself against the Indians, & thousands will go, & it will be impossible to restrain them, altho we will prevent them from going in organised bands, or corps. Still, it may be, altho, we will employ all our means to prevent them, ~~still~~ that Mexico may not believe that we are acting in good faith towards her ~~still~~ ~~she may not believe~~ & bad feelings may arise.

I was shewn a letter, enonimous, yesterday that leave no doubt upon my mind but a revolution in Texas is intended, and people are emigrating to that country with a view to this thing, and it will be attempted shortly. ?What situation will this place the two countries in. The present resources of Mexico will not be competant to reconquer, & put down this insurrection, & regain the country if once lost, and a government ~~there~~ composed of all kindred & tongues on our borders, plundering, & murdering, our good citizens at will, and exciting the Indians to make war upon us, & on our borders; This may compell us, in self defence to seize that country by force and establish a regular Government, *there*, over it. This necessity I do not wish to see, & would much deplore, if *it should* occur. Therefore it is, we want to obtain a cession of that country for a fair consideration, to prevent this very unpleasant emergency, *that would* compell us to seize that country on principles of real necessity, & self defence, *being* well aware that Mexico cannot prevent Texas from becoming independant of her.

I refer you to the public journals and the despatch from the Secretary of State that will accompany this, for the current news.⁶ You will see from

the rejection of Mr Van Buren by the Senate, by a coalition between Clay Calhoun, & Webster, being the head of one of the most unprincipled factions that ever disgraced any nation, the very great excitement that exists throout the Union. It would *seem* from the voice of the ~~nation~~ people that the ~~people~~ nation will make Mr Van Buren vice President by acclamation.

There never were surely such a hetrogenius & unprinciple faction as that headed by Clay, Calhoun, & Webster. *The people will see to it—and* Whilst I keep along in the even tenor of my way, neither turning to the right, or to the left. In great haste as usual I am very respectfully yours

Andrew Jackson

ALS, TxU (19-1241). AJ wrote again on March 6 (below).

1. Green Berry Jameson had written Edward Livingston on February 8 that he was confined to his room by illness and would be unable to proceed to Washington for some days (DNA-RG 59, M179-72).

2. The additional article of the boundary treaty, signed by Butler and Lucas Alamán on April 5, 1831, pledged the exchange of ratifications at Washington within one year, by April 5, 1832 (*Treaties*, 3:410–11).

3. The two counties were Miller and Lafayette in southwest Arkansas, another area where the boundary line was indeterminate.

4. Butler enclosed with his December 23, 1831, letter announcing the forwarding of the commercial treaty a strongly worded note he had addressed to Alamán on December 14, protesting Mexico's inexcusable delays and threatening to close his mission and return home (*Jackson Papers*, 9:783–85; *HRDoc* 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 411–12, Serial 332). Butler asked AJ "to tell me under your own hand" whether he approved the note, which Butler credited for pushing the Mexican Congress into approving the treaty before it adjourned.

5. Secretary of State Martin Van Buren's August 25, 1829, instructions for a Texas negotiation, originally issued to Butler's predecessor Joel R. Poinsett, directed him to seek a cession of "all that part of the province of Texas which lies East of a line beginning at the Gulf of Mexico, in the centre of the desert or Grand Prairie which lies West of the Rio Nueces, and is represented to be nearly two hundred miles in width" (DNA-RG 59, M77-152).

6. Livingston wrote Butler on February 27. He stated AJ's approval of Butler's conduct in the treaty negotiation, inquired about his financial arrangement with Green Berry Jameson for carrying the treaty to Washington, instructed him to disavow in the strongest terms any U.S. government complicity in insurrectionary movements among American emigrants in Texas, and reminded him to continue pursuing unsettled American private claims against Mexico (*HRDoc* 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 82–83, Serial 332).

From John Adams Cameron

Consulate U. S. of America
Vera Cruz Feb: 25th. 1832

Dear Sir!

The Army of the Government, under the Command of General Calderon, has been lying at the *Puente Nacional* for nearly a month, collecting reinforcements. About a week since they established their head quarters at Santa Fe, three leagues from Vera Cruz, and pushed an Advanced Guard to within a mile of the City. Night before last, Santa

Anna intercepted a despatch from Government to Calderon, informing him, that a *Conducta* was on the road, bringing him money, provisions and munitions of war, and would encamp that night (Thursday) at *Manantial*, three leagues beyond Santa Fe.¹ Santa Anna put his Cavalry and a part of his Infantry immediately in motion, and, about 11 O'clock at night, marched out, at their head, in order to capture *the Conducta*. This morning, at 11 O'clock, he returned, having fully succeeded in his enterprize. At ½ past 8 yesterday morning, he met the *Conducta*, near *Manantial*, and after a short engagement, in which he lost one man, and killed 17 of the Government troops, he took 230 prisoners, \$24000 in money, and a large quantity of provisions and munitions of war. Having disarmed his Prisoners, he addressed them, and proposed to them to join his Army—which they readily agreed to do, and, this morning, marched into the City with the rest of the Troops.

This has been a very singular military exploit: *Calderon's* Camp is in an open plain, within 300 yards of the main road at Santa Fe, yet along this road did Santa Anna march on Thursday night, and never disturbed, for a moment, the slumbers of the Government Troops. The *Conducta* was taken on the high road, and more than 24 hours elapsed before Santa Anna reached Vera Cruz, and the scene of action was within 12 miles of *Calderon's* Camp, yet for any thing which appears, he is still as profoundly ignorant of it, as if he had been at Mexico. Still more singular—Santa Anna, with all his Troops and booty, staid last night, from 10 O'clock untill 8 this morning, at an Indian Village, within 5 miles of *Calderon*, and never heard from him!

This little exploit has put Santa Anna[']s troops in high spirits—they have tasted of blood, and been successful. They were received this morning with every demonstration of joy. What effect it may produce upon the ultimate issue of things, I do not pretend to predict. *Calderon* has, apparently, been extremely inactive thus far: whether shame, mortification and despair may urge him to make an immediate assault on the City, or whether he will fall back again upon *Puente* and wait for more supplies, is doubtful. His Army, it is said, is suffering much for *Bread*. He must act decisively some way, very soon, as in a short time, the Climate will kill up his troops. Men from the Interior are more liable to suffer from the Climate of the Coast, than even strangers. Santa Anna is adding to the defences of the City every day.

The New York Packet will sail towards the first of the next month, when I will do myself the honor to write again.

A letter from Col: Butler of the 18th. informs me that his health is recovering, though it has suffered severely from his late attack.

With every sentiment of respect and regard, I have the honor to be
Your friend and ob: St.

J. A. Cameron

[Endorsed by AJ:] for the perusal of the Sec. of State A. J

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M183-2).

1. A conducta was a guarded pack train, often carrying specie.

From John Randolph

Roanoke Feb. 26. 1832.

My dear Sir

I wished to write you a long letter but I am sorely beset by my own affairs having at least one hundred unanswered (& I fear unanswerable) letters on my file. Many of these on business of great concernment to me, & I have had heavy losses by not being able to attend to my affairs.

This Russian Campaign has been a Pultowa or *Beresina* to me although I am neither Charles XII of Sweden nor Buonaparte, but a poor & half ruined Virginia Planter.¹ It is well that I was put out of the notion of going to Italy. Another year abroad would have given my estate a shock that it could not have recovered in a life time. As it is I have lost two crops at my three best plantations. Every overseer on the river proved a scoundrel who bribed the negroes with the plunder of my property to wink at their own depredations. My agent Mr Leigh overwhelmed with business of his own, entirely trusting to these same overseers who pillaged me without mercy.²

The enclosed is worthy of republication at this juncture. Ritchie refused to insert either, although I pressed him to do so. His *holding with the Hare & running with the hounds* has damned him with all the old Republicans in Virginia. If the Bug were worth my resentment I could crush him. But Hamilton will do that in his nullifying paper at Charleston—& the Coalition detest him. Like all other double dealers (when found out) he will be abandoned by every party & every man in the U.S. Beware of his *friendship* His enmity is now powerless *to do harm* to any one.

Pray excuse my abruptness as I am barely in time for the post & have to send this scratch 12 miles to the Post Office thro this horrid weather.

Asses milk & Sarsaparilla & rigid abstemiousness from every thing else but these articles of sustenance & diet except Cows milk & unleavened bread have wrought such a change in me that if this Ant-Arctic winter ever closes I shall pay you a visit at Washington as soon as the roads are passable. At present they are impracticable to any thing but mail Carts. It has been hailing & sleeting three days & now the freezing Rain falls as if the store house were inexhaustible. I am My dear Sir most sincerely & faithfully your's

J. R of Roanoke

Before sending the enclosed paper for publication please to have cut off my strictures upon R. in the margin which are for *your* eye only.

ALS, DLC (40).

1. Charles XII of Sweden was decisively defeated by Peter the Great of Russia at Poltava in 1709. Napoleon's French army suffered severe losses at the battle of Berezina or Beresina on its retreat from Russia in November 1812.

2. William Leigh (1783–1871), of Halifax County, Va., was a lawyer and judge and later the executor of Randolph's estate.

To Henry Baldwin

[As requested by Jackson on January 26 (above), Baldwin inquired of Abner Lacock about his conversations with Calhoun and his knowledge of Jackson's confidential January 6, 1818, "Rhea letter" to Monroe during the composition of his 1819 Senate report condemning Jackson's Seminole campaign. Lacock replied to Baldwin on February 18, and on February 27 Baldwin read that reply to Jackson. The extract from it in Jackson's papers that appears below may have been made then or later.]

February 27th. 1832
Washington

My Dr. Sir,

The frankness with which Mr. Lacock's letter is written, that you had the goodness to read to me to day, assures me that he will not deny me the privilege of extracts from it so far as it relates to the interviews he had with Mr. Calhoun whilst he was preparing his report for the Senate in 1819 on the subject of the seminole war—particularly when he is informed that my object in requesting them is to support your statement in 1824 & 1831 that you understood in 1819 that the Johny Rhea letter so called (my confidential letter to Mr. Monroe) was known to him and believed to have been made the basis of his report. Those extracts are also important as shewing how much Mr. Lacock was imposed upon by the duplicity of Mr. Calhoun and how much injustice has been done me by the same cause in having represented me as transcending my orders and violating the constitution.

Under these circumstances I am sure that Mr. Lacock will freely dislose the facts adverted to: and I cannot but believe when he sees my expose that he will be convinced of the great injustice which his reliance upon the statements of Mr. Calhoun & others led him to deal out to me in his report to the Senate in ~~January~~ February 1819. It is therefore that I ask extracts from his letter and that in the expose I am about to make I may use them for the purpose of doing justice to Mr. Crawford for injuries of which I was the innocent instrument, being deceived in the same manner by Mr. Calhoun.

If Mr. Lacock should refuse to furnish the extracts of his letter as requested, then I must request you to ask him to have the justice to state, whether he had not been put in full possession of the contents of my con-

fidential letter to Mr. Monroe, called the Johny Rhea letter, and from what source he derived a knowledge of the contents of that letter? Whether Mr. Calhoun in his interviews with him as chairman of the committee investigating the Seminole campaign and whilst engaged drawing up his report did not fully approve of Mr. Lacock's views as they were expressed in the said report made in February 1819: Whether Mr. Calhoun in the said interviews did not give it as his opinion that I had transcended my orders, violated the constitution, and called out the troops without the knowledge of the Governor of the state as charged in said report? Whether in these interviews did not Mr. Calhoun understand that Mr. Lacock had been made fully acquainted with the contents of the confidential (or Johny Rhea) letter, and did not Mr. Calhoun refer to that confidential letter as positive proof of my intention to violate my orders by my intended operations in Florida—and lastly, whether in the several interviews Mr. Calhoun had with Mr. Lacock whilst he was investigating the subject and preparing his report on the Seminole campaign, did he not fully approve of all the views and statements made by Mr. Lacock in said report, as made to the Senate, and if Mr. Calhoun did not agree with all, in what did he differ from Mr. Lacock; and did not Mr. Calhoun inform Mr. Lacock that he had moved in the Cabinet council for my arrest or punishment and that he was overruled by the members of the Cabinet; and if so by what members? and to give any other information that Mr. Lacock may please as it regards Mr. Calhoun's advice, sentiments or action on that occasion that induced Mr. Lacock to embody any or all of the facts he did in said report.

your early attention to this will greatly oblige yr. friend

Andrew Jackson

LS draft in AJ Donelson's hand with emendations by AJ, DLC (40). AJ corrected "January" to "February" in the second paragraph. He also added the words "& others" and "innocent" in that paragraph, "February" in the next, and "early" in the closing. Baldwin wrote Lacock on February 29, enclosing this letter. Lacock replied on March 12, and on April 13 Baldwin wrote AJ enclosing both letters (below).

[Abner Lacock to Henry Baldwin]

Extract from a letter from A Lacock to Henry. Baldwin. Dated Feby. 18th. 1832

"Before I can agree to furnish the facts requested, it would be necessary, & but fair for me to be informed of the use intended to be made of the facts. If it be to give them publicity, I should hesitate before I should agree to furnish any information that would bring me before the public, as the friend of Jackson or Calhoun, nor would it comport it seems to me, with your present situation to be made the medium of such a communication. Mr. Monroe is dead, & politically speaking I consider Mr. Crawford in the same situation; the situation in which I stood with these men,

especially ~~with~~ the president, would forbid me to make a disclosure that by implication might be construed to their disadvantage.

The President & Vice President are the only men living who can be concerned in the disclosures in question. Nor can I feel such an interest in their personal disputes as to furnish either with the means of defence or annoyance. How you are or can be affected in any way I ~~can~~ do not comprehend, nor do I understand what you mean when you say “my object in asking this information is to support & confirm, what I stated as my belief in 1824 & 1831” &c. The truth is I do not know what it was you did state at the times mentioned, nor to whom nor for what purpose the statements ~~made~~ alluded to was made. And until I do know can I discover, why you wish the information in relation to yourself. So far as your character may be concerned I should be willing & anxious to have justice done you, if in doing it I am not called upon to violate those principles of honor by which I trust my conduct has always been governed.

That at the time I knew as well as I now do, every thing connected with the Johnny Ray letter is most certain: This information was not *at the time recd* from Calhoun, I never had a copy of the letter. I had from Calhoun his views fully in relation to Jacksons conduct in the Seminole war, they agreed with mine, he never told me the course that the other members of the Cabinet wished to pursue in relation to that transaction, but said he had given up his course out of respect to the opinion of the President, who had adopted a course less strong”—&c. All this I had known previous to my conversation with Mr. Calhoun. Except Adams (who is sure to be on extremes) the President & his Cabinet agreed, as to the unconstitutional & illegal course pursued by Jackson & the only question was how they had best get out of the scrape. The middle course (often the worst) was taken “disavow the acts—surrender the posts, but neither punish nor censure the officer.” When Calhoun published his Pamphlet against the President he sent me one, in it my name was gratuitously introduced. I wrote him a letter, not a flattering one it contained reminiscences, facts & observations not a few. He Calhoun told Marks & others that he had recd the letter from me, this justified me ~~& others~~ in telling you & others that I had written to him, I have a copy of the letter he may publish it if he pleases.¹ I shall never except in self defence. It reflects with severity upon the Administration, and all concerned in justifying Jackson at the expense of the constitution & laws of the country. These things have passed away with most of the individuals who were then concerned, although conscientiously satisfied with the course I ~~have~~ then pursued, the retrospect is not pleasant, nor flattering to our country, let us look ahead, & save the nation if it can be saved. If the Govt. is overthrown it will be not by foreign, but domestic enemies. An act of political suicide alone can destroy us. The Nation look to the Supreme Court for protection, there is no man in the Nation upon whom the people lean with so much confidence as Judge Marshall.² Let us boast as we please our confidence & the stability of the

government, depend upon a few men who administer it. The rank & file of the nation have had & still have to a certain extent confidence in Genl Jackson. But every step he takes is calculated to weaken that confidence.

Gov. Wolf & his whole cabinet, are at this moment as deadly hostile to Genl Jackson as Sam Ingham, and yet the old man is willing to be made the pack-horse to carry them along. That Wolf cannot be re-elected in this State is to me quite evident—and were it possible to break down Jackson this would do it.³

The undersigned do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true & faithful extract from the original letter signed A Lacock

S. J. Hays
R. E. W. Earl.

[*Endorsed by Hays:*] Extract from a letter from A Lacock to H. Baldwin, relative to the Seminole war

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Febr'y 18th. 1832—

Extract copy in Samuel J. Hays's hand, DLC (40).

1. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) had vigorously defended AJ in the July 1818 Cabinet deliberations over the Seminole campaign. Calhoun's May 29, 1830, letter of defense to AJ, included in his February 17, 1831, publication on the controversy, had briefly mentioned Lacock as being Crawford's "particular friend" at the time he made his Senate report condemning AJ in 1819 (*Jackson Papers*, 8:315). William Marks (1778–1858) of Pennsylvania was a U.S. senator from 1825 to 1831.

2. John Marshall (1755–1835) was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

3. George Wolf was reelected governor in October.

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 27. February 1832

My dear Sir,

The posture of political affairs remains unchanged since my last; Gen Santa Anna is still in possession of Vera Cruz, and manifests no intention of leaving it—indeed I am convinced that it is his best policy to remain on the defensive at present especially in the occupancy of a Town from whence he derives such advantages, and his latest demonstrations induces me to believe that his opinion does not differ from mine. He not long since displayed his vigilance and enterprize by the capture of a Convoy sent by the Government with money, subsistence and munitions of War for their Army. Genl. Santa Anna passed by that army and intercepted this convoy, making 300 prisoners besides the booty. If Gen. Santa Anna continues on the defensive, and the Government are able to provide money for the payment of the Troops for the contest may continue for several months, and I am in hopes that during this struggle a favorable opportunity will

be presented me for touching the subject you have so much at heart. I shall watch steadily and constantly the variations in the political horizon and be prepared to profit of all favorable circumstances. The Government are at the present moment sustained by a loan recently obtained from the Capitalists of Mexico to the amount of \$600,000—this is but a drop, and will very soon be exhausted, and as I am confident that the experiment cannot be successfully repeated, I shall be ready to offer a supply to their necessities the moment they are found to be pressing. I intimated a few days since to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that “if he became much pressed for money I thought ways and means could be devised for obtaining through the U. States a few Millions, and about which we could converse whenever he felt a desire to do so:” My suggestion will not be forgotten, and the first serious difficulty will no doubt send him to me for an explanation of my remark.

I am apprehensive that the last illness has seriously affected my Constitution; the continued debility under which I am laboring is most extraordinary, and my physician tells me that it is indispensable for me to leave Mexico for a few weeks, in order to regain my health. This advice will be followed, the moment the condition of the Country will permit me to do so without detriment to the public interest, having last fall received your permission to do so.¹

I some time since gave to a Mr. Millington a letter of introduction to you which you may very probably receive about this time; Let me beg of you to extend your hospitality to this Gentleman so far as your convenience and public engagements will permit; He is in himself not only a man of fine understanding and information, but his connections here are of the most respectable character, and from whom I have received much kindness and support. Mr. Millington desires to obtain employment in the United States as a Civil Engineer, a station for which he is eminently qualified, and if he can do so will immediately settle himself in our Country.²

Amongst the many projects for Canals and Rail Roads that are at this time on the Tapis I hope Mr. Millington may procure an engagement—such a man is an acquisition to whatever country he may choose to select as his residence.

I am in daily expectation of the arrival of the February packet by which I hope to hear from you, and to know how the Treaty is received. With scarcely strength at present to go through the labor of a letter, I conclude this with assurances of the most sincere Respect and regard with which I am My dear Sir your Most obedt. Servt.

A: Butler

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Col Butler 27th of Febry 1832 recd. 18th. March—To be answered A. J

answered 19th. of april 1832 A. J.

ALS and cover (at April 19), DLC (40). AJ replied on April 19 (below).


1. Butler had asked AJ's permission for a leave to recoup his health on May 25, 1831. The State Department wrote granting its approval on July 26 (*Jackson Papers*, 9:263–67; *HRDoc* 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 80–81, Serial 332).

2. John Millington (1779–1868) was an English engineer who had moved to Mexico in 1829. He was later a chemistry professor at the College of William and Mary in Virginia.

From Clement Comer Clay

Resolution offered by C. C. Clay.

“Resolved, that the Chairman of this Committee (on the Public Lands) be required to communicate to Genl. John Coffee, of Lauderdale County, Alabama, and to the Hon. John H. Eaton, and Mr. Robert P. Currin, of Franklin, Tennessee, who have been referred to in the preliminary ~~proceedings~~ stages of this proceedings, the nature & objects of the investigation proposed by the Resolution of the House of Representatives, adopted on the 21st. instant, in reference to the Treaties, with the Chickasaws, of 1818 & 1830, and a lease, or leases made under them, or either of them—and that said Chairman notify the said Coffee, Eaton & Currin, that they will be heard in their defence, before any report shall be made, or any examination of witnesses shall take place.”

 This resolution has been laid on the table, and another passed (of which I have not a copy) in substance, requiring Edwd. Everett, Cave Johnson, and Wm. Fitzgerald to come before the committee for examination, as witnesses. No time for this examination is yet fixed—the meeting is to be called by the Chairman, I suppose, after he gets an answer to his call for the Treaty &c. for which purpose another resolution was adopted.¹

27th. Feby. 1832.

To the President—

Dr. Sir,

The foregoing shows what was done in the Committee, this morning. Your friend & obt. svt.

C. C. Clay

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] proceedings of the committee on public lands raised on the chikisaw Treaty. Resolutions presented, rejected & passed—A. J.

ALS, DLC (40). Clay (1789–1866), of Alabama, was a member of the House Committee on Public Lands. The Chickasaws had ceded West Tennessee to the U.S. in an October 19, 1818, treaty negotiated by AJ. The treaty reserved a 16-square-mile tract containing a salt lick on the Big Sandy River, to be leased to U.S. citizens by the Chickasaws for a rent payable in salt for their benefit (*Indian Treaties*, 2:175). On the day the treaty was signed, Chickasaw chiefs Levi Colbert and James Brown leased the reserve to AJ's associate William B. Lewis for 199 years for an annual rent of 750 bushels of salt. Lewis's salt works proved unproductive, and

a supplemental article to the still unsubmitted 1830 Treaty of Franklin, negotiated by Eaton and Coffee, changed the lease's terms to a payment of \$2,000 in three installments and an annual rent of four bushels of salt to the Chickasaws from Lewis and his partner Robert P. Currin (1789–1857). Charges of corruption had attended the 1818 lease arrangement from the start; and on December 17, 1831, Tennessee congressman Cave Johnson, whose district included the reserve, had argued to AJ that Lewis and Currin's failure to produce salt had voided the original lease by its own terms, therefore rightfully reverting title to the 10,240-acre reserve to the U.S. (*Jackson Papers*, 9:775–77).

On January 25, 1832, Massachusetts congressman Edward Everett (1794–1865) moved that the House request a copy of the Treaty of Franklin. He modified his resolution on January 31 and again on February 21 to instruct the Public Lands Committee to investigate the salt lease. In that form it passed the House on February 21 by 92 to 77 (*House Journal*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 240, 273, 395–99, Serial 215). Charles Anderson Wickliffe (1788–1869) of Kentucky was chair of the Public Lands Committee. In AJ's papers is a copy of another resolution offered by Clay in committee on February 25, attempting to stop the inquiry by declaring it “improper” for the House to call for a treaty before it was ratified and “impossible” to investigate the salt lease without it (DLC-40). The committee rejected that motion, and its inquiry proceeded. AJ wrote John Coffee about the lease investigation on March 13 (below). On June 6, Wickliffe reported for the committee majority (Clay dissenting) that Lewis's failure to produce salt had voided the lease, that the reserve had therefore by right reverted to the U.S. as public domain “more than eleven years ago,” and that the attempt to revive it by the supplemental article to the Treaty of Franklin was illegal (*HRRep* 488, 22d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 228).

1. Clay introduced his resolution on February 25. It was tabled on February 27, on grounds that no charges had yet been made for Coffee, Eaton, or Currin to defend against. The committee instead passed resolutions, Clay dissenting, to request a copy of the Treaty of Franklin from the Secretary of War, and to summon Everett, Johnson, and Tennessee congressman William Fitzgerald to testify. Johnson and Fitzgerald appeared before the committee on March 5 (*HRRep* 488, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 47–48, Serial 228).

Samuel Fisher Bradford to William Berkeley Lewis

Philada. Feby. 28th., 1832.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of 16th Inst was duly received. From that time to the present I have been too unwell to answer it. I, *now*, do it with a feeble hand.

In reply to your queries, I will frankly state my recollections of the circumstances to which you refer.

About the 20th March 1830, I was passing down the Pennsylvania Avenue and overtook Genl. Overton, who was going to the House of Representatives. After some minuts of ~~Genl.~~ general Conversation, he, abruptly, said, “Bradford there must be a change in the Cabinet, or we cannot get on. Change! What change, Sir, do you mean! I mean Sir, that Major Eaton must be removed.” He added, “one hundred members of Congress will go home, at least dissatisfied with the President, if it is not done, & many of his best friends will become his enemies.”

My reply was “if the whole Congress were in a body to press Andrew Jackson to this act they would not succeed without shewing better cause than, as yet, is known. Well, Sir, said he, it will be tried, for there is to be

a meeting for that express purpose & very soon. The conversation then turned on other topics until we reached the Capitol.

As this conversation took place accidentally, in the open street, and in common parlance, without any requisition of secrecy, I, as the friend of Major Eaton, thought it my duty to communicate it immediately to Major Barry that we might take measures to counteract or ward off the intended blow at our mutual friend. Accordingly I visited Major Barry within an hour after I had left Genl. Overton and communicated the conversation. He appeared not in the least surprised but calmly said Genl Overton made the same or nearly the same communication to me and I told him that as his information had so important a bearing on the interests of my particular friend, who was also one of the Cabinet, I should consider it my duty immediately to see the President on the subject. He added I went directly to the President & informed him of the whole matter & I think you had better do the same as it will prove to him the affair is becoming public & enable him to meet the event with his usual firmness & decision.

I parted with Major Barry & went to the President's dwelling & fortunately found him at home & alone. After I had made my communication, he instantly raised himself to the full height of his noble stature & with eyes lighted up with feeling & determination he uttered these words Let them come on—let the whole hundred come on; I would resign the Presidency or lose my life sooner than I would desert my friend Eaton or *be forced to* do an act that my conscience may hereafter disapprove. I shall send for Genl. Overton tomorrow & sift the ~~matter~~ affair to the bottom. With great respect Your friend

Saml. F Bradford

ALS, DLC (40). Bradford (1776–1837) was a Philadelphia publisher. Walter Hampden Overton (1788–1845) had been a Louisiana congressman from 1829 to 1831. After the Cabinet breakup in 1831, a controversy had developed over an accusation, first made in the July 11 *Globe*, that a group of Tennessee and Kentucky congressmen had met around March 20, 1830, to demand Eaton's ouster from the Cabinet (*Jackson Papers*, 9:597). On February 20, 1832, Charles A. Wickliffe, who had called the meeting, published "*an unqualified denial*" in the *National Intelligencer* that its aim was to remove Eaton. The eight attendees had only wanted AJ to call more Cabinet meetings. On February 29 the *Globe* repeated its charge.

From Peter Alba

Pensacola W. F. February 1832

To His Excellency Andrew Jackson President of the U.S.

In addressing you upon a subject interesting to the Citizens and the City of Pensacola over the civil interests of which I have the honor to preside as Mayor by the suffrage of its inhabitants I feel that I am drawing your attention (if you will deign to give it) from interesting and no doubt more important matters to the Nation at large I cannot however as an

American Citizen permit that acts so decidedly conflicting with the interests of our Country should be committed by an Officer acting under orders from the General Government of the Nation without exposing conduct which in my opinion and that of my fellow Citizens appears oppressive and insulting and for which in no process of civil law can we find redress.

Without therefore further apology for protesting in my name and in behalf of my fellow Citizens of Pensacola against the Conduct of the Officer in command of the West India Squadron, Jesse D Elliott, I will proceed to lay before you the subject matter of offence offered to me as Mayor of the City of Pensacola and to its inhabitants

During the last Summer a part of the Crew of the U.S. Ship Vincennes to the number of from 50 to 60 were permitted to visit the shore their conduct for some time was orderly and correct but previous to going on board they being excited by drinking made an attack upon some of the females of the town then entering Church. this of course drew the attention of the Gentlemen near who upon interfering were attacked and then commenced a general affray in which one of the crew lost his life and others considerably injured from wounds &c

It became my duty as Mayor of the City to investigate and examine into the unfortunate affair I did so and was and am still satisfied that however melancholy the fate of the individual who lost his life upon that occasion it was caused by the misconduct of the Seamen and cannot be attributed to any feeling of hostility on the part of the inhabitants of this City to them. I had supposed that after the affair had been investigated by the Civil authority with all the care and with every possible disposition to render justice to the parties it would have been forgotten, or only remembered by the Officers as a warning not to permit the like number of men to visit the shore.

How then was I astonished and mortified to find the enclosed piece published and circulated thro' the United States. The reflection cast upon myself and the Citizens of Pensacola could not but cause deep feelings of irritation against the individual who could thus dare indiscriminately to attack us.

The initials W. C. and other circumstances caused a general belief that Walter Colton a Chaplain in the Navy of the U.S. was the author of this most un-Christianlike and disgraceful publication even if true In my Capacity as Mayor I issued a Warrant and had the man brought before me determined to prosecute him to the utmost extent of the Law provided it could be proven that he was the author of ~~the enclosed publication~~ It is at this period I feel compelled more particularly to call your attention to the Conduct of the Commanding Officer of the West India Squadron, on hearing the course that had been taken by the Civil Authorities to investigate and ascertain if Mr W. Colton was or was not the author of the libellous paper enclosed you he the Commanding Officer of the W. I. Squadron in a port of the United States proceeded on board the U.S. Ship

Natchez Commanded by Capt. J. T. Newton and ordered her boats to be manned and armed and to prepare at all hazards to rescue from the hands of the Civil Authority the said Walter Colton. I cannot say that the good people of Pensacola were much alarmed at this threat but it nevertheless made a considerable impression and giving me in my opinion just grounds for thus obtruding on your time so fully devoted to the National interests and to solicit that such attention be given to its contents as you may ~~think~~ deem most conducive to the interests of the inhabitants of Pensacola and to the honor and credit of that Gallant body of men the American Navy—

This Communication would have been made at an earlier date had I been governed wholly by my own feelings, but, circumstances over which I had no control have prevented me from doing so, together with which, I had entertained a hope that some explanation would have been made to the Citizens and myself for conduct so opposite to the spirit of our Constitution.

With a firm Conviction that my views and feelings will meet in your justice proper consideration I beg to be permitted to subscribe myself Your Excellency's Most Obedient Humble Servant

Peter Alba

Mayor of the city of Pensacola—

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Referred to the Secretary of the Navy—A. J. Strange that the Mayor should complain of the publication he has referred to, when the papers he encloses are filled with so much *vulgar abuse of the administration* From the testimony heretofore recd, & on which the atto. Wright was removed, I have no doubt of the truth of the charge made by T. C. and the attempt of the Mayor to bring T. C. before him for trial, shews the despotism that reigns in the breast of the Mayor. The newly appointed U. S. Judge, will regulate these matters at Pensacola A. J.

LS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-131). Alba (1762–1833), a native of Spain, was mayor of Pensacola. Seaman Christopher Pearl was stabbed to death and several others wounded in an affray in Pensacola on April 17, 1831, between sailors on leave from the *Vincennes* and residents of the town. Walter Colton (1797–1851) was a Navy chaplain with the West India squadron, appointed by AJ in 1830. Alba enclosed to AJ the July 15, 1831, issue of the *New-York Advertiser*, an anti-administration paper. It contained a reprinting of a May 7, 1831, letter to the *American Spectator*, signed “W. C.” and datelined “West India Squadron.” The letter claimed that the sailors had been innocent and unarmed, blamed “Spanish idlers” for the “bloody affray,” and charged that Pensacola natives were “so dastardly, mean, and malignant, so covert and serpent-like” in pursuing their “revengeful purposes” as to excite “unmingled indignation and disgust.” The letter charged the Pensacola civil authorities with “apathy and criminal indifference” in pursuing the “assassins,” dismissed the police as “profligate and contemptible,” and accused Alba, “himself a Spaniard,” of having “quite as much respect for dirks and knives, as the equitable provisions of law” (DNA-RG 45, M124-131). Colton had also written AJ on September 8, 1831, charging that U.S. district attorney Benjamin Drake Wright (1799–1875), “a man of feeble abilities, small legal attainments, and utterly incompetent,” had deliberately botched the prosecution of the Spaniard accused of murdering Pearl (*TPUS*, 24:549–50). AJ had removed Wright on October 20. The new West Florida district judge was James Gordon Bryce (b. 1806), nominated by AJ on February 6, 1832, to replace Henry Marie Brackenridge. The Senate rejected Bryce on May 17.

March



From John Randolph

Roanoke March 1: 1832

My dear Sir

I have never received any letter from you that gave me so much pleasure as that which reached me by the last mail (tuesday night) which I recd. by express from Charlotte Court House: for I have to send four times a week 12 miles equal to 48 if Cocker be not mistaken every week or lose a mail¹—and my case is without remedy, for on the whole road there is not one person who can read or write & hardly one that is not a sot or notorious receiver of stolen goods, from slaves instigated to steal by the wretched “House Keepers” who by the votes of Fenton Mercer & Madison & Monroe! were made voters at our elections by our new Constitution. and for that Constitution to my eternal shame & remorse I *voted* while the *white* Basis men who put into it all these villainous provisions refused the dose they had mixed for us & we eastern folks were such asses as to swallow the vile compound for fear the next dose would contain arsenick.² For my part I wish I had dashed the poisonous chalice from my lips for if we are to be poisoned let it be with Prussic Acid or something that does its office quickly instead of lingering in tortures, & dying by half Inches. But why intrude upon you our vile & nasty State politics.

Yes my dear Sir, your letter has lifted a load from my mind & put me where I hope ever to stand in *my own Court* towards you—on a footing of unreserved confidence & esteem, and so long as I have this feeling in my own breast I shall feel assured of your reciprocal friendship for me. If Alexander be satisfied of the friendship of Hephestion he will care little about his estimation of his lieutenants. Now although you are not Alexander (that would be fulsome flattery) & I trust that I am something better than his minion—(the nature of their connexion if I forget not was *Greek Love*) yet if I could discern in your lieutenants an Eumenes, or even an Antigonus, Lysimachus, Perdiccas or Antipater he should have my voice.³

I am glad for Mr. Middleton’s sake that he has been slandered foully, in regard to the representations made to me of what he said in relation to me, & to you as Mr. Miller (Thos. of Powhatan) always your friend represented to me.⁴

As to him of South Carolina he is like his File leader the great *Bank* man & Nullifier. Hamilton is a noble fellow. He is your enemy—openly so but he has frankly and publickly sung his palinodia & abjuring the heresies of federalism, reconciled himself to *our church*. He is anti-Bank as every *real* state-right-man must be. As to Mr. V.P. he & his man Friday the grand & lofty *tumbler* of the lower House & all their miserable *clique* they are politically dead, as dead as they & Duff Green will be at the close of this century—physically.⁵ They have retrieved for V. B. his false move & forced him to reappear on the theatre which he ought never to have quitted I mean the Senate, where in three weeks he would render J.C.C. & his new allies Clay & Webster as harmless as the old man & woman in the vinegar bottle.⁶

I am impatient to see the papers you speak of. every thing proves the noble intrepidity of your nature & even your enemies must give you extorted praise for the manly Frankness with which you scorn to evade the full responsibility of your situation

But I must end. A most severe fit of Gout brought on by twisting my ankle three days ago has compelled me most reluctantly to resort to the acetate of Morphia for relief. The consequence is stupefaction which if it shall have led me into any expression too light for me to use to you I beg that you will excuse it.

As soon as the effects of the opium shall have passed off I will write as I intended to have done by this post a long & I think what you will find not an uninteresting letter.

I am My dear Sir most faithfully & unchangeably Your's

J. R of Roanoke

I sympathize with you literally as well as figuratively. I have a file of unanswered letters that appal me. And overseers & negroes badgering me every day at my bed side

ALS, DLC (40).

1. *Cocker's Arithmetick*, reputedly written by Edward Cocker (1631–1676), was a standard text.

2. Randolph, congressman Charles Fenton Mercer (1778–1858), and ex-presidents James Madison (1751–1836) and James Monroe had been delegates to Virginia's state constitutional convention, held in Richmond from October 1829 to January 1830. The new constitution opened the suffrage, which had been previously restricted to landowners, to leaseholders and housekeepers. Delegates from western Virginia called for reapportioning the legislature based on white population alone, while eastern plantation district delegates favored combining white population with taxation or slaves. The convention finally adopted a formula that fell well short of western demands. Randolph and Madison voted for the new constitution. Mercer and nearly all the westerners voted against it. Monroe, who had presided, resigned because of ill health before the convention concluded.

3. Hephaestion was a general and intimate friend of Alexander the Great (356–323 BC). Eumenes was Alexander's secretary, and Antigonus, Lysimachus, Perdiccas, and Antipater were among his generals.

4. Thomas Miller (1779–1845) represented Powhatan County in the Virginia House of Delegates.

5. James Hamilton Jr. had favored expansive federal power in his early political career. Calhoun's "man Friday" was probably George McDuffie. Duff Green (1791–1875) edited the *United States' Telegraph*, which had been the administration's newspaper voice until supplanted by the *Globe* in December 1830.

6. The fairy tale characters Mr. and Mrs. Vinegar foolishly trade away a fortune and are left with nothing.

From Roger Brooke Taney

Attorney General's Office
March 1. 1832.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letters of the District Attorney of the Northern District of Alabama & of Mr. Bagley recommending that negro Donnelly the slave of a Chickasaw Indian woman who has been convicted of murder in the District Court of the U. States for the Southern District of Alabama should be pardoned.¹

I respectfully recommend that for the present a reprieve be granted postponing the execution of the sentence, until the last friday in April. And I do this for the following reasons.

1st. There is no copy of the Indictment & sentence which ought always to be laid before you on an application for pardon.

2ndly. There is no statement from the District Attorney or the Judge who tried the cause.² And I think it a safe rule in all cases to require from the District Attorney a statement of facts before the pardoning power is exercised

3rdly. It does not appear in the letters whether the State of Alabama has extended its Legislation over this part of the Indian Territory so as to enable the State tribunals to take cognizance of the offence.

The delay which I take the liberty of proposing would give me an opportunity of making the proper enquiries on the last mentioned point & of communicating with the District Attorney on the subject. My office not being furnished with the Laws of the different states I shall be obliged to obtain the Statutes of Alabama from some one of the other public offices. I am Sir with the highest respect yr obt st

R. B. Taney

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Let, negro Donnelly the slave of a chickesaw Indian woman, within named, who has been convicted of murder in the District court of the United States for the Southern District of Alabama, be reprieved so far as posponing his execution of the sentence of said court until the last Friday of april next March 1rst. 1832—Andrew Jackson.

LS, DNA-RG 59 (19-1286). *HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 865–66 (Serial 387). Donnelly was the slave of Widow Factor, a Chickasaw woman. He had been convicted and sentenced to hang in U.S. district court at Mobile for the August 1831 murder of John M. Riddle, a white man, in Chickasaw territory in northwest Alabama. On January 29, 1829, the Alabama legislature had passed a law extending state jurisdiction over its Creek, but not Chickasaw, Indian domain. At trial, Donnelly's attorney Arthur Pendleton Bagby (1794–1858), later governor and U.S. senator, argued unsuccessfully that federal courts held no regular criminal jurisdiction anywhere within the limits of the “free, sovereign and Independent State” of Alabama (*Mobile Commercial Register*, January 9, 1832). On March 1, the day of this letter, AJ signed a formal reprieve deferring Donnelly's execution until April 27. On March 16 Taney wrote to John Elliot, the U.S. district attorney in southern Alabama, inquiring whether the murder was committed within the territory over which Alabama had extended jurisdiction and whether Donnelly's “weak intellect” made him unfit for execution. Not receiving a reply, Taney wrote the State Department on April 10 (below).

1. Byrd Brandon (1798–1838) was the U.S. district attorney for northern Alabama.
2. William Crawford (1784–1849) was the U.S. judge for both Alabama districts.

From Martin Van Buren

For your own eyes exclusively

My dear Sir

Immediately after the receipt of your letter informing me of my rejection by the Senate, I called for and obtained an interview with lord Palmerston, which was of long continuance and upon his suggestion took place at his own House. Alluding to the motives which had induced me not to press them upon the subject of Impressment, until they were a little relieved from the onerous weight of the Conferences & Reform question, and the unexpected event by which I would be separated from the negotiation, I expressed a strong desire, to be, at least, able before I left the Country, to inform you on my return of the views of this Government upon the subject for your future Government.¹ He said he had been greatly pleased with the delicate respect I had had paid to their situation, which had been one of unprecedented pressure, and that he deeply regretted the decision of the Senate, if, as he supposed it removed me from the Legation, as he begged me to be assured of his sincerity, when he said, that he would greatly prefer to discuss the subject with me, & that he was satisfied with from the intercourse he had had with me, that it would have been done in a proper spirit &c of his sincerity in this I have no doubt, as his entire conduct towards me, has been of the most fair liberal & friendly character. He said that of the utility of any discussions now, from the probable temper in which any thing done by me would be received by the Senate, he was not a competent judge, but would have apprehensions. I told him, that although I should not hesitate to sign a Treaty if one could be agreed upon that would be conformable to my instructions, I should not, under the circumstances, think it expedient to prosecute a long discussion, with a doubtful result in prospect; but that I should nevertheless be pleased

to have at least an informal examination of the points, that I might be enabled to apprise you of the difficulties, if any which should be found in the matter. He said that although he had been relieved to a great degree from the conferences, his occupations upon unavoidable matters was still intense—that his desire however to manifest the sincere disposition to strengthen the relations between the two Countries, by which he is influenced, and his confidence in the sincerity of your good feelings towards this Country, would induce him to give the subject the best examination that he could and to consult with Lord Grey and Sir James Graham the First Lord of the Admiralty and see me again when we should decide what was best to be done. This was of course all that I could ask and I since learn from the under Secty. that he had recd. direction to prepare a statement of what has heretofore been done. When we meet I shall propose an informal discussion of the points, to see how near we can come together, but will not make a formal offer, unless it is evident that we can agree according to my instructions, as a departure from the terms therein stated, which I might under other circumstances venture upon, would not now be safe, & in some respects we ask more now than we had before offered to take but in some respects also less. In 1824 during Mr. Cannings administration, and when their feelings were up, this Government took a very strong and imposing stand upon the question, and broke off the discussions in a tone far from agreeable.² Messrs Adams and Clay consequently in their instructions to Mr Gallatin took one of equal spirit—saying that after what had been done it did not comport with our dignity to make any more offers upon the subject, and that Mr Gallatin would, with a strong protest agt. the illegality of their pretensions, inform them, that the future we should be ready to receive offers, but had none to propose. but if they offered, to treat, he was authorized to do so upon a more restricted scale than we had before proposed; viz to consent to the exclusion of British Seamen in time of *war*, but not in time of *peace*, as we had before offered to do.³ Mr Gallatin delivered his message, & concluded before he left the Country, that Mr Canning would be glad to make an arrangement if he felt himself strong enough, but was afraid to meet the sort of public opinion which is prevalent here that the right of impressment is connected with the Naval Supremacy of England as they avowed in 1824. We authorized Mr McLane to change the positioning by saying that we were ready to Treat but confined him to the same instructions, in other respects, as those which had been given to Mr Gallatin—at least to begin upon them.⁴ Mr Livingstons instructions probably I think go back to our old ground, but they contain two particulars which are contrary to what we have before offered to agree, and to which I fear they never will assent. Viz that the stipulation should, under qualifications, extend to *vessels in Port*, as well as on the *high seas* and that not only persons naturalized before the *exchange of ratifications*, but also who had *given notice* of their intention to become so, should be excepted.⁵ Heretofore

we insisted upon the period of *ratification*, they upon the *signing of the Treaty*. We now go one step further and I am afraid they will say, that if they agree to it they would put it in the power of every sailor of theirs in our service, hearing of the Treaty, to give the notice before the exchange of ratifications. The *first as to the vessels in Port*, was inserted in Newyork in consequence of my own observations. On board ship however, I discovered that we had repeatedly offered to agree to except all vessels in Port, and I wrote immediately to Mr Livingston wishing him to re-examine the subject, and if he thought proper bring the article back to what he had first made it, and to send me a new copy of my instructions; the necessity of which I have before explained. He detained the copy of the instructions to send them by a special messenger, and to accompany them with a confidential communication, as I suppose upon the subject of the supposed alteration, but which he says, & I can well conceive it, he has not had time to make out, until its necessity was suspended by my rejection, when he sent me the instructions, in this respect, as they originally where.⁶ Great caution, & a desire to get all he can was very proper on his part, as the course taken is so wide a departure from that adopted by the late administration: but if there had been time for it, or rather if I had remained here I would have urged the propriety of a discretion on these two points. As an offer & new refusal would give some advantage to the opposition taken in connection with the high tone assumed in the instructions to Mr Gallatin, I had from the first, determined not to make an offer, until I had by previous, & full explanations, satisfied myself that it would be accepted, & shall not now do so. Of the disposition of this ministry to go as far as they possibly can with safety, there can be no doubt, but I have all along been confident, that as Mr Canning dared not venture to take the responsibility, neither will they, until they feel the strength which they will derive from the passage of the Reform Bill, & the confirmation of the peace of the Continent—in both of which they will succeed. You must not therefore expect the conclusion of an arrangement but you may expect that something has been, &, that more will be done to pave the way for my successor. I shall place the materials in Mr Irvings hands, & he will write an address to the English nation upon the subject as a parting appeal, which will be eminently useful in paving the way for future operations. If however any thing satisfactory can now be done it shall be. at all events when I return I will explain all to you & Mr Livingston. In the meantime I write to you only.

One word about my successor. I presume it will not be necessary to name him before the close of the session, if you should deem it necessary to do so before I return. In strict confidence, allow me to make a suggestion or two in regard to it. The different factions in Nyork have no doubt promised the ~~opposition to~~ new *Coalition* to raise heaven & earth, if they would gratify their malice by rejecting me. We shall beat them, but we must leave no means that are proper unemployed. There are several small

parties in the state, who are dissatisfied with Gov Throop, and who will make difficulties about his election, although the mass of our friends are very zealously devoted to him. He is a fine, upright, & really able man, and would cheerfully withdraw if he could do so honorably. He would probably not consent to come here, although well qualified for it, because he is poor and would be ruined by it. But if there is any body about you who wishes to come, I assure you that there is no situation at Washington, that he would not fill with credit & usefulness, & I will be responsible for your liking *him in all respects*. Nyork will now you know have nothing. Think of this, & be if you please careful about this letter, as the suggestion if nothing came out of it, might be injurious to the Gov, by throwing his situation in doubt.⁷

I sent you a long letter upon the spur of the occasion by the last Packet, in which I said something about the persecuting spirit of Federalism, which might annoy my gallant friend Louis, & was therefore sorry I had sent it at this moment. If therefore this arrives before it keep the other to yourself. I also remarked, that there would be advantages in having the treaty if any were concluded remain in reservation, without finishing the observation by assigning the reason; viz that no treaty, if made by an angel & upon evangelical principles, would escape criticism before *the election*—after that the interests of the Country might have greater weight.

It is now within a few minutes of the mail & I must close. My health since I have been in the Country has been excellent, until within the last ten days when my system has been somewhat deranged & it was in that state that the blessings of the Senate reached me. Our good friend Dr Macauley, who has succeeded in arranging, to his entire satisfaction his gold affairs, is also putting my little concerns to rights, & will I have no doubt do. Remember me affectionately to all your House Hold not forgetting *Mrs. Finch* (who has gilded me cruelly) & believe me to as ever wholly yours⁸

M Van Buren

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (19-1372).

1. A Conference of Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia had convened in London in 1830 to arrange a settlement between the Netherlands and its rebellious southern provinces, which became the Kingdom of Belgium.

2. George Canning (1770–1827) was Britain's foreign secretary from 1822 to 1827. In 1823, Secretary of State Adams instructed U.S. minister to Britain Richard Rush to seek a maritime treaty incorporating an absolute and permanent British renunciation of the right to impress sailors from American merchant ships on the high seas. In return, the U.S. was prepared to offer to bar British subjects from service on American merchant or naval vessels during wartime, excepting those who had already been naturalized previous to the treaty's ratification. On April 5, 1824, British negotiators asked Rush if he was willing to treat on maritime matters with impressment excluded. He declined, and on July 3, 1824, they told him that the right of impressment was essential and incontrovertible and would never be abandoned, thus ending the negotiation (*ASP Foreign Relations*, 5:532, 550–53, 560, 563–64).

3. In instructions of June 19, 1826, to new minister to Britain Albert Gallatin (1761–1849), Secretary of State Clay observed that previous U.S. offers to prospectively exclude British-born naturalized citizens from the American merchant marine were made in a conciliatory spirit and in sacrifice of the principle that naturalization entailed full rights of citizenship, yet Britain had bluntly rejected them. Clay denied Britain's right to impress sailors off American ships "in toto" and under any circumstances, no matter who they were. Gallatin was to tell the British that the U.S. would make no new proposals but rest on "their incontestible right of absolute and unqualified exemption from the practice" (*Clay Papers*, 5:443–46).

4. Secretary of State Van Buren's July 20, 1829, general instructions to new minister Louis McLane directed him to attempt to reopen discussion of impressment as an issue of "transcendent importance," but without offering any change in the U.S. position (DNA-RG 59, M77-73).

5. Livingston's August 1, 1831, general instructions to Van Buren directed him to propose a ban on impressment on the high seas and also on the reclamation of sailors from foreign ships in port, excepting criminals arrested according to the usual forms of law. He was to accept, if proposed, a stipulation to exclude natives of either country from serving on the other's ships, but exempting those who would give notice of intent to seek naturalization before the date of exchange of ratifications of the treaty (DNA-RG 59, M77-73).

6. In a failed negotiation over impressment in 1818, American diplomats Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush had accepted a British proposal to exempt ships in their ports and territorial waters from a general ban. Livingston's draft of Van Buren's August 1, 1831, instructions had authorized this concession, but at Van Buren's suggestion it was omitted from the final version agreed upon by the two men in New York and subsequently sent officially from Washington. While at sea, Van Buren had written Livingston on September 5, 1831, proposing that his instructions be rewritten to allow the concession (Livingston Papers, NjP). No amended instructions were sent.

7. Enos Thompson Throop (1784–1874) was governor of New York, having filled the vacancy left by Van Buren's resignation in 1829 and won election in his own right in 1830. He declined renomination in 1832, and in 1833 AJ appointed him naval officer for the port of New York.

8. Mary Ann Eastin had been engaged to William Bolton Finch.

From John Walker Jr. and James Starr

Washington City 4th March 1832

Sir

We came on here attached to the arkansa delegation for the purpose of transacting business with you relative to the arkansa Cherokees and also to have some arrangement made with the Government, by which Our people, east of the mississippi might act according to their own free will, and in exercising that freedom and to have ample justice done them. As the common people of our nation has been too much controlled by those who were influenced by speculative motives. It is too true that speculation has been too much the governing principal of the more enlightened part of our community I am sensible of their situation, and when a man asserts it and endeavors to shew them the impositions practised upon them by the speculative motives of others, they will all come out and put him down with threats and induce the ignorant part to believe that he is disposed to

impress in them wrong representations and that his wish is to dispose of their country. This is done by those who have the reins of government in their own hands. I am sensible of my own inability to transact business of so much importance, but yet I know what would suit their interest and our object is to be governed by pure motives alone, and while that is our guide, I hope and pray that this great and powerful nation will not aim at any thing more than to do us (the remnant of a once powerful people), every good in their power and make them comfortable and happy as we see the day is not far distant when we shall all be united and be one and the same people. And we should be happy indeed to see our bretheren situated for life, and have extended over them the protection of this great republic. We are now but few in number and we hope that you will take us under your protection and save from entire destruction the last sad remnant of a nation whose occupancy in the first instance gave them the right to all the country which you now own. We are aware that our people are made use of for political views by those who are opposed to the present administration—far would they be from advocating our cause, were it not to effect their own policy. Had it not been for the interference of our chiefs, and those who were governed from selfish motives and let the Treaty of 1817 continued in operation, we would have been relieved of all these difficulties, that we have at present to encounter with.¹ We are satisfied, on our return in circulating the propositions of the government and making known to our people their true situations that we will meet with much resistance and many difficulties, and in so doing we ask of the government for her protection while thus engaged should it be needed as it will be consistent with her most anxious wishes and as we believe the only means by which we can remain as a nation, and should this be the means of bringing about a Treaty we hope that the government will not forget her friends, as their prejudices are so great, we know that every exertion would be made to deprive us of our rights, and we also wish you to give the arkansa cherokees an invitation to attend at any time the Cherokees east might be authorised to enter into a Treaty, for unless the emigrants are legally authorised and represented by some of their own people, we feel satisfied that they will not be justly dealt by, as the prejudices of the eastern cherokees are so great that they would not do the emigrants justice and by this means, we may become united, otherwise I am fearfull there would always be a split, it is also our wish for you to make our people such propositions as will be placing all upon the same equality, there should be no distinction made unless for services rendered therefore make the allowance separately. It is our wish that you give to those who emigrate an additional quantity of land for their proportional part according to their numbers, pay them for their stock, that they wish to dispose of, pay them one half or more down for their improvements defray all expenses and furnish them plentifully for the first year, and pay to them an equivalent for the difference between the lands paid annually and their annuity paid to the proper representatives

of the people for the support of their government, and say to them you will make them a patent to their lands, and when they think themselves sufficiently prepared, and make the application that they shall have the privilege of sending their representatives to Congress which will do away the necessity of an agent and this give our people every confidence in the government and eventually be the means of our people becoming one and a *part* that will constitute the Ustates, you are sensible of the injuries and many difficulties, we have to encounter with from time to time, and before our part of the nation gets into these difficulties and to relieve those that are already in we humbly beseech you as our great Father and protector, to do us every justice possible in your power, it is our most anxious wish that we will be admitted and become one branch of your great family, as this is the only means by which we can ever be able to flourish, and be installed in all the rights and privileges of your mighty children, may the Supreme being ever preserve you in the confidence of your Nation and that you may see the unfortunate red people comfortably settled, and made happy under your administration, to this we most humbly pray.

John Walker Jr.
James Starr

LS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-113). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1303). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 227–29 (Serial 246). Starr (1796–1845) and Walker (d. 1834) were Tennessee Cherokees accompanying the Western Cherokee delegation that had just arrived in Washington. Walker was killed in 1834 by anti-removal Cherokees, and Starr signed the 1835 removal treaty of New Echota.

Secretary of War Cass replied to Walker and Starr for AJ on April 12. He said the government lacked, but would soon obtain, information to determine if the Western Cherokee domain could be expanded. Whether the Cherokees could send a delegate to Congress and eventually join the Union was for Congress to decide. While the government preferred that all the Eastern Cherokees would agree to remove together, it was willing to treat separately with individual bands or districts, recognizing each as having authority to alienate its own lands, and provided that a majority of people within it concurred. Such removal agreements might reasonably include the various payments and provisions requested by Walker and Starr. Cass agreed that the present annuity distribution of one-third to the Western Cherokees and two-thirds to the Eastern was inequitable, and he pledged to have it readjusted according to actual numbers. He also promised that Cherokees who removed in advance of the whole nation should not receive fewer advantages than those who came later. Lastly, he assented to their request that a deputation of Western Cherokees be present at Eastern councils. On March 26, the Western Cherokee delegates in Washington, joined by Walker and Starr, presented a December 1, 1831, memorial to AJ from Western principal chief John Jolly, which made some requests similar to those here of Walker and Starr. Cass wrote Jolly in reply on April 11, and on April 12 he enclosed both that reply and a copy of this one to the Western Cherokee delegates for delivery to Jolly (*Jackson Papers*, 9:717–19; *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 808–13, Serial 245, and vol. 3, pp. 275–76, Serial 246).

1. The Cherokee treaty of 1817, negotiated by AJ, provided a country for the Western Cherokees and in exchange ceded to the U.S. a portion of the Cherokees' eastern domain. It stipulated that the annuity should henceforth be divided between Eastern and Western Cherokees according to population. The subsequent Treaty of Washington of 1819 fixed the annuity ratio at two-thirds to the Eastern Cherokees and one-third to the Western (*Indian Treaties*, 2:140–44, 177–79).

To Amos Kendall

(Private.)

MARCH 5th, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR:

Our mutual friend Mr. McLane spoke to me to-day to have you make out a copy of my reply to the address of the members of the Legislature of New York. Whilst copying it, the enclosed letter [with] the enclosed paper came to hand—I hasten to hand it to you, that it may appear in the *Globe* to-morrow with such appropriate remarks as it may be deemed proper to make. In haste yours

ANDREW JACKSON.

P.S. Send the paper back when done with it.

P.S. [2d] I will be happy to see you to-morrow, after 12, for a few minutes.
A. J.

Printed, *Cincinnati Commercial*, February 4, 1879, DLC (40). The enclosed paper was probably the March 1 *Albany Argus*, containing the February 9 New York legislators' letter to AJ reproving the Senate's rejection of Van Buren and AJ's February 23 reply (both above). The *Globe* reprinted both from the *Argus* on March 6, with editorial commentary lauding AJ and Van Buren and condemning their Senate foes.

To Edward Livingston

March 5th. 1832

My Dr Sir

I am this moment informed, that the joint Resolution of the two Houses of Congress, giving five additional clerks to the Patent office has been passed.

Young Mr Ebenezer Hume, who filled the office in that Department, to which Mr Walker was appointed, has the promise to fill one of them, and will be appointed.

Mr. Robert Beal the bearer hereof, has been *well* recommended, holds a letter from commodore Porter that would do honor to any man, is an excellent clerk, and lawyer by profession. I will be gratified that he fill another of them he has been a uniform & faithful friend.

ALS (signature removed), TU; ALS draft, NjP (19-1308). A resolution authorizing the hiring of additional patent clerks passed the House on January 23 and the Senate on March 1. AJ signed it on March 7 (*Statutes*, 4:605). Ebenezer James Hume (d. 1842), son of AJ's Nashville friend William Hume, had been appointed to a vacant clerkship in the Patent Office in August 1831 after AJ objected to hiring Samuel Purviance Walker (c1769–1834); but Walker had later replaced Hume after Patent Office superintendent John D. Craig complained in December of Hume's incompetence and laziness (*Jackson Papers*, 9:471–72; DNA-RG 59,

M639-11). On March 8 Livingston offered clerkships to Hume and to attorney Robert Beale (1800–1866). Both accepted, but Hume was not employed (DNA-RG 59, M639-2 & M639-11). On April 23 AJ recommended him to Treasury fifth auditor Stephen Pleasonton (below). Former Navy captain David Porter (1780–1843) was the present U.S. chargé d'affaires to Turkey.

To George Washington Martin

(Private)

March 5th. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

I have to day seen a letter from you to my son, in which you say you have drawn upon him for \$1500—as I know he has no funds but what he expects to get through me I hasten to write you. Your draft will certainly not be paid, unless based upon a bond for a title from Saml. R. Donelson brother of Andrew, for his lot of Land adjoining me & which I intend for him

Some time gone by, I understood that William Donelson was to procure a sale from Saml. to myself, or son, for which he was to receive \$1500—this money he was to get on interest from Saml, to pay you for Lucinda's Lot, for which purpose I wrote William Donelson, that on his becoming bound for a title for Saml's Lot, I would pay on the first of April fifteen hundred dollars, and for Alexanders Lot, on christmas next, the same sum [. . .] non acceptance—without I can spare the funds conveniently: which must [be] painfull to all—but must be from the necessity of the case.

With kind salutations to Lucinda & my son¹—believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

[*In AJ Jr.'s hand:*] PS I hope early in may that we can arrange it all satisfactory AJ

ALS fragment, MsSM (19-1314). Martin was the husband of AJ Jr.'s birth sister Lucinda Rucker Donelson (1812–1837). AJ had proposed these purchase terms for Samuel and Alexander's lots to William Donelson on November 5, 1831 (*Jackson Papers*, 9:665–66), and had again written him about them on February 6, 1832 (above). AJ Jr. enclosed this March 5 letter to Martin within one of his own, saying: "The President has directed me to enclose this to you, I hope by to morrow or next day to have all things straight again. The President did not like you drawing upon me until notified, that is all I shall convince him this evening, and write you to morrow or next day certainly—& fully, & I hope satisfactory—my love to Lucinda—we are all well" (MsSM, 19-1318).

1. AJ's "son" was his namesake, George and Lucinda's son Andrew Jackson Martin (b. 1831).

From Edward De Krafft

Washington, March 5, 1832

To General Andrew Jackson President of the United States

The undersigned has been requested by several of his fellow citizens, whose signature is attached to the same, to present the enclosed paper to the President for his respectful consideration.

E DEKrafft

ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). De Krafft (1790–1833) was a Washington printer.

[Enclosure: Edmund F. Brown et al. to AJ]

Washington City October 1831.

Sir,

We are aware that the practice of employing free blacks as Messengers and servants in the different Offices of Government to perform the more menial duties required in the public edifices in this City, is of so long standing as to have received the sanction of custom, and therefore by some considered, if at all an evil, yet not one of such magnitude as to occasion any inconvenience to the present or rising generation. To this sentiment we cannot subscribe, nor do we believe that an act which has ever been intrinsically wrong, becomes right by usage.

We have no doubt but there are many honest and worthy citizens who would gladly accept these situations and faithfully perform the duties appertaining to them.

The facilities afforded by such situations in the public Offices, for acquiring information from the various sections of our country and of the world, are too well known to you to need any detail, and we forbear to tax your time longer than to pray that you will redress the grievance complained of, by dismissing said blacks.

Edm. F. Brown
Greenbury Gaither
Jos Reynolds
W. W. Billing
A. G. Glynn

[One hundred twenty-nine additional signatures follow.]

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr D Crafft enclosing a petition signed by sundry persons praying that all free persons of colour should be dismissed as Messengers from the public offices—Made known to the Heads of Dept's for their action A. J.

DS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Edmund Francis Brown (c1806–1873) was a Post Office Department clerk and Anthony Greville Glynn (c1788–1838) was a War Department clerk. Greenbury Gaither (1792–1838) was a silversmith and jeweler. William Wright Billing (1801–1843) was a District of Columbia tax collector.

To Henry Baldwin

(Private)

March 6th. 1832—

The President with his respects to the Honble. judge Baldwin, request him to have the goodness to furnish him with a copy of his opinion in the late case against the State of Georgia. It will be received in strict confidence, & kept for his own eye & that of his confidential advisers, until the judge may give it to the Public.

P.S. as the opinion of a majority of the court will be published, which the President believes unsound both in law, & in facts, he wishes to compare yours with it, for his own satisfaction¹

AN, PMCHi (19-1323). On March 3 the Supreme Court had decided the case of *Worcester v. Georgia*. Samuel Austin Worcester (1798–1859) and Elizur Butler (1794–1857) were missionaries to the Cherokees. They had been convicted in a Georgia court and sentenced to four years' hard labor for violating an 1830 state statute that prohibited whites from residing among the Cherokees without a license from the governor. Worcester appealed to the Supreme Court, challenging Georgia's jurisdiction over the Cherokee domain. The case was argued in late February, with Georgia refusing to appear. Chief Justice John Marshall's majority opinion found for Worcester, declaring that the Cherokee nation was "a distinct community occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force," and that Georgia's acts exercising jurisdiction within it were "repugnant to the constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States" (31 U.S. Reports 561). Baldwin alone dissented. Georgia authorities ignored the decision. Worcester and Butler were pardoned and released on January 14, 1833.

1. The *National Intelligencer* first published Marshall's opinion on March 10. Baldwin's dissent, not delivered to the court reporter, appeared in the *Globe* on March 28 and 29. Baldwin held that the Georgia trial record, not being signed by a judge, was not officially before the Court and that any proceedings on it were improper. He also maintained, as he had in the related 1831 case of *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, that the Cherokees were not a nation and that Georgia as a sovereign state held unhindered jurisdiction throughout its territorial limits.

To Anthony Butler

Your letter of the 2d. January last by way of New Orleans has just been received.

In relation to the negotiation for an extension of our boundary, which I am happy to learn from you may in a short time be attempted with some prospect of success, it will be necessary for you to keep in mind the instructions already forwarded. It is our wish to go as far West as the

Grand Desert, or if that is unpracticable as far as can be obtained. You are no doubt advised of the critical situation in which the province of Texas is placed by the disaffection of a large portion of its inhabitants. Since my last letter to you in which this fact was mentioned additional information has been received here which renders it quite probable that by this time an insurrection has made its appearance. There can be but little [. . .] -tion of such an event it is unquestionably the interest of the latter to take the only step which can relieve her from the necessity of war.

The new Article in the Treaty left me no discretion as to the propriety of submitting that relating to the boundary to the Senate. If it had been withheld it would have been called for by the Senate. I have however laid *confidentially* before the chairman of the committee on Foreign relations your private letter on the subject, which I trust will produce a postponement until the next session [. . .] have caused the situation [. . .] Diplomatic corps and the insufficiency of their salaries, as well as the propriety of allowing a clerk or Secretary [to] the charges d affaires, to be laid before the Senate, but I fear no steps will be taken to correct the evil. I have no better hopes to hold out to you either in regard to the substitution of a minister of the first grade at the court of Mexico.

Under these circumstances you must judge for yourself whether or not you ought to remain longer at that court.

I have this moment recd. a letter from Major Cameron, Vera Cruz, informing [. . .] can paralise the [. . .] of the executive, it will be done—they have become envious of its success, both at home and abroad, & Clay, Calhoun, & Webster have [caused] to endeavour to put me down—and the supreme court in a late decision declaring the cherokees an independent nation, have united, to embarrass me. *It all will not do.* I have always relied on the good intelligence & virtue of the people. They will decide. I have directed the Secretary of State to send you the papers[.] very respectfully your friend

Andrew Jackson

[Endorsed by Butler:] Gen. Jackson 6 March 1832

LS fragment, TxU (19-1325). The concluding paragraph is in AJ's hand, the rest in AJ Donelson's.

From Martin Van Buren

confidential

London March 6th 1832

My dear friend

I have deferred writing to you until this the last day for the Packet, in the confident expectation that the one of the 8th. of Feby. would certainly

have arrived ere this time. Such however has not been the case, & I am without any thing from the U.S. later than the 1st. Feby. My answer to the Nyork committee was sent by the last Packet, and a duplicate will go by this. Before this reaches you it will I trust have appeared in the Nyork papers. Every hour since my last has confirmed us in the conviction, that to have hurried away from here immediately after the receipt of the information of my rejection would have operated badly; as well in regard to public as private considerations. It would have been acquiescing in the personal humiliation intended for me by my enemies, and left my own conduct as well as the act of the Senate open to all sorts of inferences; as strangers are very apt to put the construction on an act of this description by which the individual concerned appears to ~~confirm~~ regulate his own conduct. By continuing to appear amongst the public men, who belong to, & are stationed in the country, from day to day, and conversing freely with them upon the subject, the matter has become understood, and I think duly appreciated; and I flatter myself that I shall leave here with as much respect, & more kind feelings as than I could have hoped to have been the case if I had served out my time. My situation was one of peculiar & painful delicacy, which it is difficult for those at home to appreciate, and I am happy to believe that I have made the best of it. The King asked me to explain the matter to him and enquired with earnestness whether my rejection proved that you were losing ground. I of course had no difficulty in satisfying him upon that head.¹

I wish you would ask Mr Livingston to shew you Mr Gallatins letter to Mr Clay of the 22d. Sept. 1826. In the third paragraph of that letter you will find the concessions as to the points in which we were in the wrong, of which so much complaint is made, distinctly stated by Mr Gallatin—and if you refer to Mr Clays subsequent instructions to him you will find that Mr Gallatins views are in effect acquiesced in by him. That part of the letter and so much of the 7th. paragraph as shews that the question had become a matter of feeling, between the public men of the two Countries are very important. These ~~facts~~ ~~fact~~s will put to shame the pretences that are now set up, & explain the views which directed the instructions as well as the difficulties they were intended to obviate. As I ~~shall probably~~ may have occasion to use these extracts immediately after my arrival, and cannot do so without your authority, as Mr Gallatins letter has never been published, I wish you would look into the matter, and if you see no objection place that authority in the hands of a friend in Nyork to be delivered to me on my arrival. I can myself see no possible objection to this course. You have been accused of giving your sanction to instructions which admitted that we were *assailable* upon points in which it is contended that we were not, & those accusations are brot. forward in the Senate of the U. S., can it therefore be doubted that you would be justified in shewing the state of the case, as you found it upon the records when you entered upon the Government; nor is the case without example,

as you will remember that Mr Adams published the Panama Instructions after he had asked for & failed to obtain the assent of the Senate. You will see how much farther Mr Gallatin goes than the instructions do—he says we were *vulnerable*—not merely *assailable*.²

Do not let the suggestion in my last about Nyork embarrass you. Being on the spot you can best judge what is best to be done, & in regard to Nyork Mr Marcy, and others at W. & Messr Wright & Flagg at Albany cannot be mistaken in the advice they give you.³ If you can withdraw the gentleman referred to from his present station our friends would probably nominate Judge Marcy, or some other of the friends who have been spoken, by which sectional discontents would be silenced & the general cause strengthened.⁴ I keep no copies of my letters and cannot therefore refer to those past for the expressions I use. I trust however that there is nothing in my last which could be construed into any thing like a complaint of Mr Livingston—such was certainly not my intention, & I presume I have sufficiently guarded agt. it. His course was a difficult one; as he went further in some respects than the late administration, it was quite natural that he should ask a little more in others—calculating, as he supposed he had a right to do, upon an opportunity to interchange communications pending the negotiation; of which we have been cut off by the Senate. The letter I now send for your joint perusal will explain sufficiently what is going on, & after I have seen Ld. Palmerston I will write you again, & make a full report to Mr Livingston on my return, or before if necessary.⁵ You will of course explain to our good friend McLane, from time to time what it behoves him to know, as I have so many things pressing upon me at the moment, that I cannot write to him as often as I wish. My son the Major is all discretion and as I do not write to him by this Packet, I wish you would send for him, and shew him this letter.⁶ In three weeks at the furthest I shall, if the Cholera does not interrupt my course and God be willing, turn my back upon this vast metropolis.⁷ I did wrong in suffering John to leave me before I knew the decision of the Senate, & it will cost me much trouble & time to get him back. An old soldier like you would have kept a more complete controul of his forces whilst [the ene]my were in the field—but I [am] never to cease learning from you. Remember me affectionately to all y[our] Household, & to my friends in general & accept for yourself dr. Sir the assurance of my unceasing respect & affection

M Van Buren

[*Endorsed by A*:] *Confidential*—Mr Van Buren March 6th 1832—

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (19-1329).

1. William IV (1765–1837) was King of Great Britain.

2. In his dispatch of September 22, 1826, Albert Gallatin said the U.S. was “perhaps vulnerable” on three points in the West Indian trade dispute with Britain: delay in renewing the negotiation; failure to reciprocate Britain’s revocation of restrictions on the indirect

trade; and adherence to its denial of Britain's right to levy protective duties on trade to its own colonies. Gallatin opined that mutual interest would eventually compel a settlement, but only after feelings on both sides were given time to subside (DNA-RG 59, M30-29). Clay conveyed the U.S. willingness to waive its demand for an abolition of protective duties in British colonial ports to Gallatin on April 11, 1827 (*Clay Papers*, 6:429). In reviewing the history of the controversy, Van Buren's July 20, 1829, instructions to Louis McLane repeated that the U.S. was "most assailable" on the three grounds named by Gallatin (*SDoc* 20, 21st Cong., 2d sess., p. 9, Serial 203). Those instructions, communicated by AJ to Congress on January 3, 1831, and officially published, had provided the basis for senatorial criticism of Van Buren's nomination. Gallatin's correspondence with Clay had not been made public. President Adams had clashed with Congress in 1826 over his appointment of American delegates to the international Panama Congress. On his last day in office in 1829, Adams sent a copy of his instructions for the mission to Congress. After both houses refused to print them officially, they were given to the press.

3. Silas Wright (1795–1847), later senator and governor, was the New York state comptroller, and Azariah Cutting Flagg (1790–1873) was the secretary of state.

4. Marcy was elected governor in November, succeeding Throop.

5. This letter, also written March 6, is immediately below.

6. Van Buren's eldest son, Abraham Van Buren (1807–1873), was an Army lieutenant serving as aide to General Alexander Macomb in Washington.

7. A cholera pandemic originating in India was now sweeping across Europe and would soon reach the U.S.

From Martin Van Buren

Private

London March 6th. 1832

My dear Sir

I send for your and Mr Livingston's confidential perusal a private note from Lord Palmerston, upon the subject of an interview I am to have with him, in regard to the Impressment question.¹ As I dare not promise myself, that under all circumstances it will be in my power to bring this Government, in the short time I can remain here, to an arrangement sufficiently conformable to my instructions to justify me in agreeing to it; I think it very important that nothing should be said upon the subject, at present; as it could not fail to be highly injurious to raise expectations which may not be realized. But although I do not hope for complete success, I am quite sure that the discussion will be eminently useful, in guiding & assisting your future operations. It is my intention to make it in the first instance informal; but if it should happen that this Government is willing to enter into a convention upon the principles of my instructions, I shall certainly avail myself of the discretion allowed me by Mr Livingstons last Dispatch, and the advices contained in his and your private letters, to do so; but that is I repeat hardly to be expected, as there are at all events some points upon which I am quite sure they will at least require modifications; and they may, upon full consideration, conclude to leave the matter open for my successor. We shall see; & I will in due season report the result to Mr Livingston. The paper referred to in Lord Palmerston's note, was Mr

Livingstons last Despatch, referring it to my discretion to continue in the Legation to the end of the Session or not.² This matter, & a few others of minor importance disposed of, and I shall immediately pack up & be off; leaving the relations of our Country here, I hope not the worse, if they are not the better, from my short in England. With the most cordial salutations to you & friends believe me dr sir to be very truly yours

M Van Buren

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr Van Buren 6th. of March 1832—

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (19-1337). Van Buren wrote AJ about his discussions with Palmerston over impressment on March 13 and March 28 (both below).

1. Palmerston had written Van Buren on February 29, promising his government's "Earliest attention" to impressment and a further discussion with Van Buren on it "in a few days" (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

2. Livingston had written Van Buren on January 28, officially informing him of his rejection by the Senate but authorizing him to stay until the end of the congressional session (when his commission would automatically expire) if he could thereby promote U.S. interests (Van Buren Papers, DLC; DNA-RG 59, M77-73).

John Randolph to William Taylor Barry

Roanoke March 6. 1832

Sir

I have made it a rule through life never to punish even a Slave upon presumptive evidence except where that evidence was stronger than the evidence of two *ordinary*, unimpeached witnesses.

I have long believed that the grossest abuses were practised at the Post office at Richmond. That unhappy town has been most unlucky in this respect.

Mr. Jefferson turned out Aug: Davis a silly drunken foolish Editor of a federal newspaper but a most effective post master (kept to his Collar & traces tight for fear of removal & put in Marks Van-Dewal a political partizan who had been vendue master in Richmond, but being a man of business & an honest man the office was well filled. He however soon died & the office was given to Dr. Wm. Foushee a *furios Jacobin* but a gentleman & an honest man who farmed it to one of his Sons also a Physician (by Diploma from Philada. our Aberdeen & St. Andrews) but he was so totally incompetent that it was farmed to one of the Clerks for \$1600 dollars nett (as well as I remember) & Mr. Wickham used to say that "no body could blame the Post Master for the notorious irregularities of his office as he was *never there*"¹

The same may be said of the present Incumbent a violent & indecent AntiJackson man of whom Mr. Tazewell of the Senate is reported to have said that an ounce of lead was a higher recommendation to the Virginia

assembly than a pound of brains. N.B. This gent: for the merit of getting said ounce of lead in his body during our late war was made *more nostro virginiano*, every thing that we could make him—Governor amongst the rest.² He is brother to the notorious John Preston our knavish Treasurer—brother in law to Genl. R. B. Taylor, Newtons friend—&c: &c. Mr James Patten Preston is the brother in Law of Genl. Taylor (R. B. T.) now a judge & *proh pudor!* now the friend of *Tom* Newton. & is the own brother of John Preston of notorious memory late Treasurer of Virginia. & is brother of the overgrown but most worthy man Frank Preston of the Salt works on Holston R. near the Tennessee & Kentucky lines, whose daughter married Genl. Edward Carrington of Halifax also a most honourable man but with all his connexions (Cabell, Carrington, Venable, Morton Wilkins &c: from the mouth of Rappahannock to Holston & from the N: Carolina line to the Tobacco Row Mountain are connected with every wealthy family in Virginia³

Sir

Do not misunderstand me. I am no supporter of the late or of the present Cabinet which I think much the worse of the two as Genl. J. to whom please shew this letter (but no one else) *knows* under my own proper hand. Some of his removals witness my venerable friend Mr. Maury of Liverpool appointed by Washington on his taking the helm; the friend school fellow & *Class mate* of Jefferson, continued by every president; removed under false representations of his superannuation or of his principles to make way for—whom? You can tell; so can I.⁴ I am Sir your obt Servt.

J. R. of Roanoke

Please shew this letter to Genl. J. rather let me say to the President of the U.S.

ALS, DLC (40).

1. Federalist editor Augustine Davis (c1752–1825) became postmaster at Richmond before 1790. He was replaced in 1802 by Marks Vandewall (c1754–1808). Physician and former mayor William Foushee (1749–1824) succeeded Vandewall in 1808 and held the post until 1824. William Foushee Jr. (1784–1835) received a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1808. John Wickham (1763–1839) was a Richmond attorney.

2. James Patton Preston (1774–1843) had been an infantry colonel in the War of 1812 and was wounded at Crysler's Farm in 1813. He was governor of Virginia from 1816 to 1819 and Richmond postmaster from 1824 to 1837. *More nostro virginiano* means by our Virginia custom.

3. John Preston (1764–1827), Virginia state treasurer from 1809 to 1820, was found on leaving office to have grossly mismanaged public funds, leaving more than \$80,000 missing. James P. Preston's wife, Ann Barraud Taylor Preston, was the sister of Robert Barraud Taylor (1774–1834), a former Virginia militia brigadier and present state circuit judge. Thomas Newton (1768–1847) was an anti-Jackson congressman from Norfolk. AJ's friend, former Virginia congressman Francis Preston (1765–1835), lived in Abingdon and operated a nearby salt works. His daughter Eliza Henry Preston (1796–1877) had married Edward Codrington Carrington (1790–1855). Tobacco Row Mountain is in Amherst County in southwest Virginia.

4. James Maury (1746–1840) had been U.S. consul at Liverpool from 1790 until AJ replaced him with Francis Barber Ogden (1783–1857) in 1829.

From James Fenimore Cooper

Paris, March 8th. 1832.

Sir,

I trust that the motive which induces me to write this letter, will be a sufficient apology for one so little known to you personally, presuming to trespass on your time. As the subject, however, belongs properly to the country, an American citizen may claim some right to the attention of the Chief Magistrate, and I do it the more confidently, from the strong conviction I feel that, apart from your high situation, you take deep interest in all that touches the reputation or hopes of the Republic.

During a residence of some years in Italy, it was my good fortune to make the acquaintance of Mr Horatio Greenough of Boston, who was then as now, a resident at Florence pursuing the art of sculpture. I was so much pleased with Mr Greenough, both as an artist and as a man, as to order a small groupe from his chizzel, which groupe is now in America, and to which I refer, with confidence, as a specimen of his skill.¹ But sculpture is a branch of art that can receive no great aid from private patronage. It is also costly in outlays, both of labor and materiel. Unlike painting, some means are necessary to pursue the art at all. With a view to enable Mr Greenough to pursue his occupation, I authorised him to exhibit the groupe he made for me, with the hope, and I may add with the expectation, that the feeling of the country would furnish an ample remuneration to a talent so distinguished, and which was likely to reflect honour on the American name. I am grieved to say that this expectation has been sadly disappointed. Loss, and not gain, has been the result of the experiment, and I have the means of knowing that Mr Greenough is totally dependent on the succour of a few friends even for the food he puts into his mouth. This is a hard fate, Sir, for a gentleman, a man of great acquirement, of singular merit in his profession, and of acknowledged excellence of private character. It is more than all, a hard fate for, perhaps, the only American Sculptor we have, at a moment when foreigners are liberally patronised by the country, and, if what I hear be true, are munificently paid by the government. I am told that Mr. Persico has an order to execute two statues for \$10,000 each. There may be some exaggeration in this rumour, but he is certainly employed, and the fact has encouraged me to lay the case—I think I may venture to say the claims of Mr Greenough before you, with a strong hope that, acquainted with the circumstances, the government will have it in its power, and will feel the disposition to preserve this excellent young man to his country.²

Were Mr Greenough unable to execute an order even as well as a foreigner, still his labour would have a value beyond any secondary production of a stranger, since it would always be a subject of reference in the history of American art, but it is my opinion that few men will produce statues of purer taste or of finer detail. With these explanations, I beg to commit him to your own national feeling, subject to the discretion which must necessarily govern your official decisions. I will not repeat apologies that I am persuaded are unnecessary for bringing this case before you. Mr Rives has kindly offered to forward this letter; and, as he knows Mr Greenough personally, I am not without hopes that he will second its application.³ I am Sir, with great Respect your H. Ser

J. Fenimore Cooper

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1345). James Franklin Beard, ed., *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper*, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 233–35. Cooper (1789–1851), a renowned American author, had been living in Europe since 1826. He met sculptor Horatio Greenough (1805–1852) in Florence in 1828. A resolution authorizing the president to employ Greenough to execute a full-length marble statue of George Washington for the Capitol rotunda had already passed the House of Representatives by 114 to 50 on February 18. Livingston offered Greenough the commission on February 23, and Greenough accepted in July for a fee of \$20,000 (*HRDoc* 45, 27th Cong., 1st sess., Serial 392). The statue was completed in 1840 and shipped to the U.S. in 1841. It now stands in the National Museum of American History.

1. Cooper had commissioned a marble sculpture modeled on a work by Raphael. Greenough completed *The Chanting Cherubs* in 1830, and it was exhibited in 1831 in Boston and New York.

2. In 1829 the U.S. had commissioned Italian sculptor Luigi Persico (1791–1860) to execute the statues “War” and “Peace” for the Capitol front for \$20,000.

3. William Cabell Rives (1793–1868) of Virginia was the U.S. minister to France. He enclosed Cooper’s letter to AJ on March 9, seconding Cooper’s praise of Greenough and his enthusiasm for promoting American artistic genius (DNA-RG 59, M639-9).

To John Coffee

Washington March 9th 1832—

Dr. Genl.

your letters of the 23rd. & 24th. ulto. has just reached me—that of the 23rd. enclosing forty dollars advanced Andrew J. Hutchings by me, which you will please to note.

I am truly astonished at Hutchings extravagance, & fully approve of your withholding from him further funds until you hear from me.

On receipt of the professors letters advising me of his dismissal, or rather his withdrawal, to avoid dismissal, I wrote him to advise me of his situation & his wants and to come forthwith to me, and I would advance the necessary funds for his return. This letter he answered, giving an

account of the causes that produced his dismissal, or withdrawal, & stating that he was waiting the necessary funds from you, for his expenses, ~~home~~, when he would come by here on his way home. On day before yesterday he wrote my son, that on the evening before, the eve of his intended departure, all his money was stole out of his overalls pocket &c. I directed my son to write him and enclose him ~~fifty~~ twenty dollars and direct him on the receipt of it forth with to leave there and come to me—yesterday that letter was sent him by Mr King & I write him to day commanding him to come here where I intend to keep him until my son & daughter leaves here for the Hermitage to which place they will set out so soon as they return from Philadelphia where they are gone to pay a short visit to their friends.

Send him no more funds, I will supply his real wants, and not one cent beyond them—he must *gamble*, but I never have heard of his *even* playing a card for amusement, and I have enquired.

A word on politics. Moor, and Poindexter we all know never had any moral principle, & when this is the case, such men never can be relied on in maintaining sound political principles—we know that men without moral principle, can always be corrupted by ambitious demagogues and are unworthy of trust by a virtuous people. These men are politically dead & must resign, if they possess the least feelings of propriety. A letter recd. yesterday from a worthy citizen of Mississippi says “Poindexter has deceived the state. He is a moral & political scoundrel—a traitor &c &c,” This will apply to your Senator with equal propriety. It would not do to renominate Mr. V. B. I could not thus corode his feelings, or risque my own with such a corrupt faction, as the opposition in the senate—a croud approaches & I must close, with my kind wishes to Polly & the children & best wishes for your health and happiness yr friend

Andrew Jackson

[*Endorsed by Coffee:*] Genl. Jackson on the subject of A. J. Hutchings

ALS, THi (19-1367).

From John Randolph

Roanoke Sunday 2 P.M
March 11. 1832

My dear Sir

I have barely time to put you on your guard against a Snake in the grass, a member from Virginia (not the Speaker) who is pining for a Diplomatic appointment. He is a great friend of your first Lord of the Treasury who is most assuredly leading you to the *Canadian Forks*, where you must be politically *Burgoyned*.¹ I speak not of your re-election that is

secure but you will hand us over to Webster & Co. for Clay is defunct & Calhoun has committed suicide He never can receive a Presidential or Vice presidential vote in Virginia.

I write in agony. My legs swollen to the utmost stretch of the integument & my Lungs beginning to give way by long irritation from the local disease. My dear Sir cut the Lilliputian ties that entangle you. Refuse any Bank Bill that does not open the stock to all of us. I feel that if it is to pass I have a right in common with my fellow citizens to partake of its benefits. Shall we be tributary to English stockholders & a gang in Chesnut street who by Loans to needy members of Congress & to *Cabinet ministers in embarrassed circumstances*—who have a house full of children & no estate, who are always pushed for *ways* & means—to carry their point whilst you, independent & unembarrassed, have no suspicion of the influences which operate on all around you.² My dear Sir you *must* have ministers who think with you & in whom your friends can confide. They cannot confide in your Chancellor of the Exchequer—or your Secretary of state. Most truly yours

J. R of Roanoke

ALS, DLC (40).

1. Andrew Stevenson of Virginia (1784–1857) was Speaker of the House of Representatives. In the American Revolution, British general John Burgoyne (1723–1792) led an army south from Canada that was trapped and forced to surrender at Saratoga in October 1777.

2. Treasury secretary McLane had ten children living in 1832. The BUS headquarters was on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia.

From William Arnold

Washington 12th March 1832

To the President of the United States

I have just learned that an old faithful and gallant soldier is residing twenty miles from this city in poverty.

Capt William C. Beard was, during the late war an officer in the 1st Rifle Regiment, he was wounded and taken prisoner at Ogdens-bourgh, and confined for many months on board a British prison ship at Hallifax as a hostage, where he endured incredible sufferings, he is now languishing under the influence of an enfebled constitution, occasioned by his wound and sufferings.

Capt Beards integrity and moral Character is unimpeached & unquestionable with sufficient capacity to fill with honor some appointment under the Government the perquisites of which would support him and an amiable & highly respectable family

As there is no office in the gift of the Government that I desire ~~& as I~~ have for myself & as I have not troubled the President for others, I hope

he will not now consider me so in making the application for one of the best, the bravest & worthiest of the soldiers of the late war who served in the Northern army[.] I have the honor to be sir your most obt sevt.

W. Arnold

[Endorsed by AJ:] Genl Arnold recommends Capt. Beard for office & describes his sufferings as a soldier—referred to the Sec. of war A. J

ALS, DNA-RG 107 (19-1394). Arnold (c1795–1833) was a Tennessee lawyer and militia general. Arnold and William C. Beard (c1786–1837) of Maryland had both served in the Army's 1st Rifle Regiment on the Canadian front in the War of 1812. Beard was wounded at Ogdensburg in February 1813 and held prisoner at Halifax until June 1814. He was appointed sutler at Fort Washington in Prince George's County in 1835 and postmaster in 1836. On March 3, 1837, AJ signed a private Act granting Beard an Army invalid pension from January 1, 1835.

From Josiah Nichol

Nashville 12th. March 1832

Dear Sir

Yours of the 21 & 22nd. Feby is duly received—and agreeable to instructions I have deliverd the Revr. Mr. Hume his sons note.¹ With a Credit placed on it—of One hundred dollars.

I have this day recd. a Letter from Col. M White of New Orleans—inclosing a draft on Yeatman Woods & Co, Bank payable ten days after sight for 2595.^{10/100} cents—Which will be disposed of agreeable to your Order—Steels wages will be paid—as soon as I see him.² Col. White informs me that your last 25 Bales of Cotton is not yet sold—and that your furniture has not as yet reached New Orleans I am sir Verry respectfully your most obdt Sert

J. Nichol

[Endorsed by AJ:] Josiah Nichol recd. 23rd. 1832—A. J. answered 24th. March 1832—A. J.

ALS, DLC (40).

1. AJ's friend William Hume (1770–1833) was a Nashville Presbyterian minister. AJ had lent his son Ebenezer J. Hume \$20 on February 21.

2. Yeatman, Woods & Co. was a Nashville banking firm.

To John Coffee

(Private)

Washington March 13th. 1832

My Dr. Genl,

I am just informed this evening that the committee, on public lands, at whose head is Mr Charles Wycliff, has directed a messenger to go on to Tennessee to take depositions as to the value of the reserve including the salt spring, and to bring on copies of the lease &c &c—and that a cousin of Mr Wycliff is selected, a violent opposer of the administration, to perform this service. Mr Clay of Alabama, one of the committee, has had Mr Colinsworth added to this commission, beginning to think, that there is more under the rose than is seen; Wycliff it is well understood here has gone over to the enemy. It may be that it is intended to implicate you & Major Eaton—and perhaps reach others. It may be that as Doctor McNairy has been here, James Jackson is to be interrogated.¹ If that is the case, have Col McKinley sworn as to the conversation he had with James Jackson on this subject—on the receipt of this see & converse with Col McKinley on this subject. Col McKinly well remembers that James told him, that I had no knowledge of the lease being obtained by Major Lewis until I reached Nashville. It cannot be possible, that if there were nothing in this but to obtain information of the value of the land that a special messenger would be sent at the expence of four dollars a day & his expences, a violent enemy and cousin of Wycliffs. The instructions to Collinsworth is to notify Mr Currin—but who knows what may be the private instructions of Wycliff (who has turned traitor) to this *agent of Chiltons*, and violent enemy of this administration² I write this to put you on your guard—the stroke is intended at you & Eaton, & thereby if possible to effect me. Therefore it will be proper if James Jackson is called upon, to be present yourself, & have Col Mc.Kinly present to interrogate him.

Hutchings is now with me, he came to day. I will send him home. I am surrounded with traitors—but I fear not, I will, with the aid of providence, put all down.

In haste, with my love to Polly & the family I am yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. let me know if this reaches you,

ALS, THi (19-1429). Coffee replied on March 30 (below). On March 8, the House Public Lands Committee had authorized chairman Charles A. Wickliffe to send an agent to Tennessee to take testimony in the salt lease investigation. Wickliffe selected Kentucky lawyer Benjamin Tobin (c1792–1836), a grandson of his mother's sister. In committee on March 12, Clement Clay objected to Tobin as an anti-administration partisan and moved instead to appoint James Collinsworth (1806–1838), the U.S. district attorney for west

Tennessee. Over Wickliffe's dissent, the committee voted to join Collinsworth with Tobin (*HRRep* 488, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 48–49, Serial 228).

1. James Jackson had held an interest in the 1818 lease.

2. As directed by the committee, Wickliffe instructed Tobin (and Collinsworth) to invite Robert P. Currin to testify and to participate in the questioning of other witnesses (*HRRep* 488, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 37–38, Serial 228). Thomas Chilton (1798–1854) of Kentucky had been elected to Congress in 1829 as a Jacksonian but declared for Clay in 1830. He was defeated for reelection in 1831. Wickliffe had been elected and reelected as a Jackson man.

From John Henry Eaton

Nashville 13. March 32

Tuesday

Dear Sir

We have had 10 days of fine weather and the farmers are all at their ploughs. To day it is quite cold, & the snow is falling

Saturday we had a respectable meeting. The Resolutions you will see in the papers.¹ Here and elsewhere in the State V. B. has become very strong. Men are warmly for him, who heretofore scarcely knew him. Your friends are his. The opponents would now be glad for you to bring him again before the Senate upon a renomination; but I sincerely hope this will not be done. Let him stand where his foes have placed him. He will triumph over them all in the end. The enemy has done for him, more than could his friends have done. To renominate him, even could he pass would be to injure him

This evening we have a great wedding on hand, Jno. Lytle of Cincinnati to Mrs Boyd, daughter of C. Biddle. Could you not give this young man, some appointment. He & all his, are your warm friends; & he is qualified & worthy Col. Pyatt is in ill health & may not live So says rumor; could you make him Pay master it would be good appointment. I know he would be pleased for I have conversed with him on the subject. Delicacy & proper feeling will prevent him from saying any thing about it, unless Col Pyatt dies; and then such is the grasping after office, that it may be too late. Therefore do I take the liberty to name it to you now; & to recommend one, who has always been true & steady to you, for the situation should it be rendered vacant—²

I am a delegate to Baltimore; & if I can go, I will[.] Yours truly

J. H Eaton

My wife joins in kind regards to you; she is in bad health, & has been so, since her arrival in this State

[*Endorsed by AJ*:] Major Eaton 13th. of March 1832—*political*

ALS, DLC (40).

1. On March 10 the *Nashville Republican* reported the proceedings of a meeting held that day to appoint delegates to the Baltimore Jackson convention in May. The meeting praised AJ's administration, condemned its partisan opponents, and named 44 delegates to Baltimore, including Eaton.

2. John Stahl Lytle (1800–1839) was the son of William Lytle, who had been appointed surveyor general of public lands in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan Territory by AJ in 1829 and died in 1831. On March 14 John married Charles Biddle's daughter, Sarah Stokes Biddle Boyd (1809–1833). AJ appointed Lytle an Army paymaster in 1834. William Piatt (1773–1834), once AJ's quartermaster general at New Orleans, was an Army paymaster in Cincinnati.

From Martin Van Buren

Private

London March 13th. 1832

My dear friend

It would make me unhappy if I supposed that the increased desire for my early return, expressed in your letter, arose from a belief that I could be of any particular service to you at Washington in the present posture of your affairs; but as no intimation to that effect is given I conclude from that circumstance, & the knowledge I possess of how much concern on account of your friends is with you the paramount object, I allow myself to think that it is with a view to my concerns alone that you are induced to appreciate the advantages to be derived from that course. I think it needs no assurances at this time of day to satisfy you, that to a summons of the other description I would allow no circumstance to interpose between my movements and the gratification of your wishes. Viewing the matter in the light I have stated, & finding from your previous letter, & from the concurring accounts given by others, that you thought it to be a matter which could safely, & ought to be left to my own discretion, I embraced the few hours that were left me for reflection, and determined upon the course announced to Newyork Committee as under all the circumstances the most expedient. There were certainly many & strong inducements in favor of an immediate return but they were as I thought overbalanced by those of an opposite character. As was quite natural my friends at Washington only looked at me at home, & took counsel from the excited feelings of the moment, in which they evinced for me a degree of affection & kindness which I can never repay: I, on the contrary, had to look at both points; & to retire from my station here in the face of the world, as it were, with as little of humiliation, and of course as little of gratification to the malignant spirit of my enemies as possible was a point of no small importance. I have before stated the effect that it appeared to me would result from an abrupt departure; and will only add that all my experience since has confirmed me in the wisdom of ~~the~~ my decision.

Instead of leaving the matter open to all sorts of inferences, and giving an opportunity to evil disposed persons to say what they pleased, I have by remaining on the spot, and meeting the thing openly, & without reserve, invited explanations & literally lived it down, to such a degree that the first shock has passed away, and I am persuaded very few if any now think that the decision of the Senate proves any thing discreditable to me, or indicative of declining popularity on your part. This was one view to be taken of the subject; but there was an other of no less if not greater importance. I had for reasons which I have before stated, and which it gives me pleasure to find have met your approbation, and of the sufficiency of which no one acquainted with the circumstance, & competent to judge, could for a moment doubt, omitted to bring the subject of Impressment before the Ministry, whilst they were harassed to an extent beyond all precedent, by the conferences on the subject of the affair between Belgium & Holland and the pendency of the Reform question, & every day in danger of their existence from the continued, vigorous and sometimes skilful attacks of the Tory aristocracy—a most formidable body. In this state of things I was, I confess very unexpectedly, (as all my letters assured me of a different result) met by the account of my rejection. To return without being at least able to give you satisfactory information ~~upon~~ as to the views & opinions of this Government, upon a point in which you felt such deep interest, & which constituted one of the main objects that induced me to accept the mission, was so repugnant to my feelings—so contrary to my usual mode of doing business that I could only think of it as a matter of indispensable necessity. Conscious of the very kind feelings towards me that prevailed with the ministry, & they having now got over one portion, though not the greatest, of their difficulties, I determined at least to sound Lord Palmerston and see how far I might expect to go. I found him disposed to enter liberally into my feelings, and have communicated to you by the last packet the result of that interview. The interview for a comparison of views, has been longer delayed than we expected by the pressure of his avocations. I wrote him a private note stating your impatience for my return and begging to hasten his examinations and requesting a meeting to obtain the information desired by Mr Livingston, in regard to Portugal & also upon the question of Etiquette although these subjects were not of course mentioned in my note.¹ He appointed the next day (Saturday) when I spent several hours with him at the Foreign Office. After giving me all the information upon the particular points, & which I this day forward to Mr Livingston, he told me that he was ashamed to say that he & his Colleagues had been so busily occupied, that it had been absolutely out of their power to qualify themselves for a particular discussion of the subject of Impressment but that they would do so without delay; and that if quite agreeable to me, he would be pleased to talk the matter over with me at large without reference to particular points. To this I readily assented and it was agreed between us that what was said

then, as well as when we met to compare propositions, should in the first instance be regarded as altogether informal and intended only as an experiment to see how near we could come together, and be able to decide upon the expediency of opening a formal negotiation. I then proceeded to state to him the course which the business had taken for the last thirty years—the difficulties which had from time prevented an arrangement—the unfriendly spirit in which all previous negotiations had been carried on—the points and principles which had been respectively contended for on those occasions—the reasons which had ultimately brought our Government to the conclusion that it did not comport with our dignity to make further proposals on the subject—the reasons which governed you in your willingness to change our position upon that ~~Government~~ point—the advantages which would in your opinion result from an arrangement upon the subject as well in avoiding future controversy as in the addition which each power would receive to its influence in the scale of nations, by such an earnest of continued friendship & peace, as it would give to the world—the extreme probability arising from a comparison of the pretensions and wishes of the two countries, that a satisfactory arrangement could be agreed upon if attempted in the true spirit—&c &c. To all this he listened with much attention, asked & gave explanation as I went along & stated the difficulty arising from the public impression in England ~~in favor~~ agt. giving up the right which he said bore some analogy, though he was satisfied it was not so strong, as that in the U. States agt. the practice—admitted that if a plan could be hit upon which would satisfy the Country that a mode to secure the controul of their Seamen when they wanted them, as effectual as that which must of necessity cause irritation & ill blood, it would not fail to be acceptable to the people of England and promised to look fully into the subject—advise with his Colleagues & meet me on Friday (this week) at two oClock to compare our ideas & projects. an earlier day was entirely out of his power & we parted at past six oClock in the Evening. In the course of this conversation the effect of the decision of the Senate upon my nomination was freely considered; & I told him frankly, that in consequence of it, I would not feel it safe to agree to any terms which were not substantially at least fully up to my instructions, but that they were liberal & would I hoped prove satisfactory. We shall meet on Friday & talk the whole subject over, fairly with undoubted advantage, but as I have before stated without probably being able to come to a final agreement, but I am quite sure that I shall at least be able to lay a good foundation for ~~a final~~ success before the American people will allow you to take your final leave of them.² Of all which I will in due time make full report to Mr Livingston & trust to your advising him of it in the mean time informally and for the reasons before stated confidentially. Although by not hastening back immediately I have lost some advantages I trust you will not be at a loss to see upon reflection that I have also deprived the enemy as well as some (which there always will

be) who go with the Current & are still adverse in their hearts of many advantages which my presence would give them to counteract the wishes of our friends. I send by this Packet two replies to the addresses from Albany from the Legislature & people which you will see in the papers & I hope approve. The official one from Philadelphia has not arrived but is expected by the Packet of this week, & if so I shall have an opportunity to say a word to the Republicans of Pennsylvania before I sail. In reply to the Citizens of Albany some of whom in their private letters urged me to back by the first of September I say, "I notice Gentlemen with the liveliest pleasure your anxiety for my early return. The reply which I made to my Republican Fellow Citizens of Newyork will before this reaches you have informed you of my intentions upon that point. I am not aware of any public advantage that would be secured by a departure from those intentions, and doubt whether it would not be misconstrued by my enemies, with their usual ingenuity, into a proof that I was distrustful of the public feeling so generously displayed in my favour, and that I hastened home to avail myself of it for purposes of personal ambition. I shall persevere therefore in the course adopted and announced before your kind wishes, & those of others of my friends had reached me; though their flattering solicitude will prompt me to a greater degree of dispatch. Considerations of a nature which I cannot disregard will detain me here for a few days. After which I will make a brief visit to the Continent and embark at Havre for the U. States on the 10th. of May. I hope therefore in June to be once more among my Country men & to be able to express verbally to yourselves and your constituents the thanks of a grateful heart."³

Having by permission of Providence arrived, I shall I know have no difficulty in entering upon the coming contest, in whatever situation it may be my lot to do so, upon the same foundation and avowing & maintaining the same principles with yourself. As far as it respects the past, I am quite sure I can do so, & I have no apprehension that you will take any step before that period which I will not be able conscientiously to justify & maintain.

I know the pressure of your engagements, but I know also the little trouble it gives you to oblige your friends in acts of personal civility, & will therefore venture to tax you a little on my own account; which I would not however do if I thought it would come as well from any one else. I have recd. such an immense quantity of letters from my friends in different part of the U.S., that to acknowledge them all in my present situation is out of my power. In respect to Newyork & New England I make my apology in a Postscript to my reply to the Citizens of Albany.⁴ To a few of them at Washington I must beg you to attend for me. Col Benton has written me a kind affectionate and sensible letter will you have the goodness to make my sincere acknowledgements to him for it. The old veteran Genl. Smith has sent me the speech he made on my behalf and I am largely indebted to him for the justice and generosity with which he

has espoused my cause—please to say so to him. Mr. Livingston Govr. Cass, Gov Woodbury, Judge Hayward, Mr. Blair and Mr Lowrie have written me most affectionate and flattering letters will you please to thank for them & beg them to excuse me from a more particular acknowledgement of their kindness until my return. Say to Mr. Blair that I shall not fail to obtain for Mrs. Blair & send, probably with some books that are to go to the Department by the Packet of the 1st. the Life of Byron as requested by him.⁵

As I have uniformly told you the peace of the Continent will be preserved. Mr. Livingston will shew you a confidential despatch which I send by this Packet, in regard to the affairs of Portugal, out of which some trouble may arise, but it will be adjusted—the Continental powers dare not venture upon a general war in the present state of public opinion. Spain may move her forces to the Portuguese frontier by way of intimidation to those who might be inclined to join Don Pedro, but she will not strike & Don Pedro will be assured of it. The Cholera is regularly on the [*Increase*] & is all about us. If it does *not* join the *senate* ~~for a~~ within a very few days I shall I hope turn my back upon it. There were 72 cases yesterday but in Scotland and in the country generally it is evidently on the decline. I have a letter from John dated at Genoa March 1st. & have written him through various channels to join me without delay & hope to get him before I sail but I shall not wait for him. I believe I have succeeded in getting my house off my hands by which, if it does not fall through, I shall save \$1000 and am getting rid of my other engagements as fast & as well as I can & am packing up all I bring back. The heavy drain upon my means made by my sojourn at Washington, makes it, I assure you, quite important, to save every pound I can for I had no idea I had bled so freely at Washington until I came to look over my accounts. I am thank god with reasonable desires still independent & owe no man what I cannot pay at the instant. Excuse me my dear Sir for inflicting upon you this long letter & remember me affectionately to every member of your family & to all friends. My health is quite re-established & I remain with great truth and sincerity very truly yours

M. Van Buren

P.S. I could [*not h*]ave forgiven myself if I had in [*the*] hurry of the moment passed over Judge Haywards letter. It is of a character which must forever endear him to me. ~~Would it not be well in the Baltimore address to~~

[*Endorsed by AJ*:] Mr. Van Buren 13th. of March 1832—

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (19-1440).

1. Livingston had written Van Buren on February 4, asking for information on the stability of Portugal and the likelihood of overthrow of king Dom Miguel (1802–1866), and asking also whether British protocol gave Cabinet officers precedence over foreign ministers

on public occasions, as was now the practice at Washington (DNA-RG 59, M77-73). Van Buren wrote Livingston on March 12 that Palmerston had confidentially told him that Britain had warned off Spain from intervening in Portugal on Miguel's side by threatening British intervention on behalf of his niece and rival claimant Maria da Glória and her father and champion, Dom Pedro (1798–1834). On March 14 Van Buren wrote Livingston conveying Palmerston's information that British practice accorded precedence at royal functions to foreign ambassadors and ministers over British subjects (DNA-RG 59, M30-34).

2. Van Buren wrote AJ about his next interview with Palmerston on March 28 (below).

3. On February 10, the committee of New York legislators headed by Nathaniel P. Tallmadge sent Van Buren a copy of the February 3 caucus resolutions that they had sent to AJ the day before (above), praising Van Buren and condemning his rejection. On February 4, a citizens' meeting in Albany had adopted similar resolutions (*Albany Argus*, February 6, 1832), which were forwarded to Van Buren on February 11 by a committee chaired by William Gould. Van Buren replied to both committees on March 14, and the *Albany Argus* printed the two exchanges on April 26 and May 2 respectively. Van Buren's letter to the citizens' committee included the passage he quoted here. A similar meeting in Philadelphia on February 6, reported in the press, had appointed a committee headed by Joseph Worrell to send an address to Van Buren, to which he had drafted a projected reply (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

4. In a postscript to his March 14 letter to the Albany citizens, Van Buren begged indulgence for not answering friendly private letters, as he had received too many to answer and he was "unwilling to discriminate" by answering only some (*Albany Argus*, May 2, 1832).

5. Thomas Hart Benton, AJ's antagonist in 1813, was now a Jacksonian U.S. senator from Missouri. Samuel Smith of Maryland had defended Van Buren in Senate debate on his nomination (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1358–64). Elijah Hayward (1786–1864), formerly an Ohio supreme court judge, was commissioner of the General Land Office. Walter Lowrie (1784–1868) was a former senator from Pennsylvania and now secretary of the Senate. Francis Preston Blair (1791–1876) edited *The Globe*, the administration paper in Washington. On January 28, he had asked Van Buren to obtain for his wife Eliza Violet Gist Blair (1794–1877) a superior edition of the works of English poet George Gordon Byron (1788–1824), Lord Byron (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

From John Donelson

Independence Mo.
March 14th. 1832—

My Dr. Genl,

A short time since—I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 24th. Nov. last—forwarded from Cant. Gibson to this place. You mentioned something about the grapes growing in Arkansaw Tery. and the Indian Country. They are certainly very fine; and if they will bear transplanting would be a very valuable addition to the grape growers in the United States. Last Fall I saved a considerable quantity of the seed intending to have sent them to Tennessee by Jefferson Dodson—who returned home last Winter—but forgot it.¹ I will however procure some seed, and slips if possible before I return. A few days since I received a letter from Andrew—and answered it immediately. I was very much gratified to learn that harmony, peace and quiet *now* reigns at the City—but I am sorry to find from some papers I have lately seen that you are still clogged in your measures

in the Senate. The *Triumvirate* it seems are making great exertions—but for want of a firm foundation—like the house upon a sand pillow, when the wind blows and the rain beats, *will fall*.² the American people cannot support them. You will have seen Mr. McCoy before this reaches you—he will inform you of my determination and consequent movements.

While writing you, let me take the liberty of speaking on somewhat a delicate subject. I dislike the Idea of meddling much with public men and their affairs—but in the present instance, feel it my duty in common with every other good citizen to speak out. Maj. Campbell, subagent to the Shawanes & Delaware Indians and others—is altogether unfit for the duties of his office. He is, on the contrary a perfect clog to the Agent Richard W. Cummins—a firm, able and very efficient man. By the intemperate use of spirituos liquors Maj. Campbell has rendered himself useless as to his own energies—and more than useless in the bad example constantly laid by him before the Indians. If you knew him as well as I do and every other man, unprejudiced, who is in the habit of seeing him frequently and witnessing his actions—you would not, I am convinced, permit him to re[main] in office a moment longer. Mr. [. . .] can inform you on this subject.³

This morning, in company with a son of Mr. McCoy's—I left the Shawanoe agency and am this far on my way to the South.⁴ My health is good at this time and I am cheered with the hope that this season we will be able to do much in furtherance of the views of your Administration. With a wish for a continuation of your health, happiness and prosperity—believe me affectionately your friend and nephew

Jno. Donelson jnr.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Jno. Donelson—

ALS, DLC (40). Donelson (1787–1840), sometimes called John Donelson Jr., was the son of Rachel Jackson's late brother John Donelson. He was an assistant surveyor under Isaac McCoy (1784–1846), a Baptist missionary engaged by the War Department to survey prospective locations for emigrating Indian nations west of Arkansas Territory. McCoy was now in Washington.

1. Isaac Jefferson Dodson (1808–1853) of Tennessee had been a chainman on McCoy's survey.

2. The "triumvirate" were Calhoun, Clay, and Webster.

3. AJ had appointed Richard Waller Cummins (c1788–c1860) agent to the Shawnees and Delawares in May 1830. Isaac McCoy had written to the War Department in favor of retaining John Campbell as subagent in May 1831, and Campbell himself wrote to repel charges of intemperance in May 1833 (DNA-RG 75, M234-300). He was replaced in July.

4. Isaac McCoy's son John Calvin McCoy (1811–1889) had been working under Donelson. Another son, Rice McCoy (1807–1833), was an assistant surveyor on the project.

From Alexander Saunders

Washington City.
16th. March 1832

To the President of U. States,

Sir I am truly sorry that I am under the neadcessity of complaining to you, of the officers of the goverment.

We Under the treaty of 1828 emigrated from the old Nation to the Country west of the Mississippi, and we had no doubt, but the treaty, would be complied with in evry respect, from the promises made us by the U.S. agents. On our arrival in the West, there was no appropriations made for our years subsistence, we therefore were compelled to leave our fami-lys exposed to all the inclemenceys of the weather, and search after provi-sions for the relief of our women and children. We have made repeated demands of our Agent Vashon, for what was due us for our years sub-sistence, his reply in all cases, was that he had no funds for that purpose We have brot our claims on; and laid them before the Indian Department, and we are directed back to our agent, but admits the claims to be just as, stated in the report, made to the department by the agent, with orders for payment, the detention of this money is treating us, with an act of the greatest injustice And we ask of you as a Father to have paid to us Our just dues, as you are our only source to appeal to, for to have justice done us. With respect of the highest Esteem I remain your Obt Sert.

Alexd. Sanders

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-78). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1494). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 261–62 (Serial 246). Alexander Saunders, or Sanders, was a member of the Western Cherokee delegation then in Washington. In the 1828 Treaty of Washington with the Western Cherokees, the U.S. had pledged to supply new emigrants from the East with provisions for a year after their arrival. George Vashon (1786–1836) was the Western Cherokee agent. He had reported to the War Department on August 28, 1830, that “the 500 Emigrant Cherokees who reached here this year, have been under the necessity, from a want of supplies, of selling their claim on the Governt. for provisions to any one who would furnish something to relieve their sufferings,” thus putting them “in the pitiless power of speculators.” He complained again on November 6 and December 2 of lack of provisions or funds for the emigrants (DNA-RG 75, M234-77). On March 26, 1831, Indian superintendent Samuel S. Hamilton instructed Vashon to issue drafts to pay legitimate Cherokee claims for provision expenses and to send records of them to Washington for approval (DNA-RG 75, M21-7). On March 4 and April 19, 1832, Vashon reported his progress in processing the claims and his hopes to complete the work soon (DNA-RG 75, M234-78).

From George Michael Troup

Washington 17th March 1832

Dr Sir

Maj. Pierce is justified by his long gallant & faithful service in the Army, by Education, acquirement, & character, to ask promotion to a Lieut Colonelcy in the Ordinance Dept. When it is known to me that Sire & Son have been fighting the battles of Democracy in all past time with constancy & uniformity—that the one has emulated the virtues of the other & that they are part & parcel of the strong claim of New Hampshire on the liberality of Govt I cannot doubt the success of Maj. P. The warm interest taken by his numerous Friends & the policy of making the Army sound in politics principle as effective in discipline & science are additional guarantees that no mistake can be committed in preferring this Officer[.] With great considn & respect

G M Troup

ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1500). Troup (1780–1856) had been governor of Georgia from 1823 to 1827 and was now a U.S. senator. Brevet Major Benjamin Kendrick Pierce (1790–1850) had fought on the Niagara front in the War of 1812. He was the son of former New Hampshire governor Benjamin Pierce (1757–1839) and older brother of future president Franklin Pierce. A bill to create an ordnance department within the Army was pending in Congress and became law on April 5. Pierce was not appointed to it.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington March 18th. 1832

at night—

My Dr. Andrew

I have recd. today the enclosed letters to your & Miss Beaveaus address, which I hasten to send you—the one to Miss Beaveau you will please hand, her with my kind respects

I enclose you forty dollars lest your cash may be short, and I pray you not to neglect the neck chain for Sarah. I can get no good pocket handkerchiefs here, please bring me half dozen of bandannas, chosen by Sarah. If you should want more cash draw on me & Mr Toland will cash your draft.¹

I have this day given Major Lewis a memorandum of articles of furniture to send to Mr Toland to lay in, & ship with the package sent from here, therefore you need not lay in any, as I have made the memorandum full including glasses, End irons, Kives & forks sheeting linnen &c &c. I wish you to see Mr Resides & say to him I shall want the carriage & horses by the first of next month—the time you and Sarah will leave me for the west—see the pair of horses & write me how you like them—see

Mary McLamore, give her my kind respects & say to her, she must come on with you.²

This will be handed to you by my young friend Mr Lucius Polk, treat him kindly, and make him known to Mr. & Mrs. Weatherall to whom present my kind respects & also to Miss Lipingcot, & cousin Ema Farquair.³

I am waiting for a letter from you or Sarah. I hope you got in safety to Philadelphia and are now enjoying the friendly greetings of Mr. & Mrs. Weatherall & their sweet little ones Present my kind salutations to Sarah. I have felt lost without you in the evenings—accept of my prayers for your health & happiness and believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I have a belief that Mr Polk intends addressing cousin Mary Easton—if he does, he will succeed—intra nous—

ALS, Matthew Bennett Auctions, sale 314, February 2007 (mAJs).

1. Henry Toland (1785–1863) was a Philadelphia merchant. In March and April he made purchases for AJ of furniture, china, and household goods, and arranged for their shipment to the Hermitage via New Orleans.

2. James Reeside (1790–1842) was a leading Philadelphia mail contractor. He had acquired horses for AJ and arranged for the New York firm of Brewster, Lawrence & Co. to build him a carriage. Reeside had written AJ on February 29, pledging delivery of the carriage by April 1 (DLC-40).

3. Samuel M. Wetherill (1801–1840) of Philadelphia had married Jane Lockridge (or Loveridge) Yorke (1805–1872), Sarah Yorke Jackson's sister. Their children were Martha Wetherill (c1828–1900), Sarah Yorke Wetherill (c1829–1896), and Alfred Wetherill (c1831–1912). "Miss Lipingcot" was probably one of Samuel Wetherill's cousins, Mary Lippincott (1801–1884) or Selina Lippincott (1803–1871). Emma Yorke Farquhar (1805–1880) was Sarah Yorke Jackson's cousin. She accompanied Sarah and AJ Jr. to the Hermitage in April, and in September she married his birth twin Thomas Jefferson Donelson.

From John Randolph

Roanoke March 18. 1832

My dear Sir

I perceive by the newspapers that Mr. Rives comes home next autumn.¹ This & the recall of Mr. Van Buren by the infamous coalition between Calhoun & Hayne with Clay & Webster, leaves two vacancies in our diplomacy, the most desirable of any in your gift.

As both of us have been most unjustly &, in my case, *cruelly* censured & calumniated about my outfit, which, *by right*, ought to have been in my pocket when I sailed from Hampton Roads, if not sooner (for from the adjournment of the convention until April, I held myself at the disposal of the Department of State—) only begging "not to be sent in February on

account of the cold weather”—but absolutely “*protesting* against being sent to sea or being at sea in the month of *July* because I dreaded the summer climate of Russia more than it’s winter”—.²

Now, Sir, If Mr Middleton’s son had not married the daughter of Mr. John P. Van Ness, who from a bitter *personal* as well as political enemy of the Secretary of State, Mr. Van Buren, had become his warm partisan & supporter, because of his, V. B’s, patronage & supposed influence with you; I ~~ought to~~ would have been as I ought to have been in St. Petersburg about the time that I left Hampton Roads; in which case I should have left Russia ~~with~~ when the news of the *three* days of July reached St. Petersburg & I should have come home ~~or sent~~ with a Treaty in my pocket—or have sent it to you by a special courier leaving Clay Chargé d’Affaires.³

But the delay interposed by the pitiful Intrigue to save Middleton’s feelings blew up all hopes of success.

I had not been presented to their Imperial & Royal Majesties before the news from Paris was received.⁴ The truth is, that if I had known when I was in the North Sea of what was going on in France, I never should have seen the Waters of the Baltic. I should have caused myself to be put ashore on the coast of Scotland, or at the mouth of the Elbe & remained in Europe to watch events.

To return to Russia is impossible. It would be suicide. But after the entire failure of my negotiation by the delay brought about by the Intrigues of Van Ness & I am forced to add of Van Buren also (against whom, nevertheless, I have no *personal* ill feeling)—the French revolution of July 1830 being followed up by the *Cholera Morbus* & the Polish Insurrection treading close upon the heels of that Turkish Plague (for such it is in fact, but not in name) all hopes of doing any thing with the Autocrat, or the Imperial ministry vanished—& Mr. Buchanan will go upon a ‘sleeveless errand.’

But Sir if I had the strength of Sampson & the constitution of the Imperial Tyger that now sits on the tottering throne of the *Czars* I could not endure to be at a Court where I must smother my indignation at the infernal Tyranny which the Autocrats *fears* (Fear is always cruel) causes him to practise against the brave but unfortunate Poles. Chlopicki for example—knouted, branded & sent to work under ground for *life*, in Siberia.⁵

Sir I do most heartily repent me of my timidity (the effect of disease) in not strenuously advising *you* to interfere in behalf of the gallant, heroic but betrayed & abandoned Poles; and I do hope that, by this time, Louis Philip’s head is in the sack of the Executioner & that France will once more precipitate herself upon Germany & Italy & upon the Austrian & Russian Barbarians: that the wrongs & Blood of Poland, which cries from the earth for Vengeance, will produce a rich harvest: and that the Barbarians, whether Austrian or Tartar, may be once more “driven back

to their frightful climates”—where but for Buonaparte’s presumptuous rashness they would now be.⁶

You Sir might have add imperishable renown to your fame by sending the very squadron of which the Concord formed a part into the Baltic & enforcing at Dantzic & Memel the hollow neutrality of Prussia.⁷ I wish Would to God that I had such a chance of immortality. Your fame is now american almost exclusively. You might have a renown in the 3 other quarters of the world equally great, & in your place I would have it.

The infamous conduct of Calhoun & his wretched creatures has damned him & them everlastingly in Virginia, Penna. & N. York, and in the west also. Clay has “trained off.” He has cut his throat with his own Tongue. John Q. is the best of the set & I would vote for him as your successor in preference to any named nag, if he was not such a mean creature.

Van Buren cannot be president. I told Ritchie of the Enquirer (who is a double faced villain that will not outlive the year, politically) as I was on my way to Russia that neither Calhoun, Van Buren, or Clay would ever be President. Van is the best of the set but he is too great an intriguer & besides wants personal dignity & weight of character. He is an adroit, dapper, little managing man, but he can’t inspire respect, much less *veneration*. He is very well in his place—not where he now is, because the English are the most fastidious people on earth. You may talk as much nonsense as you please, but you must not betray a want of education

Now Van Buren cannot speak, or write the English Language correctly —& I can see the eyebrows of the fashionables raised at his false pronunciation. He always says “consitherable”—for *considerable* &c: &c:—a single substitution of *will* for *shall*, or a single false quantity would blow him up. For either of these embassies I offer you my services. For that of England I am more fit than any man I know, unless perhaps Mr. Gallatin. For that & a popular assembly or a publick meeting I am particularly well qualified. You must not send needy people abroad but especially to *England*. Your minister there must *give* as well as receive dinners. I ask no outfit—let the one I have serve—& I will go stay out my two three or four years. Don’t mistake me I am not asking for office. I scorn it & spurn the Idea; but I happen to know that from my perfect & most minute knowledge of England & of the intermarriages &c. of all her great & small people (McLane & his Lady made dreadful mistakes for want of this knowledge. He too is illiterate & *needy*. V. B on the contrary is easy in his circumstances)⁸ who have influence, that I can succeed where any other man in the U.S must fail; except perhaps Mr. Gallatin; & the English will forever look upon him as a Frenchman which will do him no good at the Court of London, although it does fit him better for any of the Continental courts than any other man in America unless Livingston for France.

Again I say Sir, that I am not asking office at your hands, although I am very desirous to fill the place for a short time at least; for reasons that I shall communicate to you in a few days, personally.

I am slowly recovering from the severest fit of gout first in one leg, the right—& then in the other, that I ever saw any man suffer under except my maternal grandfather Theoderick Bland of Cawsons Esquire. He was a very superiour man to his elder brother Richard of Jourdain's Parish who was in the first Congress (1774) & died soon after Peyton Randolph the first President—or to my uncle (his only son Doctor (or Colonel) Bland of the old Congress in 1780–1781—& who commanded the guard over, the Convention troops at Charlottesville (Burgoyne's army) in 1779–80 which nearly ruined him, for he was proud and magnificent.⁹

But I must stop. I have something of the most vital importance to communicate which I dare not trust to paper. I shall therefore cause myself to be put into my chariot & taken to the Steam Boat at Potowmack creek as soon as this antarctic weather shall relent, which must be in a day or two. Before yourself I shall lay *facts* & leave you to draw your own conclusions. No body that I know is more capable than yourself of deciding correctly—indeed no one as capable.

Of your re-election there can be no doubt but it will be to rule over a dismembered Empire. A mine is ready to explode under you. Excuse my abruptness it is the effect of weakness not of arrogance. You have been but too pacific. Let the fools & knaves in the two Houses of Congress disband & then strike at Cuba. It will give vent & profitable employment for all our now burthensome slaves. It will strengthen the *great slave holding Interest*. We shall have at the least every thing south of James River with the naval depot at Norfolk. I say *we* for, with Earl Grey, if the struggle does begin (as I happen to know it will) unless you avert it by a prompt redress of our intolerable wrongs) “I shall stand by my order.” It is Slavery versus Anti-Slavery: and if the Fanatics & Fools in England drive matters over hard with Jamaica, she will be glad to throw herself under our protection.¹⁰

With the Havannah & the Bay of Tampa, the only port in the gulf of Mexico capable of receiving a first rate line of Battle Ship, we have a slip-knot around the throat of the Mississippi & we can strangle the commerce of the “*Free States*” northwest of the river Ohio, if those States give us any annoyance.

To England, who will not object to *our* holding Cuba, we will give the monopoly of our carrying trade. If any body had predicted in 1776 & had been believed that in two years after declaring Independence we should have been fighting side by side with *Frenchmen* against old England, Independence never would have been declared. Washington would have remembered Fort Du Quesne & the bloody field of Braddock, & made the best terms he could with Lord North.¹¹

Nations, like men, can be governed only by *Interest*; & the Slave Interest has the knife at its throat in the hands of Fanatics & rogues & Fools & we *must & shall & will* defend ourselves. If the storm blows over I go to England in june. I cannot stand this climate. But if as I believe & *fear* this Rope of Sand, miscalled the federal Government, shall go to

pieces before the end of May, I may yet die in harness, with spurs on (as I always desired to do) instead of snivelling my life away on a bed like a breeding woman. For I am resolute not to assist in the subjugation of South Carolina but if she does move (as I fear she will) to make common cause with her against the usurpations of the Federal Govt. & of the Supreme Court especially. The late infamous decision of those minions of arbitrary power will give us Georgia. Every thing south of Ohio, except perhaps Kentucky & the Western District of Virginia, must be with us. With this noble country & Cuba, where we can make a hogshead of Sugar as easily as a pound can be grown on the Mississippi or in Florida, we shall have a vast empire capable of indefinite improvement & of supporting easily forty millions of people.

I shall go to England as I said before whether I receive the appointment of Envoy or not, unless S. C. shall strike as I *dread* she will. I am dear Sir most faithfully yours

J. R of Roanoke

Do not suppose that I disparage Mr. V. Buren. He wants nothing but education (for his abilities are of the first order) to fit him for the mission to England. He is not like Gallatin or Livingston (Livingston is the very man to succeed Rives.), *bien instruit*, but give him time to collect the requisite information, & no man can produce an abler argument than V. B.

If I had a seat in the H. of R. I would move an impeachment against the Ch. J. & Story and Thompson. Their *motives* are nothing to me.¹²

ALS, DLC (40). The two postscripts are marginal additions. AJ sketched a reply on a March 20 letter from William P. Harvey (below).

1. William C. Rives had written Livingston on November 8, 1831, asking permission to return from France in October 1832 or earlier (DNA-RG 59, M34-28). Livingston replied on February 4, 1832, granting AJ's assent to an October return (DNA-RG 59, M77-54). The *New-York Evening Post* first reported the story on February 24.

2. Randolph had sailed for Russia in June 1830, nine months after his acceptance of the post in September 1829. He attended the Virginia constitutional convention from October 1829 to January 1830. The usual \$9,000 for his outfit was left out of the annual appropriation law passed in March 1830, but was included in the next year's appropriation law of March 2, 1831.

3. Washington mayor John P. Van Ness, originally from New York, had long known Van Buren. In 1821 his daughter Ann Elbertina Van Ness (1803–1822) married Arthur Middleton (1795–1853), son of Randolph's predecessor in Russia Henry Middleton. On October 2, 1829, shortly after Randolph accepted the mission, Van Buren wrote him that to spare Middleton humiliation on being replaced and to give Randolph more time to prepare, announcement of his appointment would be deferred until Van Ness had had time to write Middleton privately. The administration then delayed further on word from Van Ness that Middleton would soon resign on his own (Van Buren Papers, DLC). He did not, and Van Buren recalled him in June 1830. Randolph reached St. Petersburg on August 10, 1830. A three-day Paris uprising in July had led to the abdication of Charles X and the installation of Louis Philippe (1773–1850), Duke of Orléans, as king in a new constitutional monarchy.

4. Emperor Nicholas I's wife was Alexandra Feodorovna (1798–1860), the former Princess Charlotte of Prussia.

5. General Joseph Chłopicki (c1771–1854) briefly commanded Polish forces during the 1830–31 Polish insurrection against Russian rule. “Fear is always cruel” is a marginal insertion.

6. Addressing the French legislature on February 14, 1813, after his retreat from Russia, Napoleon had said that “the Russians shall return into their frightful climate” (London *Times*, February 22, 1813).

7. Danzig (now Gdańsk) and Memel (now Klaipėda) were Prussian ports on the Baltic Sea. Prussia had declared neutrality at the start of the Polish uprising but subsequently aided the Russian war effort. The Navy sloop *Concord* had carried Randolph to Russia and was now in the Mediterranean squadron.

8. This parenthetical remark is a marginal insertion. Louis McLane’s wife was Catherine Milligan McLane (1790–1849).

9. Theodorick Bland Sr. (1708–1784) of Cawsons plantation had served in the Virginia House of Burgesses. His daughter Frances Bland was John Randolph’s mother, and his son Theodorick Bland Jr. (1742–1790) served in the Continental Congress from 1780 to 1783 and later in the U.S. Congress. In 1778 the younger Bland had escorted the remnant of John Burgoyne’s surrendered army from Cambridge, Mass., to Charlottesville, Va., and remained in charge of them there until he left the Army in late 1779. Richard Bland (1710–1776) of Jordan’s Point plantation served in the Continental Congress in 1774–75. Peyton Randolph (1721–1775), John Randolph’s first cousin once removed, was president of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775.

10. Speaking to the House of Lords on a proposed Corn Bill on June 13, 1827, Earl Grey had declared that “if there should come a contest between this House and a great portion of the people, my part is taken; and, with that order to which I belong, I will stand or fall” (*Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, 2d ser., 17:1259–61). Jamaican slaveowners were resisting British parliamentary movements toward emancipation.

11. Frederick North (1732–1792), Lord North, was Britain’s prime minister during the Revolution. George Washington (1732–1799) had been an aide to British general Edward Braddock (1695–1755) in his disastrous 1755 expedition to capture the French Fort Duquesne at present-day Pittsburgh, which ended with a surprise French attack in which Braddock’s command was nearly annihilated and Braddock was fatally wounded.

12. A Jacksonian report had accused Chief Justice Marshall and associate justices Joseph Story (1779–1845) and Smith Thompson (1768–1843) of plotting with Clay, Webster, Edward Everett, and John Sergeant to decide *Worcester v. Georgia* “solely upon political grounds.” On April 21 the *National Intelligencer* published a letter from Clay, Webster, and Everett branding the story “false and calumnious.”

To David Hosack

(copy)

Washington City
March 19th. 1832

Dr. Sir

I am under the highest obligations to you for your letter of the 8th. inst. and its enclosure which after having copied I now return to you. Like every thing else from the pen of Washington it exhibits the marks of a clear head and patriotic heart.

I regret to learn that you did not receive my acknowledgements for the copy of the life of Clinton which you were pleased to present to me I am confident that after reading it I drew up a letter expressive of my thanks

· March 1832 ·

to you: but it is probable that a pressure of business at the time may have prevented its address or led me to mistake my intentions for the deed. Whatever may have been the cause allow me to assure you that it did not proceed from any want of respect for the memory of Mr. Clinton, or for the able manner in which you have recorded his claims to the honor and admiration of posterity.

Accept assurances of the great regard with which I subscribe myself Yr. obt. & Humble. sert

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Copy to Dr David Hosack Newyork—

Copy in AJ Donelson's hand, DLC (40). Hosack (1769–1835) was a renowned physician, botanist, and medical educator. In 1829 he had published *Memoir of De Witt Clinton*, a biography of the New York governor and senator.

To Edward Livingston

March 19th. 1832

The President with his respects to the Secretary of State—encloses for his perusal & information a letter from the Collector of the Port of Neworleans accompanied with the copy of a letter from the Mexican Consul residing there

The President requests the Secretary of the Navy to be made acquainted with this information, that he may notify the commander of our squadron on that station of this vessel being out, and order him accordingly

AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). AN draft, DLC (40). On March 3, New Orleans customs collector Martin Gordon (c1773–1852) had forwarded to AJ a note of the same day from Francisco Pizarro Martinez (1787–1840), the Mexican consul at New Orleans. Martinez warned that Santa Anna had armed a vessel at Vera Cruz and would likely use it to prey illegally on foreign commerce under the Mexican flag (DNA-RG 59, M179-72). State Department chief clerk Daniel Brent notified the Navy Department on March 28 (DNA-RG 45, M124-132). Navy secretary Woodbury, previously apprised, had already on March 17 ordered West India squadron commander Jesse D. Elliott to dispatch a vessel to Vera Cruz “to prevent any lawless aggression on American Commerce” (DNA-RG 45, M149-21).

From Richard Harrison

March the 19 1832

dear sir

I have taken the Liberty to Write to you as I am One of the old Revelution Solders and now in my seventy fifth year and Reduce to Great Want & un Abell to Worke, I enclose you my memoriel which will show all the service I done I have been Carless With my discharges and they are

all Lost or mislaid and I am not able to Travel to the County of pittsylvania Where I inlisted and marchd from, haveing know horse Nor money to pay my Expeces and in all probability Every man that inlisted When I dide is dead or Removed to some distant part of our Country, I Would thank you to Cause my Memorial to be Laid before Congress and if they think my sevice Worth any thing, I hope they Will allow me something as I am Very kneedy, I have wrote to General Gordin Who is from my Own County to befriend me, I must Subribe my self your Most Obedient

Richd Harrison

PS I receivd Eight Square dollars as bounty and the promise 2 hundred acres of Land which I have never seeked for—

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Revolutionary soldier—encloses a memorial & requests it to be laid before Congress. Let this be handed to Mr Gordon A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1506). Harrison (1757–1848), now of Albemarle County, Va., had been a militia private in the Revolution. He enlisted four times, twice at Pittsylvania County, Va, and served intermittently from 1776 to 1781. He enclosed an affidavit of March 2, 1830, describing his service and declaring his indigent circumstances. On April 9 William Fitzhugh Gordon (1787–1858) of Virginia presented Harrison's petition in the House, but the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions rejected it for insufficient evidence. Harrison reapplied on October 13, 1832, and in June 1833 was granted an annual pension of \$77.10 retroactive to March 4, 1831 (DNA-RG 15, M804-1205).

To Benjamin B. Cooper

Washington March 20th. 1832—

Dr Sir,

I have received your letter of the 12th enclosing the Pedigree of Bolivar & his advertisement. I have not had time to examin it, but Major Donelson says it is correct.

If Bolivar is in good condition you have nothing to fear from the competition of Sir Harry, or any other horse—but I am fearful he is neither in good condition, or well attended to by Mr West or his groom. I have just recd. a letter from my son who is at Philadelphia & has returned from a visit to *Bolivar*. I send you an extract from his letter—"I went day before yesterday to see Bolivar & Mr Cooper. Bolivar I am sorry to say has not had justice done since his arrival in New jersy. Mr. Cooper has been sick. I told Mr West, the keeper of him, about his condition, & ~~requested him and his groom about his condition~~, and requested Mr West and his groom to have him better attended to—which they promised to do. He is in bad order I assure you—*not fit to be seen.*" This bears date the 17th. instant.

Now my Dr Sir when you are threatened with the competition of Sir Harry, and other fine horses, to have Bolivar in such bad condition, that as a brood horse, ~~and the season began,~~ “that he is not fit to be seen,” is doing great injustice to the horse & to you and myself—and I am mortified to hear of his condition. Bolivar is a horse of fine constitution & easily kept fat, and in good condition if he is well fed—he has been used to good treatment, & will always shew it when bestowed.

My Dr. Sir, if your health will permit see Mr West & the groom and have him put in good condition or you cannot expect him successfully to compete with Sir Harry & other fine horses, on whom there are so much attention paid, and who are kept in fine condition. That on the 17th. of March, when gentlemen have went from Philadelphia to see & examin Bolivar, with a view to send their mares to him, ~~and~~ that he should be found in such condition as “not to be fit to be seen” is truly mortifying to me, and will be fatal to the success of the horse.

My Dr Sir, see Mr West, & have Bolivar put in good condition. I care not ~~as to myself~~ so much about the profit of the horse as I do for his reputation I know him to be amongst the first blooded horses in america, a sure, & first rate foal getter, of fine size & good appearence when in good condition, and well calculated to compete successfully with any horse if well attended to. See the horse yourself & urge Mr West to see that the groom attends to him faithfully. Wishing you health & happiness I am very respectfully yr mo. obdt. servt.

Andrew Jackson

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr Cooper N.j. March 20th 1832—

ALS draft, DLC (40). Cooper had written AJ on March 12. He enclosed an advertisement and pedigree for Bolivar and warned of competition from the Arabian Sir Harry and other blood horses (DLC-40). Sir Harry stood the season in Connecticut. On August 29 Cooper again wrote AJ, announcing the formation of a new company to purchase Bolivar and asking AJ to relinquish his remaining three-quarters share for \$1,500 (DLC-41). AJ replied on September 15 (below).

From Edwin T. Clark

Washington March 20th AD 1832

Sir

Having determined upon preferring charges against John Pope now before the Senate to fill the office of Governor of Arkansas, in pursuance of that determination I yesterday addressed a letter to the Vice President on the subject. Mature reflection, however, determined me to prefer the charges immediately to you. In forming this determination I was actuated by that feeling of respect which every citizen of the United States should feel for the chief magistrate of the Union. I will here take the liberty to

observe that no unfriendly feeling to the administration has prompted me to this course. Indeed, I am not certain, if I am not subserving the administration, because Gov: Pope, if not absolutely hostile, is at least of doubtful friendship. With these observations I prefer the following charges.

1st. That during last fall while an election for the clerkship of the Superior Court of the Territory was pending Gov: Pope proposed to one William B R Horner, that he would release one Gideon Dunn, brother-in-law of the said Horner, then confined in the Phillips County jail under a sentence of the court on a conviction of manslaughter; if Henry L Biscoe (a relation and inmate of the family of the said Horner) who was then a candidate for the clerkship of the Superior Court in opposition to William Field, the nephew of Gov: Pope, would decline holding a poll.¹

2nd That he has released two individuals from jail who were confined under sentence of the court on a conviction of manslaughter when the circumstances attending the killing were known to him and were of the most aggravated character.

3d That he has recieved a compensation for having affixed the seal of the Territory, contrary to custom, and contrary to law.

Being well aware of the high nature of the offences herein charged, I take occasion to say, that I am positive they can be established by gentlemen of respectability and undoubted probity. With sentiments of high esteem I am sir your obt Svt

Edwin T. Clark

[Endorsed by AJ:] Mr. Clark preferg charges against Govr. Pope A. J.

Referred to the Sec. of State that he may enclose to the Govr. a copy of the charges & call for explanation.² A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). *TPUS*, 21:481–82. Clark (d. 1835) was a Helena lawyer and former president of the Arkansas Territory legislative council. AJ had appointed John Pope (1770–1845) governor of Arkansas Territory in March 1829 and had just nominated him to the Senate on March 14 for a second three-year term. He was confirmed and commissioned on March 23.

1. William Bird Richards Horner (c1785–1838), a former territorial legislator and sometime local judge, had married Elizabeth Dunn Carpenter. In 1831 Gideon Dunn had been convicted of manslaughter for killing his father-in-law, John Standford. Henry Lawson Biscoe (d. 1861) had been a territorial legislator and clerk and sheriff of Phillips County. William Field (1796–1857), who won the election for superior court clerk, was the son of John Pope's sister Jane Pope Field.

2. Livingston sent Pope a copy of Clark's letter on March 21 with a request for such answer "as you may deem necessary." Pope replied on August 29 that he had forwarded on to AJ, via Arkansas congressional delegate Ambrose H. Sevier, a written statement by Horner giving "the lie direct" to Clark's charge about Dunn. Pope said he "deemed any other notice of Mr Clarke's ill-nature unnecessary" (*TPUS*, 21:482, 541).

From William Presley Harvey

Charlotte County March 20th 1832

Sir since Mr. Randolph's letter to you he was taken dangerously ill and can't come on and begs you to answer his letter[.] I am yours with the greatest obedience

William P. Harvey
Overseer for Mr. Randolph

[Endorsed by AJ:] answer Mr Randolphs letter acknowledges its receipt—regret his illness that has deprived us the pleasure of seeing him here—and observe, that I have determined for the present to nominate no one as minister to England until I can hear from that court, whether under the direct insult offered by the Senate, by their rejection of Mr. V. B. who had been kindly received & with whom it had entered on the a negotiation to settle the all absorbing questions of the impressment of our seamen, the right of Blockade, & contraband of war, a minister would be received—to which add, that I could not hazard a nomination before the senate of such a character as I would select least, I might again be insulted & his feelings excoriated by a rejection

Wish him a speedy restoration to health &c—

[Endorsed by AJ Donelson:] Presidents note dated 23d. March

ALS, DLC (40). Harvey (1801–1889) was an overseer for Randolph. Randolph replied to AJ's reply on March 27 (below).

To Felix Grundy

March 21rst. 1832—

My Dr Sir

I am informed that the non reappointment of judge Smith of Florida has occasioned some remarks of abuse & unkindness to me, and also the non reappointment of judge Dote & others in Michigan, & the virtues of these judges has been the subject of great encomium in the Senate. The affidavits on file in the House of Representatives, with the memorial for the impeachment of judge Smith will shew acts of tyranny & oppression sufficient to disqualify any one from a seat on ~~justice~~ the bench of justice and his account in the Treasury Dept. for fees in adjudicating land titles in Florida shew dishonesty and that he is unworthy to be trusted where the public interest is concerned. It is true that articles of impeachment were not moved against him—it was delayed to await the result of judge Pecks trial which eventuated in his acquittal, when the chairman of the committee on

the judiciary observed to me, that it was useless, as impeachments were not even scarcrows—but the facts charged, are of the deepest die of oppression, sufficient to disqualify him as a judge—he has been a violent partizan in politics, & amongst the last men that I would nominate as a judge.¹

judge Dote has been charged with sitting in a cause, where he was interested in the land, this is proven by the production of the Deed & his own acknowledgement, & many other facts that are sufficient in my mind to disqualify him as a judge. The other two are objected to by all the respectable citizens, charged with tyranny & oppression & ignorance—and stated to be unworthy of reappointment by Govr. Cass and Governor Porter—neither, or all of whom will I ever nominate for judges. the proof if necessary can be furnished. I would not have interfered with the characters of these men had it not have been the course adopted by their friends in the Senate; their times were out & it was enough for me to know that they were unworthy of reappointment.²

There is the proceedings of a court martial that shew that judge Smith has been found guilty of cheating at cards & swindling his soldiers[.]³ In haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

[*Endorsed by AJ Donelson:*] Rough draft of a note in regard to the Florida Judges

ALS draft, DLC (73). Joseph Lee Smith (1776–1846) had been a U.S. district judge in Florida since 1822. Complaints that he had exacted illegal fees were lodged with the House of Representatives in 1825 and 1826, and a memorial submitted to AJ and to Congress in January 1830 charged him with judicial tyranny and oppression (*TPUS*, 24:326–37). Smith rebutted the charges to AJ (*TPUS*, 24:287–95, 519–21), and in late 1831 and early 1832 AJ was sent numerous appeals from Florida and from Smith's native Connecticut urging his reappointment. On February 6 AJ had nominated Charles Biddle to replace Smith at the expiration of his present four-year term on May 27. The Senate rejected Biddle on May 17, and on May 23 AJ appointed Robert R. Reid, who was confirmed.

James Duane Doty (1799–1865), later Wisconsin territorial governor and congressman, had been the U.S. judge for western Michigan Territory since 1823. On January 17 AJ had nominated replacements for Doty and for Michigan judges William Woodbridge and Henry Chipman, whose commissions all expired on February 1.

1. Missouri U.S. district judge James Hawkins Peck (1790–1836) was impeached by the House in April 1830 for abusing his contempt powers, and acquitted by the Senate in January 1831 on a vote of 21 for removal and 22 against. John Rowan of Kentucky was then chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

2. George Bryan Porter (1791–1834) of Pennsylvania had succeeded Lewis Cass as governor of Michigan Territory in 1831. On March 2, Senator Samuel A. Foot of Connecticut had introduced a resolution asking AJ for evidence to justify his non-reappointment of six territorial judges including Smith, Doty, Woodbridge, and Chipman (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:218).

3. Smith, then an Army colonel, was court-martialed in 1820. He was acquitted on the count of cheating his officers at cards, but found guilty and sentenced to be cashiered on other charges of unmilitary and unofficerlike conduct, contempt of authority, and disobedience of orders. Citing mitigating circumstances and general good conduct, President Monroe reduced the sentence to a reprimand (DNA-RG 94, M1094-1). Smith was honorably discharged in 1821.

Memorandum on a Gift from John Nicholas

March 22nd. 1832—

Candle taken at the surrender of Cornwallis distributed by Genl Washington among all the officers, with a request that they be used on every 19th. of Octbr. presented by Col Nicholas to Andrew Jackson, with the request that it be lighted every 8th. of January, and that it may last until the constitution & the administration under it be restored to its original [. . .]ding & understanding

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Candle taken at the capture of Genl Cornwallis—with its history, to be preserved with care A J

AN, MiU-C (19-1537). John Nicholas (c1758–1836) of Virginia was a Continental officer in the Revolution who had served on George Washington's personal guard. Nicholas took part in the climactic siege of Yorktown, which ended with the surrender of General Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805) on October 19, 1781. January 8 was the anniversary of AJ's victory at New Orleans in 1815.

To Llewellyn Jones

Washington March 25th. 1832

My Dr. Sir,

I directed my son to address you on the subject of the two negro boys & two girls, that you had the goodness to undertake to buy for him. not hearing from you, I suppose his letter has miscarried & not reached you

If the negroes have not been bought and sent on by your nephew Mr Jones, and he has returned to Tennessee, the object of this letter is to request that you give yourself no further trouble on this subject, or if Bot, & no opportunity from your neighbourhood to send them on to Tennessee; to get them there, would be very troublesome & expensive.¹

Please on the receipt of this, inform me whether you have purchased them & if not, my desire is, that no purchase be made & as my son will leave me in a few days for Tennessee with his lady to settle at the Hermitage, & I wish him *now* to attend to & manage his own business. with my kind salutations to yr amiable lady & am respectfully yr friend²

Andrew Jackson

ALS, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (mAJs). AJ had engaged Jones (1774–1835), of Nottoway, Va., to purchase slaves for AJ Jr. in 1831. Jones replied on April 9 (below).

1. The nephew was probably a son of the late Chamberlayne Jones, whose will had made provision for his family to relocate from Virginia to west Tennessee.

2. Jones's wife was Prudence Ward Jones.

To John Coffee

[This letter is available only in typescript.]

Washington, March 26th., 1832.

My Dr. Gen'l.

My young friend, A. J. Hutchings, leaves me tomorrow—I have in all furnished him with two hundred dollars, which is sufficient to take him home, and he has promised hereafter to act with economy, and I verily believe he will do so. He has not grumbled, his professors bear ample testimony, in three letters to me, of his good moral conduct, and say, “that in all things he has acted like a gentleman”—but in some instances inattentive. The truth is, the students have two parties per week, and this takes two evenings in the week from study, and it is this that has drained the purse.

Inclose you Hutchings receipt for the amount advanced him, which you will please to have entered on the books of account with the estate.¹ If I can I will visit home this summer—taking South Carolina, French Broad Springs and your house in my route.

I wrote you yesterday informing you that we had concluded a treaty with the Creeks for all of their land east of the Mississippi, I have sent it to the Senate—This will give you employment.² I think in twenty days we will have a treaty with the Cherokees. In haste your friend,

(signed) Andrew Jackson.

Typed copy, THi (19-1552). AJ wrote Coffee again on April 7 (below).

1. AJ had furnished Hutchings with \$71.30 for his school books on March 22 and \$128.70 for his travel expenses on March 26.

2. On March 24 a Creek delegation at Washington had signed a treaty ceding all the Creek lands east of the Mississippi River. AJ submitted it to the Senate on March 26. Coffee was surveyor of public lands in Alabama, where the entire Creek domain lay.

From John Randolph

Roanoke March 26. 1832.

My dear Sir

In consequence of my illness and blindness, &c working by candle light, I committed an egregious error, in a late communication to you. The explosion will not take place so soon as I thought. Instead of being in Columbia on the 24th. Colonel H. was to have been that day at Camden at a grand review.¹ I cannot enter into further Explanations at present for a reason that will suggest itself to you.

I have discharged such an incredible quantity of morbid matter, that I feel confident of being able to proceed towards Washington by the last of

this week, unless we should have another change to a polar winter. Then I shall not only have the pleasure of taking you once more by the hand, but an opportunity of communicating to you much that I cannot put upon paper; not merely because “*verba volant, scripta manent*,”² but, because my strength is unequal to the drudgery of the quill.

I shall go to Europe in May or June whether or not you accede to my request. I cannot withstand this climate. By this time Mr. Calhoun must begin to find out that he is a “thrice double ass.”³ It would be just as Easy for Benedict Arnold to get a vote in Virginia as for him. His late adherents not daring to name him, tried to take shelter under P. P. Barbour; in the vain hope of producing a schism among us.⁴ Verily Mr. Van Buren has cause to be thankful to Mr. Calhoun for enabling him to retrieve himself from a very false position. I forgot to mention to you that I had told H. that unless the gentlemen of So. Carolina threw that Jonas overboard & all the rest of the Bank partizans of the Bank of the United States they need look for no countenance in this quarter. I have almost worn my brother down in writing for me. May I therefore take the liberty to refer you to a letter of this date to Mr Woodbury.⁵ I am, my dear Sir, most affectionately & faithfully yours

John Randolph of Roanoke.

L in Henry St. George Tucker’s hand, DLC (40).

1. James Hamilton Jr. spoke at a Camden, S.C., dinner in his honor following a military review on March 24.

2. Roughly, “speech flies; writing remains.”

3. Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 5.1.296.

4. American general Benedict Arnold (1741–1801) led a destructive campaign in Virginia after defecting to the British in the Revolutionary War. A Virginia legislative caucus had met in Richmond to nominate presidential and vice-presidential electors. It unanimously endorsed AJ for reelection. Opponents of Van Buren proposed Virginia U.S. district judge Philip Pendleton Barbour (1783–1841) for vice president. After debate, the caucus voted by 97 to 34 on March 15 not to make any vice-presidential nomination.

5. Randolph’s scribe was his half-brother Henry St. George Tucker (1780–1848), a former congressman and now president of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. Randolph (through Tucker) wrote Levi Woodbury this same day, asking him to show the letter to AJ. Woodbury did so on March 29, and AJ replied to him below.

From Mushulatubbe

Choctaw Nation
March 27th 1832.

My Great Father & Brother,

I wrote to you last year respecting our choctaw claims to land Reserves Also about the Mission schools that had been established in this nation. on neither of those subjects have I received any answer. You will please to observe that the six thousand dollars heretofore paid out of our annuity

to the Missionaries, for the future we wish applied some other way; as it is our desire that they receive no more of our money. I want our Nation or as many as can get ready to move by the first of Sept. and wish that provision may be made by that time for all that wish to go off this year. I wrote to you I wished a road opened to St Hilleny on the Mississippi river, and from thence on towards our new country; so that we can go by land and get some game on the way. I wish to get the gun's and ammunition at the crossing of the River Mississippi as they will be of great service to us on the way to the West Choctaw lands. I remain your friend & Brother

Mingo his X mark Mushulatubbe.

P.S. It is the wish of those old men who served under Genl Wayne that they should be paid this year in this part of country, as there are but few who have as yet gone to the West.¹ Also, I wish to be paid one hundred dollars in addition to my old Salary of one hundred & fifty, as were provided for by the last treaty.

Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1566). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, p. 278 (Serial 246). Mushulatubbe (d. 1838) was one of the Mississippi Choctaws' three principal chiefs. He had signed the September 27, 1830, Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, by which the Choctaws ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi and pledged to remove to present Oklahoma in three cohorts in the fall of 1831, 1832, and 1833 (*Indian Treaties*, 2:310-17). The treaty granted reservations of land to Choctaw chiefs, captains, and heads of families, including four square-mile sections to Mushulatubbe, which they could sell with permission of the President. The treaty added \$100 to Mushulatubbe's existing \$150 annuity under the 1820 Treaty of Doak's Stand. It also promised a rifle and ammunition to each emigrating warrior.

In 1831, Choctaw agent William Ward had sent the War Department three Choctaw petitions on which Mushulatubbe was the lead signer. The first, sent May 20, inquired if reservations could be sold before being surveyed, as the sellers were anxious to remove. The second and third, sent June 15, asked U.S. troops to cut a road wide enough to drive cattle from the Choctaw country to the Mississippi, and asked that payments to missionaries out of their annuity be stopped (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 455-56, 473-75, Serial 245). Since 1820, the Choctaws had contributed \$6,000 annually from their annuities to fund schools conducted by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

On March 24, 1832, Elbert Herring, head of the War Department's Office of Indian Affairs, had written Mushulatubbe that the Choctaw agent had no right to interfere with the sale of reservations except to prevent imposition and fraud, but that the President would reject sales lacking "perfect fairness." Herring said the \$100 annuity would be paid as soon as Congress appropriated the funds. On May 2, Herring wrote Mushulatubbe again in reply to this letter. He referred him to Western Choctaw agent Francis W. Armstrong, now on his way from Washington, for word on the road and the guns and powder, and to his previous March 24 letter for answer on the reservations and the annuity (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 802-3, 820, Serial 245).

1. The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek awarded a \$25 annuity to Choctaws who had fought in the frontier campaigns of General Anthony Wayne (1745-1796).

From John Randolph

Roanoke Tuesday night
March 27. 1832—past Ten

My dear Sir,

The imperious duties of his office compelled my brother Mr. Tucker very reluctantly to leave me yesterday morning. The court of appeals being obliged to close its session in a few days his presence became indispensable (Mr Green not having been able to attend during the whole term) to form a court—& many most important judgements remaining to be given, & himself charged by the Court with preparing their opinions & their reasons in support of them.¹ His absence therefore, at this juncture, would have been equivalent to the suspension of the functions of our highest court of Judicature, to the incredible vexation & loss of suitors; amounting, in fact, to a denial of Justice. our mutual hopes that I had thrown off so large a mass of morbid matter as to justify the expectation that a crisis was approaching in my disease, has not been disappointed.

I am very glad to learn that you do not intend to nominate a minister to the Court of England. & if you will give me leave to obtrude my advice upon you, I would suggest the expediency of if not delaying Mr Buchanan's departure yet contriving it so, as that he shall be a long time on his way from Paris to St. Petersburg, for if he consults his comfort or safety he will avoid a frigate or man of war—of any sort: For, whether English or American, they are the most uncomfortable & dangerous ships in the world even to the Admirals & Captains: The best is a good frigate; but when you take into consideration that her guns & equipage bring her low into the water—that 200 human beings can not find room hardly to turn round, & that without close hatches, which make a black Hole of Calcutta of all below, stifling even the ward room officers (& indeed the Captain himself where there is no Poop)—you may judge of the discomfort & danger; for a sudden flow of wind would cause her to fill & sink before (as the saying is) you could say Jack Robinson. This I have no doubt is the true history of the disappearance, without being heard of, of 99 in a hundred of English & American men of war. Although ill fitted to encounter a gale of wind yet there is less danger in a man of war in a storm than in the mildest & most deceitful weather.

If ever she gets upon her beam ends she never can *right* herself. Her armament prevents that; neither can the lower guns be got at to lighten her, & throwing over board the others would only aggravate the danger & ensure her destruction

This is the secret of the loss of the Royal George who went down at Spit-Head with the brave Kempenfelt & 1200 men on a perfectly calm day in water as smooth & Land Locked as a mill Pond. In attempting to *Careen* the ship they drew her “a *thought too much* on one side, when she

sank & the Admiral, who was in the *Great Cabin* writing, & the whole crew were drowned.

There is a beautiful ballad which runs some how in this way—

“It was not in the battle—his hand was on the Pen—
When Kempenfelt went down with twice six hundred men.”

neither have the English with all their diving bells & surpassing knowledge of mechanics & unrivaled Industry, ever been able to remove this dangerous artificial shoal in the harbour—so fastly an[*chored*] is she by 130 heavy Cannon for altho rated at 100 she actually carried, I am told, that number.²

There are some other smaller but most cruel annoyances. The worst is the shrieks & yells of the men seized up to gang way whose flesh is tearing (or as the English *now* say *being torn*) off their bones by the *Cat* of a boatswain's mate. Except the Russian *Knout* there is no species of torture by *whipping*, if such it may be called, to compare with it. In the army they talk of 500 & 1000 lashes But 12 dozen from a Boatswains mate would kill any man that ever lived—& if the wretch had a spite against the victim he could kill him dead with 2 dozen.

I moved to abolish whipping in the Army, because the rules & articles of war extend to the Militia when called into actual service, & I knew that our free holders sons would never endure & ought not to endure this infamous punishment, fit only for slaves, & even they are degraded by it.³

When the Marquis of Hastings came home from his government of India, it is said that the officers of the *Larboard* watch, under whose heavy military boots & *tramp* his lordship found his slumbers much disturbed, had orders to come on deck in *Slippers*. This gross breach of discipline (& insult into the bargain) some had the spirit not to brook. These were *arrested court martialled marshalled* & Cashiered, upon charges got up for the occasion—(It is the easiest thing in the world to find a stick to beat a dog, & a *naval* officer stands no ~~change~~ chance against a vindictive & not over scrupulous commander) They who complied were *promoted*.

Also that the men's mouths were stuffed with *oakum* & buried in strong ship's Canvass bags, that His Lordship (*our Lord Rawdon*) & his Lady (Countess of Loudoun in her own right) might not be annoyed by the shrieks of the men *seized up* to the Gangway.⁴

I had determined to mention this subject to you at sight & to bring it before Congress in Case I shall ever again have a seat in the House—for no earthly consideration could induce me to hold myself responsible to our “annual mob,” as Col. Jones used to call our assembly, when they were as children of light to our present race of sons of darkness.

Having occasion to send an express to night 12 miles to the C. H. with a letter for mr Livingston I send this with which otherwise I should not have *bored* you.

Mr. Buchanan's arrival in Petersburg will relieve my poor friend Clay from the most cruel & unjust of Laws. There is tenfold reason why the Chargé d'Affaires succeeding to the appointment abroad, by the absence of his principal, should have an allowance of \$4,500, more than if he went from the U.S. (of course I mean where he is nominated by the Senate & approved by them). He is run to expenses that the other need not incur at all.⁵

What you say upon the subject of exposing your *friends* feelings to insult whilst regardless of your own is of a piece with your whole character—noble—perfectly disinterested & high minded. In all my acquaintance with mankind I have never met with a character so perfectly devoid of the least ~~tinge~~ taint of Selfishness as Yours. I suppose that I should have found less favour in the eyes of that honourable Body than Mr. V. B. himself. Unless Mr. V.P & his shadow, Hayne, should have thought they could gain $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 perCent by voting for me. I am sorry for Hayne. He & his principal are damned with us beyond redemption & the few partizans that Calhoun had flattered and cajoled into the meshes of his net (such as Goode of Mecklenburgh &c: &c:) dare not now to lisp his name.⁶ Calhoun always had a knack of turning young men's heads but then he was young himself & with a great character for talents & yet greater for stern uncompromising publick Virtue.

This second Joseph turns out to be an old battered *He-Bawd*, another Sir Pandarus of Troy, quoad *procurement* of offices for his adherents in order to obtain the highest for himself.⁷

Pray let Mr. Livingston read this & do not be surprised if you see me in your closet in less than a fortnight. Most faithfully & ~~most~~ truly yours.

J. R of Roanoke

P.S. A merchant man is like a tightly corked bottle. She is sealed up below leaving however space for supplies & accommodations most ample & excellent in our packet ships especially & if her Cabin Steerage & forward for the men should all fill it would be uncomfortable indeed but not necessarily dangerous. Thrown on her beam ends the stroke that severs her shrowds carries the masts over board & she rights—& under jury masts makes her port. The Cabin &c: of our merchant men may be likened to the Car attached to a balloon.

In our Packets adroit & practised Stewards are ready day & night to supply all your wants & to suggest others that never might have occurred to you.

In a man of war *all fires* are extinguished at a certain hour (nine I think) & I remember my agony when I could not get a bottle of hot water to apply to my stomach (on board the Concord because there was no fire in the *Galley* where all the Cookery is done for Captain officers & men. It is

true they are soon afterwards relighted but take a long time to burn with any efficient heat.

ALS, DLC (40).

1. John Williams Green (1781–1834) was a judge on the Virginia Court of Appeals.

2. The 100-gun HMS *Royal George* was the flagship of Rear-Admiral Richard Kempenfelt (1718–1782). At the Royal Navy base at Spithead in 1782, the ship while being heeled for repairs capsized and sank, killing more than 800 crew, workmen, and visitors. Efforts to salvage or clear the wreckage had so far failed. Randolph paraphrased William Cowper's "On the Loss of the Royal George."

3. On November 25, 1811, Randolph had introduced a resolution opposing corporal punishment in the military (*Annals of Congress*, 12th Cong., 1st sess., p. 368). A law of April 10, 1812, replaced whipping in the Army with pay stoppage, confinement, and deprivation of rations.

4. Francis Rawdon Hastings (1754–1826) was known as Lord Rawdon when he commanded British troops in the American Revolution. Later made Marquess of Hastings, he was governor-general of India from 1813 to 1823. He married Flora Mure-Campbell (1780–1840), Countess of Loudoun.

5. The 1810 law setting diplomatic salaries authorized an outfit of \$4,500, equal to a year's salary, for a chargé d'affaires going from the U.S. to his foreign post.

6. William Osborne Goode (1798–1859), later a congressman, represented Mecklenburg County in the Virginia House of Delegates.

7. A "second Joseph" is a man of beauty. The Trojan Pandarus was a lecherous sexual procurer in literary works including Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*.

To James Alexander Hamilton

(Private)

March 28th. 1832—

My Dr Sir,

your letter of the 25th. instant has just reached me. The affairs of the Bank I anticipated to be precisely such as you have intimated. When fully disclosed, and the Branches looked into, it will be seen that its corrupting influence has been extended every whay that could add to its strength, & secure its recharter. I wish it may not have extended its *influence* over many members of Congress. I wish this, for the honor of our beloved country. Ours is a government based upon the virtue & intelligence of the people, and every temptation should be kept, as far from us, *in public life*, as possible, and all our acts & endeavours ought to be to moralise, not demoralise, the people.

No minister to England will be nominated until Mr. V. B. returns—and perhaps not before the next meeting of Congress, and I have not permitted myself to think of his successor

If Mr Rives returns, & when he returns, I will send a minister to France

Mr. E. L. has his eye on this mission, but it will require some deep reflection—his place would be hard to fill, & before it is made vacant, a

proper selection must be made. When I see you I will be more able to give you my views. No step will be taken in either until Mr. V. B. arrives

Present me to the young Ladies, say to them from me, that they have left very favorable impression here on the minds of *all* their acquaintances. Present me to your amiable Lady & believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NHi (19-1570). Hamilton *Reminiscences*, p. 244.

From John Randolph

Roanoke Wednesday morning
March 28. 1828.

My dear Sir

~~I made a great omission~~ I was guilty of a great omission, in my hurry last night & my zeal to protect yourself from what I know to be a false movement (from a personal acquaintance with facts that I had kept in reserve to be communicated to you orally, because *verba volant, scripta manent*, & because I have no desire to incur the displeasure of Autocrats whose arms stretch from the N. West point of our own continent including a vast indefinite portion even of *it* to across the Behring's Straits & the whole widest breadth of the other Hemisphere to the N.W. point of Norway, almost to Spitzbergen). In *your* honour & discretion, I have the most unreserved confidence—but our Litany teaches us to pray ~~against~~ for deliverance from Battle & Murder & from *Sudden* Death—& in Case of your death there is no knowing through what hands your papers may pass.¹ ~~Altho~~² For although the first hand to whom you *might* should have entrusted them might prove worthy of your confidence, yet he too might be called by God; & God alone knows into what hands they might fall. I am determined to run some little risk however to inform you that of all the Powers of Europe Russia is beyond all doubt the most *unfriendly* to us. This I had an opportunity of *knowing* that my Secretary & yours J. R Clay had not. I had access to sources of information that were shut against him.

The reverse was the case at the breaking out of the French Revolution of July 1830. But such is the abhorrence of the Autocrat for all Liberal Governments (Buchanan will be *rumped* at the Tartar's Levees. He is a genuine Cossack: implacable, remorseless & blood thirsty.) that the principles of our own have more than counterbalanced his jealousy of the Maritime preponderance of England. In consideration of which he at that time would have given us commercial facilities that will now be denied.

And in my heart I believe that he hates England as much for her Liberal Principles of Government as for putting a hook into his nose & a Curb into his mouth & staying the march of his all devouring Rapacity.

I was right. Nesselrode was disgraced. Lieven preferred the Port Folio & Power & the Countenance of his Sovereign to the Pageant of the Russian Embassy at London in time of Peace. He supplants Nesselrode who never would have been recalled to Court but for the 3 days. That alters the whole affair The power is transferred to the Conference & Lieven takes Power & pleasure instead of a Bastile with a possible chance for Siberia & a Polar Stay²

I am very glad that you do not mean to risk the affront of a refusal to receive by Earl Grey to receive your minister. He is the haughtiest of the cold, supercilious proud: wrapped up in his own self sufficiency & arrogant as if born to a throne. He too has no more good will towards us than *Nicholas*. But it is easy to see that the Ball being set in motion by Lord Althorp's & Mr. Stanley's frank & manly avowals on the subject of *Irish Tithe*, no earthly power can now stop it's Career.³ Whether for weal, or for woe, onward it must go. Forward! Forward! *En avant! En Avant!* (the war cry of Napoleon) is the *word* now. But the struggle will be great & a single battle will not decide between Privilege & Prescription on the one side & a resolute determination to accept nothing short of their Rights on the other. In this state of things I have it in my power to do you & our cause more service than any other man in the *world*—& I would not make this vaunt if I did not make a gratuitous tender of those Services—& I do most heartily rejoice that the circumstances of this case; however otherwise provoking & vexatious; do enable me to prove my *disinterestedness*. Send me therefore as soon as you please as unpaid, secret, confidential agent. Write to V. B or whom you will or (if you dare) confide wholly to my honour Give me an Autograph Letter, the hand writing of which ministers can compare with your signature at least, in their possession. Let it be from A. J. to Lord Althorp or Lord Holland (he by the way is *effete*) or Mr. Stanley—or to whom you will I say Lord Althorp the *Soul of Honour*. My character stands high with all parties in England. As a Republican standing up for our free-hold right of suffrage & other old Institutions in Virginia, Lords Harrowby & Calthorpe & Wynford (Late Ch. Justice Best of the Common Pleas) look upon me as a high Aristocrat. Even old Eldon gives me a nod of recognition The first is a man of Sense & Influence—the rest fools & of no weight—besides Harrowby is a temperate Anti-Reformer & his Son Lord Sandon the school fellow of my nephew to whom he was warmly attached, is an enthusiastic ultra, who goes the whole game. He must soon be Earl of Harrowby. It is true that his father turned him out of his borough of Tiverton for voting for *The Bill*. But this was a mere shew of *vigour* to drive Ministers from their purpose, & but for Lord Althorp & Mr. Stanley they would have had the fatuity (being out-voted) to yield after the old version of the Constitution of England—affecting deference for the H. of. Commons that they never felt; & that no body has felt since old George's & Pitt's Victory over it, headed by Fox & North. I say *George's* Victory for the King won it by his

firmness (obstinacy—insane insensibility to Danger) & Pitt was frightened at the bare idea of holding out against a vote of the Commons House of Parliament. He was the pupil as well as the Son of the *Great Commoner* who was cheated & cajoled into selling his Power for a bauble, & a *pension* of 3,000 per Annum. It is true that *at first* Lady Hester was the *Peer* as Baroness Chatham, whilst *Mr. Pitt* remained a Commoner & pocketted the pension.⁴

But John Bull gullible as he is cannot swallow such a Camel as this with his whole pack upon his back. Pitt saw his Errour too late. He *ratted*—became Courtier—George the 3d. & Charles Jenkinson laughed in their sleeves to see the awkward predicament of their arch-Enemy: for hatred of Pitt was the *primum mobile*, the great moving principle of the Kings mind; & Jenkinson a scholar & a ripe & good one, & a man of antient equestrian family the Heads of which represented Oxfordshire long before that needy pedant James the First thought of selling *hereditary* Knighthood (Proh! Pudor) at £1000 pounds per head to any one however ignoble by blood or by occupation or character that was able & willing to pay down the price of the *patent*. Jenkinson had *personal* insults to resent also⁵

Theretofore (as Phil Barbour would say) Knighthood whether by Accolade, or on the field of battle (Knights Banneret) or even in the Civil Service—as Knights of the Shire—had been a personal dignity altogether; implying personal merit. At first *purely* military prowess solely was understood—afterwards *civil* service was admitted as is now the Case in the remodelled Institution of the Bath.

The *Reason* of benefit of Clergy; a privilege strictly clerical at it's institution; was to secure to the Priesthood it's arrogant claim of Exemption from trial by the *Civil* Tribunals—thus confining the Kings authority, by submitting *their* crimes however flagrant to the Cognizance of their own Courts alone. To what will not custom reconcile the most enlightened & free of mankind.

We have reformed our accompt as to money, but look at our Weights & measures one measure for dry another for wet—one for Wine & Spirits another for Cyder—a *long* & a *short* hundred—one set of weights for Iron—another for Cotton & Wool—a third for gold & Silver—Avoirdupoise & Troy. Troy again subdivided for apothecaries an ounce solid & another ounce liquid—a penny weight for Silver & gold & Jewels; & scruples & drams for opium & mercury. But I must not let my pen run away with me at this rate.

I stand well with every interest in England. The Person in the ministry most opposed in his heart to the Reform Bill, not excepting Williams Wynn who went out (although not of the Cabinet) is the Chancellor Brougham.⁶ It is wormwood to him as too bitter — Ld. Grey is not There I am Alcibiades—Here Diogenes. My speech *bewrayeth me not*. Like Ali Bey, I can sweep the floor of the *Caaba* without being detected as an Impostor.⁷ Not that I wish or try to deceive (I am known to all but

the vulgar) but sometimes in sport & in self defence among low people, who would despise & insult me if they knew me to be an American or as they would say Yankee. That Buffoon Charles Matthews, whom we have so much caressed has done more than any man alive to injure us with the English—and to do even *him* Justice, Cobbett has done more to dispel their prejudices against us.⁸

The great vulgar despise us too as American *ipso facto*; although they believe *me* to be English by education & every thing but Birth; because they can not bring themselves to believe it possible that I alone of all the Americans since Mr. Jay (& his time is Ante-Diluvian with them) should speak English as well as an Englishman.⁹

✂ N.B. Mr. King was *uneducated*. He could neither write, nor speak English as an *English Gentleman* neither can any Scotch or Irishman, unless caught young as Dr. Johnson said of Ld. Mansfield. Shall & will is the Shibboleth. In 19 cases of 20. the error lies in putting *will* for *shall*.¹⁰

In a word, I can do & if you shall permit me, I will do our country & your administration more service for nothing than you can procure from all your Diplomatic Troops abroad—and I serve volunteer & find myself. I do not ask even a Ration. Come what may I embark in six weeks or less from this date.

I beseech you not to impute this to vain glory. It is the effect of accidental circumstances operating upon a good memory. I happen to know England far better than I do the United States or even Virginia, where all is ceaseless & senseless change. of the various state Constitutions I am not half so well acquainted as I am with the infinite variety of laws & customs all over England—even in the same County.

With our leading men *now*, I have but a slight acquaintance compared with my perfect & accurate knowledge of those of G. Britain & Ireland for ages past. It is true I know all about ours from Bacon's Rebellion & even before, until I left off attending to such things some 12 or 15 years ago.¹¹

Calhoun, by this time, must be in Hell. He has fallen into the very trap that caught & destroyed Clay. He is self mutilated like the Fanatic that emasculated himself. By the way, Pray observe the Complexion of our Bank Committee. So far as *we* are concerned, I had rather given them their own Committee; ay & their own Speaker too, Mr. Stevenson! Watch the movement of Singleton's brother in law & Son in Law & of the Enquirer & of Calhoun & the nullifiers, *who are Bank men* They all *row* one way, although they look not two, but twenty ways. I mean no disparagement of Mr. Singleton but to describe *two publick characters*¹²

I told my noble friend Hamilton in my letter to him (which you shall see) that the throwing over board Mr. Jonas Calhoun was a condition precedent to any aid from *our* quarter—especially from me.

I commend Mr. quondam Secretary & name sake to your protection.¹³ Mr. Livingston reports most highly of him. I have thought & expressed

myself too hardly of Mr. L. & of Mr Mc.L. also, but it was the result of artful misrepresentations. For the present Farewell my dear Sir & believe me unalterably & faithfully your's

J. R of Roanoke

Thursday night March 29th. 1832. past ten. I have been up all last night & am stupefied When I shall have sealed this letter I hope to sleep 12 hours at the least, by dint of Morphia

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] answer—having communicated fully & frankly in my former letter to Mr. R. of my views & determination, there remains no justifiable cause for ~~sending out~~ doing that Secretely which I have determined not to do publicly. Our concerns with England must therefore remain as they are left by Mr. V. B. until he returns & we are advised of the feelings that the rejection of V. B. has left on the minds of the British Government When the time arrives to send out a successor then a fit & proper selection will be made—A J.

ALS, DLC (40). AJ's endorsement is at April 1. He replied on April 12 (below).

1. From the Litany in *The Book of Common Prayer*: "Good Lord, deliver us from lightning and tempest; from plague, pestilence, and famine; from battle and murder; and from sudden death."

2. Karl Robert Nesselrode (1780–1862) was Russia's minister of foreign affairs. Christopher Andreievitch Lieven (1774–1839) was the Russian ambassador to Britain and had been interim foreign minister during Randolph's brief stay in St. Petersburg. Recent newspaper stories rumored that Nesselrode feared Nicholas I would exile him to Siberia in anger over the Treaty of the XXIV Articles, propounded by plenipotentiaries of the five great powers at the London Conference to settle the Dutch-Belgian conflict.

3. Irish Catholics were heatedly resisting the required payment of tithes to the Protestant Church of Ireland. John Charles Spencer (1782–1845), Viscount Althorp, was Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley (1799–1869), later Earl of Derby and prime minister, was Chief Secretary for Ireland.

4. Henry Richard Vassall Fox (1773–1840), Baron Holland, was a Whig and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Grey ministry. Dudley Ryder (1762–1847), Earl of Harrowby, was a Tory peer. His son Dudley Ryder (1798–1882), styled Viscount Sandon, had represented the family borough of Tiverton in the Commons. In 1831 he voted for the Reform Bill, lost his Tiverton seat, and was instead elected for Liverpool. George Gough-Calthorpe (1787–1851), Baron Calthorpe, sat in the Lords. William Draper Best (1767–1845), former Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was made Baron Wynford and entered the Lords in 1829. John Scott (1751–1838), Earl of Eldon, was a Tory peer and former Lord Chancellor.

In 1783, Charles James Fox (1749–1806) and Lord North had organized a coalition government in opposition to King George III (1738–1820). The king retaliated by procuring the defeat in the Lords of a Commons bill to reform British administration in India, and Fox in turn led the Commons in opposing the measures of William Pitt (1759–1806), George's new choice as prime minister. George dissolved Parliament in 1784 and new elections returned a majority for Pitt. In 1761, Pitt's father, William Pitt (1708–1778), known as the Great Commoner, had resigned his leading post in the government after disagreements with George III and his advisers. George awarded Pitt a £3000 annual pension and made his wife, Hester Grenville Pitt (1720–1803), Baroness Chatham. Pitt was later raised to the peerage as Earl of Chatham.

5. Charles Jenkinson (1729–1808) had sought an appointment under the elder William Pitt in 1756. A friend of George III, he later served in several high offices and was made Earl of Liverpool in 1796. James I (1566–1625) became King of England in 1603.

6. Charles Watkin Williams Wynn (1775–1850) resigned in 1831 as secretary at war, a non-Cabinet post, rather than support the Reform Bill. Henry Peter Brougham (1778–1868), who became Lord Chancellor in 1830, championed the Bill in the Lords.

7. Alcibiades (c450–404 BC) was a famed Athenian statesman and general. Diogenes (c412–c323 BC) was a Greek philosopher and a founder of Cynicism. The pseudonymous author of the *Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, between the Years 1803 and 1807* (1816) had obtained entry to forbidden places by posing as a Muslim.

8. British comic actor Charles Mathews (1776–1835) had toured the U.S. in 1822–23. His subsequent show, *A Trip to America*, satirized American manners. English journalist William Cobbett (1763–1835) had been an anti-Jeffersonian propagandist in the U.S. in the 1790s. He returned to the U.S. for two years in 1817 and recorded his sojourn in *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* (1818).

9. John Jay (1745–1829) of New York had been U.S. minister to Britain in 1794–95.

10. Rufus King (1755–1827) of New York had been minister to Britain from 1796 to 1803 and again in 1825–26. William Murray (1705–1793), first Earl of Mansfield, left his native Scotland for London at age fourteen and became a renowned jurist. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) reportedly said of him that “Much may be made of a Scotchman, if he be caught young” (James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* [1791], 1:381).

11. In 1676 Nathaniel Bacon (1647–1676) led a rebellion against Virginia’s royal governor, William Berkeley.

12. On March 14, the House of Representatives had ordered a select committee investigation of the Bank of the United States. The majority of the seven men whom House speaker Andrew Stevenson appointed to the committee, including chairman Augustin S. Clayton of Georgia, were known Bank opponents. Committee member and Bank champion George McDuffie had married a daughter of South Carolina planter Richard Singleton (1776–1852). Stevenson was married to a sister of Singleton’s second wife.

13. John Randolph Clay.

From Martin Van Buren

Private

London March 28th. 1832

My dear Sir

I have just returned from a visit to the King at Windsor, will present Mr Vail on Saturday, leave here for the Continent on Monday & sail from Havre as I have before advised you. My interview with Lord Palmerston was a very interesting one, but terminated as I anticipated. He began it by stating, that his colleagues and himself had given to the subject the fullest examination which the pressure of their official duties admitted of—that he spoke their sentiments as well as his own when he assured me that they were deeply sensible of the liberal & praise worthy views which had induced you to bring the subject to the notice of his Majestys Government at this time—that it could not fail to confirm them, if any thing could be necessary to effect that object, of the sincere desire which you entertained to cultivate just & friendly relations with this Country,

& that he hoped it was no longer necessary to give me any assurances, to convince me of the sincerity with which those views were reciprocated by this Government. That it would give him pleasure to continue the conversation we had commenced upon the subject in the same general way in which we had hitherto carried it on, but that they were satisfied of the extreme improbability, that in the short time which I could remain here it would be practicable to come to an arrangement upon the subject, that would be satisfactory—that every proposition which I submitted would first have to be carefully examined by those branches of the Ministry, to whose consideration the subject more particularly belonged, & then submitted to a Cabinet Council, where the subject would have to be again discussed, & a decision deferred until the members could have an opportunity to satisfy themselves in regard to it—that the propositions which they might feel it to be their duty to submit would of course have to go through to the same process, and that I could form some idea, from the knowledge I had of their situation, of the time which it would take to bring our discussions upon the subject to a conclusion. That in addition to the difficulties arising from the sources he had referred to, there was another which they found to be of nature which they did not feel themselves at liberty to disregard, & which created the strongest desire on their part to defer the discussion to a more convenient season—he meant he said the pendency of the Reform question, and the extreme violence with which the final passage of that measure was expected to be contested. I could not have failed he said to observe the extent to which the public mind here was agitated upon that subject, and would he was confident appreciate the reasonableness of their desire to avoid as far as possible the multiplication of topics which might serve to encrease the public excitement, and strengthen the arms of the opposition—that although it was entirely true, that in whatever regarded the relations between the two Countries, there was a better spirit prevailing in England, than had perhaps ever before existed, and which he was happy to be assured was every day improving; yet I could not be ignorant of the fact, that the a leading difficulty in former negotiations had arisen from a known sensitiveness in the public mind upon this point, arising from a general, though not well defined, impression that the right of ~~search~~ impressment was materially connected with their naval supremacy—that although this circumstance would not deter his Majesties ministers from opening a negotiation upon the ~~point~~ subject with a Country with which they were so anxious to stand well as the U. States, it nevertheless served to make it extremely desirable for all interests, that the matter should be undertaken under the most auspicious circumstances—that those of the present moment, so far from being of that character, were of an opposite one—that upon giving the subject a more particular attention the reasons, arising from this source, and which had induced me to postpone it, had struck them with the greatest force, & that they entertained a proper sense of the motives by which I had

been influenced in paying that respect to their situation. That under these circumstances, the course which would be most acceptable to them, & in which he was most anxious that it would be agreeable to me to concur, would be, to defer the matter until the arrival of my successor, when he trusted the reform question, as well as the affairs of the Continent (which at this moment required their attention to an extent, which, when he saw me last he had not anticipated) would be finally, & satisfactorily adjusted, & that in the mean time he would give the subject the fullest examination, with an earnest desire, to divine some suitable mode, in which the commendable views of the President might be carried into effect, & future collisions avoided, in a way satisfactory to the people of both Countries. That he had now placed before me the reasons by which he & his colleagues were influenced, in the wish he had expressed, & that if it comported with my views of duty to acquiesce in them, it would give him pleasure to have further general conversation with me and that he was quite sure that what had already transpired, would have a very favourable influence upon what remained to be done—but that if they were not satisfactory to me, and I still desired to open the negotiation at this time, such was the respect which his Majestys Ministers entertained for the motives which had induced you to bring it the subject forward, & such their desire to bestow their best attention upon any matter, which might serve to improve the relations between the two Countries, that they would not decline to do so, and would give the matter all as much of their time as the peculiar pressure of their official duties would permit.

I must defer until I have the pleasure of seeing you the repetition of the remarks with which I preceded my consent to the course he proposed. We then continued our conversation upon the general subject, in the course of which I read to him such parts of Mr Livingston instructions, as contained general observations upon the motives by which the two Governments ought to be activated, & the strong reasons which existed for some suitable provision upon the subject, &c. with which Ld. Palmerston was highly gratified, & the effect produced upon him, in convincing him of the sincerity and disinterestedness of our views, was very apparent, we dropped the subject with a renewed promise that he would make himself master of it by the arrival of my successor, and assurance of the satisfaction he had derived from what had taken place, & of his convictions of its utility &c.¹ I then asked him to get his Majesty to fix the period time for my interview to take my leave of his Majesty at as early a period as would comport with his convenience which he promised to do. A day or two afterwards I recd. a private note from Ld. Palmerston, in which he informed me that the King would give me an audience before the Levee on the succeeding Thursday, and adding that his Majesty wished that I should make a visit to the Castle at Windsor before I left England, if the state of Princess Louise's health, who lays there dangerously ill, would admit of it, and remain there from Saturday until Monday.² At the

appointed time I had my interview at which of course civil things were said on both sides without much form but I verily believe with entire sincerity. He approached me familiarly, and said well Mr Van Buren, I cannot of course, take part in the decisions of your Government, nor any branch of it, but I may be permitted, without impropriety to express my regrets that it has been thought necessary to remove you from us, &c he then went over some of the subjects touched upon at my presentation—particularly the alarm which existed in England at your election his declaration that he never would condemn an untried man &c his present impressions & wishes expressed in Messages to you which were entirely informal & friendly, & of which I will give you a more particular account when I have the pleasure of taking you by the hand, after alternate observations of some duration in which he repeated the accounts which had been given him of me by his ministers & particularly Ld. Palmerston who was present—his own observations &c he concluded the interview by an earnest expression of his desire to keep well with the United States & of his feelings towards me personally, & by informing me, that happily the state of the Princesss health was such, as to admit of his receiving me at Windsor, and that he should therefore expect me at dinner on Saturday, & hoped I would be able to stay over until Monday. On my return to the Throne Room I had an opportunity to take leave of Lord Grey, & the rest of the ministers, before the Levee commenced, which was done in a manner every way gratifying to me.

In giving you somewhat of a particular account of my visit to Windsor, I would, were I writing to any one else, be apprehensive that I might be regarded as placing an undue estimate upon attentions of this character. So far from that being the case, I assure you, that I have derived no small share of self compliment, since I have been here, from finding how well grounded my Republican notions are, and how utterly impossible it would be to inoculate me with the high & peculiar notions of Loyalty & nobility which enter so deeply into the character of this people. That however furnishes no reason why I should not give them full credit for the good that I have found in their characters, which has certainly not been inconsiderable. In this particular matter however, I consider myself as altogether, subordinate and secondary, the principal object of the King, in the very kind & unusual manner in which he has seen fit to treat me before my departure, having undoubtedly been, to manifest his respect for the Country & yourself. On the day of the Levee he pressed Ld. Palmerston to come out & meet me which the latter promised to do if he could. He also sent for our friend Vaughan (who happened to be at Oxford fifty four miles off) to attend at the Castle without apprising him of the object. When I arrived I found Ld. Palmerston there, & to my great gratification Mr Vaughan, who had had an interview with the King, by whom he was informed that he wishing to make my stay at the Castle as agreeable as he could, he had sent for him to meet me, & that he must remain as long as

I did. At dinner the kind hearted old gentleman recd. and entertained us with good cheer, & unbounded hospitality; expressing his regrets that the Queens indisposition prevented her dining with us, but bringing a message from her that she would do so if in her power to on the morrow. We continued in a very interesting conversation with the King, Ld. Palmerston &c until twelve oClock, in the course of which I was greatly surprised by his knowledge of our Country, & pleased with the good sense & information he displayed—which is I am quite confident much greater than he is supposed to possess. His enquiries about the structure & operation of our political institutions were very minute, & sensible, & Mr Vaughan will answer in part those about yourself by sending him a print of you.

Sunday was spent in church—a drive of fifteen miles through the Park, & in seeing the interior of the Castle, (certainly the most magnificent establishment in Europe,) which the King preferred to shew us himself, and gave us a minute account of the different parts, apartments and fixtures, & the historical recollections connected with them. Ld. Palmerston was obliged to go to Town but was requested to return to dinner & stay till Monday, which he did. The Queen made her appearance at dinner the first time for several days, & was throughout very affable & kind. The evening was spent very pleasantly and under the circumstances very unostentatiously. ~~On Mon~~ We were requested to remain as long in the mornng. as we could as there were yet several things which the King was desirous that we should see. Monday mornng he sent Genl Barnrd his Equerry to us & the principal architect who shewed us the Tower³—&c at one oClock he sent for us to his Study where Vaughan & myself had a long talk upon agriculture &c & with him & where we were joined by the Queen in her riding dress. Our Carriages were then sent round to the Queens lodge, a favorite cottage of his, to which we walked and which was shewn to me in detail by the Queen, & when I took my leave of them in the presence of the party, with the most friendly and particular observations by both of them, in succession. Before we parted the King took a separate walk with me through the grounds, during which he repeated the civil things he had said at my formal leave taking, and also his desire to preserve a good understanding between the two Countries; & the Queen requested me to visit a friend & relation of hers on the Rhine, to whom she promised to send me a letter of introduction, & on reaching my carriage I found four splendid engravings of the Castle, which she had directed to be put up for me. I am aware that this detail, if exposed to the popular gaze, would excite ill natured criticism, but there can be no harm in giving it for your private perusal—particularly as it has a bearing beyond what is merely personal. I confess that these attentions, which in our happy country would be almost matters of course with our highest public functionaries, but which are here so unusual, as to attract public attention, gratified me, as they cannot but serve to counteract, what I firmly believe to have been a leading motive on the part of my enemies. They do not want me at

home, but the temptation to mortify me in the presence of the assembled representatives of Europe, & the Aristocracy of this Country, and through that means to reach you, was too strong to be resisted. To have seen me sneaking away from here humbled by their rebuke would have been quite the thing, but to witness, not only the counteraction of their views at home, but my departure from this Court, distinguished by a degree of respect & attention, of a confessedly unusual character cannot fail, I think to make them believe that their labours of malice have been in vain. The good King was not content with what he had done at Windsor, but I learn from several sources, took occasion at the Levee yesterday, (which I did not of Course attend) to speak freely and frequently of me & of his satisfaction & regrets &c.

I have only time to add a few words upon the subject of news. Count Orloffs arrival from the Hague, is the subject of universal interest. He was sent thither by the Emperor of Russia, to bring the King of Holland to terms, & Saturday (tomorrow) is the time fixed for the exchange of ratifications &c Austria & Prussia have sent their ratifications & Count Orloff is expected to speak definitively for his master tomorrow.⁴ I met him last evening at dinner at Prince Livens, where were also Lds. Grey & Palmerston & the ambassa[dors] of France Austria Prussia & Holland. The fact of the Kings (of Holland) continued rejection of the Treaty was admitted by ~~Ld. Palmerston~~ but with qualifications which were not explained ~~although he~~ but Lord Palmerston expressed to me the strongest confidence that the matter would be finally settled. Indeed the confidence which I have uniformly expressed in that result was strengthened by the sayings & appearances of the evening notwithstanding the stubbornness of his Dutch Majesty. It is possible that there may be more delay upon some plausible ground, but to that result they must come at last—certainly if this ministry keeps its ground here & there is no serious disturbance in France.

I have no time to write my son & must beg you to shew him this letter & ask him to find get for me the speech I made on the West India Question & send or bring it to Nyork agt. my arrival, he will find it in the Intelligencer of the summer of 1827 I think. Ask him also to make my acknowledgments to Mr Hill for his very acceptable letter.⁵ Remember me affectionately to all your family & believe me to be Very truly yours

M. Van Buren

Allow me to add a note for Mrs. Blair. Mr Blair requested me to bring a copy of Lord Byrons works for her which it would have given me the greatest pleasure to have done, but on Inquiry I find that there are no copies out here which cannot be obtained in the U. States, & that they cost here about 40 per Cent. more than in America—which, notwithstanding the deservedly great improvement of the Globe establishment, it is

not worth while to throw away. Murray is publishing a very splendid & expensive edition, in numbers, which can be obtained through Thompson if Mr B. prefers to go to that expense, which would be only a proper tribute to his wives good taste.⁶ Irving McCaulay & myself leave here tomorrow or next day for Paris by the way of Havre.

ALS and AL extract, DLC-Van Buren Papers (20-0001). Van Buren evidently composed this letter over three days from March 28 to 30. He made a copy of the passage detailing his interview with Palmerston.

1. Livingston's August 1, 1831, instructions to Van Buren had pointed out that so few British seamen were actually recovered by impressment as to make the practice of little benefit to Britain in wartime, while its extreme offensiveness to Americans could drive the U.S. into alliance with Britain's enemies. Livingston observed that impressment remained "a germ of discord" between two countries that were otherwise being drawn by commercial ties, friendly feeling, the conciliation of differences, and a "community of language, literature, manners, and religion" toward a "state of permanent peace so beneficial to both" (DNA-RG 59, M77-73).

2. Van Buren took formal leave from King William IV at a royal levee at St. James Palace on March 22, and he visited Windsor Castle from March 24 to 26. Princess Louise of Saxe-Weimar (1817–1832) was the niece of William's consort, Queen Adelaide (1792–1849). Louise died on July 11.

3. Major General Sir Andrew Francis Barnard (1773–1855) was William IV's chief equerry. Architect Jeffry Wyattville (1766–1840) conducted extensive renovations at Windsor Castle.

4. Saturday was March 31. In October 1831 the five-power London Conference had produced the Treaty of the XXIV Articles, detailing terms for Belgian separation and independence from Holland. Plenipotentiaries of the five powers and Belgium signed the treaty on November 15, but King William I (1772–1843) of the Netherlands refused. In January 1832, Emperor Nicholas I of Russia had sent soldier and diplomat Alexis Orloff (1787–1861) to The Hague in an effort to procure William's acquiescence. Orloff's mission failed, and he left for London. Britain and France had ratified the treaty in January 1832. Austria and Prussia ratified it in April, and Russia on May 4.

5. Van Buren had spoken in the Senate on February 24, 1827, on the colonial trade question (*Register of Debates*, 19th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 469–81). The *National Intelligencer* published the speech on May 7, 1827. New Hampshire senator Isaac Hill had written Van Buren on January 29 about his rejection in the Senate, and again on February 12 about the state of politics and the certainty of Van Buren's nomination for the vice presidency. The two letters were sent together (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

6. London publisher John Samuel Murray (1778–1843) issued *The Works of Lord Byron* in seventeen volumes in 1832–33. Pishey Thompson (1785–1862) was a Washington bookseller.

To Roger Brooke Taney

The within memorial of Genl Taylor, with the accompanying documents are referred to the atto. Genl. for his opinion on the following points

1rst. Has the President a legal power where manifest oppression appears, to order a dismissal of a suit ordered to be instituted by the agent of the Treasury

2nd. Whether Genl Taylor is not justly entitled to credit for the amount paid over to the late Col. James Johnston by the orders of the Late paymaster genl—¿does not the statement of case in Genl Taylors memorial expose a case of real vexation & oppression to entitle him to the interposition of the Executive, if the Executive has a legal right to interpose

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Genl. Taylor—case refered to atto Genl

AN, DLC (59; 20-0051). James Taylor (1769–1848) of Kentucky had been an Army district paymaster and quartermaster general in the War of 1812. On settling his accounts in 1820 the Treasury had found him in arrears to the U.S. for more than \$18,000, but Taylor claimed a balance in his favor of more than \$1,000. Taylor complained that the War Department had refused to credit the large sums he had raised on his private account to sustain the war effort, and on which he had suffered great loss. Among the credits he claimed were for payments to the late James Johnson (1774–1826), brother of Richard M. Johnson, a Kentucky colonel during the war and later an Army contractor and congressman. A Treasury suit to recover from Taylor had been repeatedly postponed. Taney replied to AJ on April 5 that the president had no authority to alter a settled account, and that the government was now ready to try the suit. Taney conceded that extraordinary delays in pursuing the suit thus far, during which some of Taylor's witnesses had died, had been "exceedingly harassing" to Taylor and furnished him just cause of complaint; but relief must come from Congress, not the executive (*HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 871–73, Serial 387). Taylor memorialized Congress on April 9, and a law of March 2, 1833, directed the Treasury to settle his accounts "on principles of equity and justice," allowing such credits as he could prove "by the best evidence which the nature of the case will admit of" (DNA-RG 233; *Statutes*, 6:540–41).

To Nicholas Philip Trist

March 29th. 183

Has Mr. N. P. Trist a saddle horse for sale—*one is wanted*, and if he has, will he send him down this morning, with his age, & price, and if he calls on his way to his office, he may find a purchaser

AN, DLC-Trist Papers (17-1005). Trist (1800–1874) was a State Department clerk. He had served AJ as private secretary in 1831. On March 29 AJ paid Thomas J. Darst \$115 for a horse for his son.

From Edward Livingston

[*The 1783 Treaty of Paris ending the Revolutionary War had delineated a boundary between British Canada and the United States. However, in several places, most notably in the Northeastern region between New Brunswick and Maine, vague wording and a flawed map made it impossible to convert the treaty's language into a line on the ground acceptable to both sides. The 1814 Treaty of Ghent called for a joint survey of*

the boundary and, in the event of continued disagreement, for submission of the opposing claims to a friendly sovereign for “final and conclusive” decision (Treaties, 2:576–78). The issue remaining unresolved, the two countries signed a convention in 1827 setting rules for the arbitration, and King William I of the Netherlands was chosen as arbiter. On January 10, 1831, he issued his award. Rather than choose between American and British interpretations of the treaty language, as contemplated by his instructions, he proposed a compromise boundary of his own. It gave the U.S. nearly two-thirds of the disputed region, but would require Maine to surrender a portion of territory over which it had adamantly claimed full sovereignty. After being assured that Britain would accept the award, Jackson submitted it to the Senate for advice and consent on December 7, 1831 (Richardson, 2:559).

On January 19, 1832, the Maine legislature adopted resolutions upholding the state’s sovereign integrity, dismissing the King’s award as unauthorized and nonbinding, and summoning Maine’s senators and representatives “to use their best efforts to prevent our State from being dismembered, our territory alienated, and our just rights prostrated.” The resolutions authorized the governor to appoint an agent to carry the resolves to Washington, deliver them to the president for submission to the Senate, and cooperate with Maine’s congressional delegation in defense of the state (Resolves of the Twelfth Legislature of the State of Maine, pp. 343–44; Senate Confidential Printing 22-1-8). Governor Samuel Emerson Smith (1788–1860) named as agent William Pitt Preble (1783–1857), who as U.S. minister to the Netherlands in 1829–31 had presented the American arbitration case before the King. Preble brought the resolutions to Washington, and Jackson, as requested, conveyed them to the Senate on February 3 (Richardson, 2:563–64).

At Jackson’s direction, Livingston met Preble on February 15 and proposed an indemnity in western federal land to Maine in return for its acquiescence in the award. Preble wrote Smith on February 16, saying that the proposal met the approval of Maine’s congressional delegation, that it “saves the honor of the State” while relieving the U.S., and that it would be “immensely advantageous” to Maine’s “pecuniary interests.” Smith recommended the proposal to the legislature, which on March 3 adopted resolutions accepting it and authorizing the appointment of commissioners to negotiate terms (Resolves of the Twelfth Legislature of the State of Maine, pp. 449, 452–53, 465–67). Preble conveyed these resolutions to Livingston, who on March 9 replied that Jackson would designate himself and others of the Cabinet to negotiate a provisional agreement for congressional approval.]

Washington 29 March 1832

To the President

The Secretary of State to whom was referred the Resolution of the Senate requesting “The President to inform the Senate whether any, and if

any, what communications have passed between the Executive Department of the United States, and the Executive or Legislative Departments of the State of Maine relative to the North Eastern Boundary, and whether any proposition has been made by either that the Boundary designated by the King of the Netherlands shall be established for a *consideration*, to be paid to Maine, and if so, what consideration is proposed? so far as the same may not be inconsistent with the public interest,” has the honor to Report,¹

That after the communications heretofore made to the Senate on the subject of the North Eastern Boundary (which although comprehended in the general terms of the Resolution it is not thought, are now required to be repeated) certain “communications have passed between the Executive Department of the United States and the Executive and Legislative Departments of the State of Maine, (By their Agent), relative to the North Eastern Boundary” and that no “proposition has been made by either, that the Boundary designated by the King of the Netherlands should be established for a consideration to be paid to Maine” But that, certain other preparatory and eventual arrangements were proposed to be submitted to Congress and to the State of Maine. That although those arrangements have not been completed, and while in progress there may be some inconvenience in giving them publicity, none is perceived in communicating the whole matter confidentially to the Senate.

That the State of Maine having passed resolutions declaratory of their dissent to any acquiescence in the award made by the King of the Netherlands, and having appointed an Agent to communicate the same to the President and both Houses of Congress, the President thought it proper to avail himself of the presence of that Agent at the seat of Government, to make propositions for entering into such an arrangement, as, being confirmed by Congress and by the State of Maine, would satisfy the State for the loss of Territory it might sustain, if it should be determined to confirm the award of the King of the Netherlands, either for reasons of expediency, or on the ground that the award, although it does not designate the boundary claimed by either party, under the Treaty of Ghent, is yet authorized by the submission. In either of which cases, it was thought that an indemnity would be due to the State of Maine.

In the first, because the advantage of settling the disputed question would have been purchased confessedly at the expense of Maine. In the second, because although the United States had made a submission which authorized the Arbiter to establish a line different from the one contemplated by the treaty of 1783 and the Treaty of Ghent, and although public faith might require a compliance with the award under it. Yet the authority to make a submission which empowered the Arbiter to dismember a State might well be questioned.

If it should, on the other hand, be determined that the award should not be executed, the whole arrangement would be of course void.

The President gave no opinion on either of these points, but directed the Secretary of State to confer with Mr. Preble, the Agent for the State of Maine, and to propose that some person should be appointed by the State to meet a person appointed by The President, to agree on an equivalent in land of The United States, as an indemnity in any case in which Congress might deem such compensation to be due.

This Conference was accordingly had on the 15th. of February, and a memorandum of the substance of what passed on the occasion was made on the same day by the Secretary of State, and submitted to The President: a copy whereof is hereunto annexed, marked A, with a slight addition made by Mr. Preble, when it was shown to him on the 10th. of March.²

On the 8th. of March, Mr. Preble communicated, to the Secretary of State, the Preamble and Resolutions of the State of Maine, which are hereunto annexed, marked B. In consequence of which the Letter, marked C, was written by the Secretary of State and delivered to Mr. Preble, who departed the next day for Maine; since which, nothing farther has occurred, in relation to the subject inquired of by the Resolution. All which is respectfully submitted.

Edw Livingston

DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0044). LC, DNA-RG 59 (M77-152). AD draft, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). Senate Confidential Printing 22-1-18. Livingston attached his memorandum of the February 15 interview with Preble, the Maine legislative resolutions of March 3, and his March 9 letter to Preble. AJ transmitted Livingston's report to the Senate this same day, March 29. The Senate received it in executive session and printed it in confidence (Richardson, 2:570; *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:234). On April 17 Livingston wrote Governor Smith prompting him to appoint negotiating commissioners for Maine (DNA-RG 59, M77-152). Smith wrote AJ on May 10 (below).

1. The Senate had adopted this resolution in executive session on March 20 (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:225).

2. Preble had added a clarifying note to Livingston's memorandum of their February 15 conversation, stating his opinion that Maine would never assent to King William's award but "might possibly be induced to yield to the discretion and disposition of the United States her claim and jurisdiction."

To Levi Woodbury

March 29th. 1832—

The President with his thanks for the Perusal of Mr Randolphs letter herein returns it. The President recd. one of the same date from Mr Randolph, & he hopes to have the pleasure of greeting him welcome to Washington in a few days in improved health clear of all "morbific matter" when we will all unite in adding to his comforts & his health whatever may be in our power.

AN, DLC-Woodbury Papers (20-0059). Randolph's March 26 letter to Woodbury solicited an office for Alfred R. Dowson (c1783–1850), keeper of a Washington boardinghouse where Randolph had once lodged. The letter also repeated the political commentary and the mention of discharging "morbific matter" that Randolph had sent to AJ the same day (Woodbury Papers, DLC).

From John Coffee

Near Florence 30th. March 1830

Dear Genl.

I have just recd. your letter of the 13th. Inst. informing me the course which Mr. Everets Resolution had taken. I had just recd. the same intelligence from our Representative Mr. Clay, together with the instructions to Mr. Tobin, and Mr. Collingsworth. I see that they are to pass by the way of Franklin Ten to notify Mr. Currin of the proceedings, & to receive any testimony which Mr. Currin may offer &c¹ If nothing unfair is done in conducting the enquiry, it must turn out beneficial to Lewis & Currin & all who are implicated—but as fairness is not the object we dont know what may be done—does Major Lewis rely implicitly and fully on Currin to do him and all others concerned full and ample Justice. I merely ask the question, as I dont know any thing about Mr. Currins feelings on this subject, I have always viewed him as being politically friendly to you, but I know he is connected with the Mc.Nairy family, who are your most poison enemies, and therefore I have thought that Mr. Currin could not act as promptly and efficiently in his favour and yours (for it is evedently intended to implicate you) as if he was not allyed to your enemies. This business brings to my view very forcably a letter which I recd. from Mr. Currin last October, in which he informed me that he had recently been on to Washington City, and had a settlement with Major Lewis about their expenditures in diging for salt water &c in which Major Lewis fell in his debt upwards of five hundred dollars, and Major Lewis had informed him that I would pay it to him, on account of an interest which he said Lewis informed him I held in that business. I was much surprised when I recd. the letter, to learn that Major Lewis entertained a belief that I was in any way interested in that business. I immediately wrote to Mr. Currin, and informed him that I could not think its possible that Major Lewis considered me in the remotest manner interested in that lease of land—and in order to convince him that I was not at all interested I wrote him fully all the interest which I ever had in that transaction, which ceased to exist very shortly after its first existence. At the time that I was offered, with James Jackson, an interest in the business, in order to raise funds to carry it on, &c, but so soon as we discovered the uncertainty of getting salt water, we both declined taking any further interest, and prefered to loose the advance of money which we had made, rather than to go into an extensive expenditure without any certainty of success—&c &c—I intended to

write to Major Lewis on the subject, but very shortly after writing to Mr Currin, I had business which called me to Nashville where I called on Mr. C. and he promised me that he would send my letter or a copy of it to Major Lewis immediately thereafter. I therefore expected if Major Lewis entertained a different opinion from me, on the subject, that he would write to me, and let me know it—never having heard from Major Lewis, or Mr. Currin since, I concluded, that Currin had mistaken Lewis, or that it was a put off, from paying the money at the time to Currin, from some cause or other, to me unknown—and I thought no more about it, untill I see these famous resolutions of Mr. Everet, and the proceedings thereon. I begin to think it possible, that the correspondence with me was intended to draw something from me, which might in the end involve either you or myself, or both, but if that was the case, they were disappointed, for my letter contains nothing but facts, which I am willing the enemy, as well as friends should know, fortunately I have a copy of the letter, which I will send you by next mail, from which you will see my views of that business.² I expect that Major Lewis has my letter or a copy, sent to him by Currin—if so I should like for you to ask him to shew it to you—that you may also know his views on the same subject.³ As I cannot believe that Major Lewis ever did entertain the opinion that I held any interest in that lease—he accompanied me to the Chickasaw nation in 1826, as he informed me for the very purpose of trying to get the lease so altered or changed, as would indemnify him and Currin for the large expenditure in trying to obtain salt—but he never intimated to me that he viewed me in any way interested in the business. Colbert was willing seemingly, to alter the lease so as to compensate Lewis & Currin, & he promised Majr. Lewis that he would do it, after the other and more important business was done—and Major Lewis left his papers with me when he left the treaty ground, and Colbert promised him, that he and Brown would sign them before I left them, but at the close of the business Colbert refused to sign the new lease which Lewis had left—and said it might remain as it was for the present—during all this time I had not the most distant idea that I was considered interested in any manner whatever—but when I send you my letter to Currin you will see my views in full.⁴ I shall keep a look out, but I dont expect they will call for testimony in this quarter. I have not time now to copy my letter to Currin, but by next mail you may expect it.

Mrs. Coffee has been much afflicted for several weeks with a severe cold, or Influenza, which is very common here at this time, her cough has been very bad, but she is now mending and I hope in a few days will be well—the rest of my family are all well. We all join in respects to you, and our friends with you. Dr Genl. Yr. obt. sevt.

Jno. Coffee

P.S. I have written our Representative Mr. Clay fully on this subject. I thought right that he should know all about it. I never knew of any one

having an interest in that lease, but Lewis & Currin, and James Jackson & myself, that was only verbal no writings ever had I believe about it—and that for a very limited time—and I don't know, nor do I believe I ever did know, to what extent it was intended I should be interested, having the fullest confidence in Major Lewis, the little advance which I made, was done relying on him to do justice in the premises.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Genl Coffee—I-n Reservation.

ALS, DLC (38). Coffee wrote again on April 1 (below).

1. Pursuant to instruction, Benjamin Tobin went to Franklin, where Robert P. Currin lived, and wrote him on April 9 inviting his participation in the inquiry into the salt lease. Currin declined on April 10, explaining that the 1830 change in payment terms was made “of my own will and accord,” that the Chickasaws had fully approved it, that it was appended to the Treaty of Franklin merely to show their approval, and that the whole transaction was “a private affair” containing nothing to investigate (*HRRep* 488, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 38–39, Serial 228).

2. Currin had written Coffee on October 15, 1831 (Coffee Papers, THi), and Coffee had replied on October 23. Coffee copied the correspondence to AJ on April 1 (below).

3. AJ showed this letter to Lewis, who then wrote Coffee on April 13, 1832. Lewis explained that Currin had sent him a copy of Coffee's October 23, 1831, letter, and that he had written Currin a reply to forward on to Coffee, which he only now learned Currin had not done. Lewis said that while he knew Coffee retained no legal interest in the lease, he had considered that Coffee's original participation in it should fairly entitle him to a chance at recouping his share of its expenses. He had therefore asked Currin to inquire of Coffee whether he wanted to contribute, in proportion to his original interest, to the \$2,000 commutation payment under the new terms. Lewis assured Coffee that no one in Washington knew of his original interest in the lease, that Currin was entirely trustworthy, and that there was “nothing to fear” from the investigation (Coffee Papers, THi).

4. Coffee had served as U.S. commissioner in a failed effort to negotiate a Chickasaw removal treaty in 1826. Lewis said in his April 13 letter to Coffee that he had then accompanied him not with intent to modify the lease, but to repudiate a rumor among the Chickasaws that Levi Colbert had sold him the land outright, and to obtain clarification that he would not owe the rent if the reserve produced no salt. Lewis said he had been willing to relinquish the lease, and that only when the Chickasaws asked him to retain it did he instead seek modifications to make it profitable.

To Edward Livingston

March 31st. 1832

Dr. Sir,

From a conversation with Mr. Craig, this morning, I am induced to think that any further increase of the number of clerks in his office will have a bad effect upon its interests. He informs me that according to your directives there were thirty three clerks appointed to bring up the records—that of these two were rejected as incompetent, two have resigned, and all but one of the remaining 29 are now at work; and that this number if efficiently employed will in a very short time consume the

appropriation which will be made to pay for their services, and is besides as large as he can find work for

Under these circumstances is it not better that the number of clerks should not be increased & that your order of to day be recinded? It is obvious that the 6 or 8 expectants who may be disappointed would make nothing out of the job, since it has already been parcelled out among 28 who will soon *eat it up*. But the chief consideration with me grows out of ~~the fact~~ my desire to leave the Superintendent such a controul of the details of the office as will enable him to discharge properly its duties. The work now ordered is to be handed down to posterity and for its proper execution he is chiefly responsible.# He should therefore have such clerks as he is satisfied are competent. Vy truly yr. svt

Andrew Jackson

[*In margin in AJ's hand:*] #part of the work has been condemned yesterday by three competent judges calld. on to inspect it.

LS in AJ Donelson's hand, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Donelson added in the margin "The appropriation is reduced by the senate from \$14,625 to 8,000." The General Appropriation Act of May 5, 1832, included \$14,612 for additional clerks to record patents, which the Senate Finance Committee had added on March 26 as an amendment to the original bill from the House (*Statutes*, 4:513, 605). John D. Craig (1766-1846) was superintendent of the Patent Office.

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York March 31 1832

My dear Sir.

I take the liberty to enclose to you a letter I received to day urging me to request you to induce the appointment of Captain Webb to ~~an appoint-~~
~~ment~~ in the ordinance department As I am unacquainted with the applicant his merits or the arrangements that are to be made I have thought it best to send the letter to you I will merely remark that In as much as he is the brother of Webb the Editor and as subsequent events connected with the developments of the Bank Committee may require you to take strong measures in relation to one of the Editors of that paper it may be useful to avail yourself of this occasion to shew that you are influenced by kind feelings to the other as evinced by the appointment of his brother and to avail yourself of this opportunity to write a letter saying that it will afford you pleasure to serve any member of the family of Mr Stewart which letter I will take care shall be shewn to Mr Webb the Editor.¹

The investigation by the Committee must result as I before intimated in shewing that the Editors of the Courier & Enquirer have been most improperly influenced by the Bank

I am progressing with *the work* & will I hope shortly complete it. Indeed I find upon a more deliberate review much less is required to be done than I had anticipated.

The news of Van Burens rejection was received in *Liverpool* on the 22d of February a letter has been received by a Gentleman in this city who stated its contents to me saying that nothing had taken place for a great length of time that produced so much dissatisfaction in Liverpool as that rejection. The writer is wholly disconnected from the Government & Politicks & seems to speak the public opinion.

Nothing here from Van Buren yet. We are taking measures to receive him as we ought when He arrives. I remain with great respect & sincere attachment your friend & sert

James A. Hamilton

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Col. J. A. Hamilton 31st. of March 1832 enclosing and recommend.g Capt Webb—ordinance—

ALS, DLC (40). AJ replied on April 16 (below).

1. James Watson Webb (1802–1884) edited the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*, and his brother Stephen Hogeboom Webb (1796–1873) was an Army captain. Both men had married daughters of New York City merchant Alexander L. Stewart (1775–1838). Webb's editorial partner was Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785–1851), whom AJ had appointed New York City customs surveyor in 1829. In April 1831 the *Courier and Enquirer* had reversed its earlier editorial opposition to the Bank of the United States. The House select committee on the Bank was now investigating whether the Bank had procured this reversal by bribing the editors with loans. The committee reported on April 30, and Hamilton wrote AJ again on May 7 (below).

Samuel Swartwout to Thomas Lilly Smith

31 March 1832

Dear Tom.

Raymond, the poliece officer and bosom friend of the King of Holland, has departed this day for Washington with dispatches for Govt. He has stated to several persons here, that he has authority from the Dutch Govt. to settle up all demands against the Jewels—and that he has rcievd 30,000 Dollars for his own expences, besides having all his expences paid, and a present of two very large & valuable Jewels one for himself and one for his *Lady*. It is not stated whether, any of the other parties had recd presents or compensation. If they have it is probable that he knows nothing about it, His Excellency, the Chevalier Huygens having had that thing to do, in all probability. Now, my dear fellow, I want you to find out, which you can easily do, what authority, this special Minister has brought with him, to settle and *reward* us poor Devils for takeing the thief, the Jewels &. &. and *causing* the whole affair to be blown & the honest Prince & Princess to get their own again.

Go this thing heavy, powerful, *strong!* and let me hear every thing as soon as possible.

The President always meant that *we* should be paid. I hope it will soon be done. Yrs ever

S. Swartwout

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Swartwout—on the subject of the jewels—

ALS, DLC (40). Samuel Swartwout (1783–1856) was the customs collector at New York City, and Thomas Lilly Smith (1789–1871) was register of the Treasury in Washington. Both were appointed by AJ in 1829. After Constant Polari's arrest in July 1831, New York City police marshal George B. Raymond (d. 1832) had been sent by Dutch minister Huygens in pursuit of Polari's wife and her companion, former informant John Roumage, who together had fled the country with some of the Princess of Orange's stolen jewels. Raymond apprehended them in Liverpool and recovered jewels in their possession and others that Polari had buried in Brussels after the theft.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Memorandum for Andrew Jackson jnr.—

1rst. He is authorised as soon as he gets home, if Saml. Donelson (his brother) will take for his land adjoining me fifteen hundred dollars on his making a Deed to draw on me for that sum and, Mr Josiah Nichol—who may want funds in Philadelphia or Baltimore will cash the draft—no more *will* be given for said lot of 100 acres, by me.

2nd. That he will as soon after he returns, as may be convenient, have a settlement with Mr Morrison, about the extra work that he was to do, for the consideration of the labour & supplies furnished by Mr Steel & see that the work is done as agreed upon between him & Mr Morrison, & urge the completion of the monument in the Garden, and write me if compleated that I may direct \$1000 to be paid him which is to be in full of said work as pr contract—he will take Mr Morrisons letter with him, and see that the work is well done & with the materials as agreed on.

3rd. He will at as early a day after he returns as may be convenient, have a settlement with Mr. Steel, for the cash he has collected for articles sold & money recd. To do this fairly, Mr Josiah Nichols accounts must be compared with those furnished by Mr Steel, to correct errors & mistakes one of which will be found in cash paid for plows—in Decbr. 1831 I am charged with upwards of \$300 by Mr Nichol paid to Steel for plows &c &c—Mr Steel in his letter recd 27th. instant states that he has sold cotton at Nashvill to amount of \$72, and applied forty odd dollars to the payment of note for plows. It will be seen in another statement of Mr Steels, that after enumerating all the cash recd for articles sold, that he strikes a ballance due from him to me of \$30 odd dollars, in which the sum of \$150 he recd for the sale of the pair of horses & Carry all is not

concluded—he sold these horses for cash in the Spring 1831—his letter so states & such was my instructions—

again in his last letter recd. on the 27th. instant he says he has first applied forty odd dollars to the payment for plows & the ballance to my account with Mr Josiah Nichol. This cannot be true, as I have recd Mr Nichol account up to the 7th. of January including the account for rope & baling from Mr Foster for all of which I have paid Mr. Nichol see Mr. Nichols account letters & draft upon me for upwards of two hundred dollars—therefore this is error—have it corrected, & see how he had applied the \$2150 for the Horses—you will have to take a full view of Mr Steels accounts as rendered & compare them with Mr Nichols—and see how the tally & how Mr Steel has applied the mony he has recd. from the sales of articles sold from the farm the horses directed by me to be sold & the cotton he states he has sold close the whole account, & if he falls in debt take is due bill for the amount. Mr Josiah Nichol has paid him \$500 his wages for 1831—and he has not accounted for the \$150 prce of pair of horses & Carryall. Mr Steel was to have paid it to Mr Morrison, in this he failed, & then to deduct it out of his wages—settle with him fairly & justly but see that that \$150 has been fairly accounted for. I believe Mr Steel honest, but careless and does not understand accpts

I hope to be out this summer—should I not I will write you & shall expect you & Sarah to write me often. If Mr Steel can make as many Brick as will put up a set of stables for our riding & carriage horses I wish it done. The plan a passage through the center and stalls at each side—with shades & stables all around the passage large enough to take in a carriage—or the shade on the south side which would be better.

When you reach the Hermitage get the note given for the stud colt, put in the bank for collection & inform me when it becomes due, as also the note for the stud colt sold to Capt Stockly Donelson. These two notes may be applied to the purchase of Alexanders Lot of Land adjoining Saml Donelsons—let me know the date it becomes due—and whether Saml and Alexander will sell. My son have nothing to do with Major Martin's Lot, until William Donelson or Mrs. Anderson is done with the purchase, and even then, not until you advise me of on the subject.¹

When you reach home I hope you will find the supplies & furniture which I have sent on, safe at the Hermitage. The pipe of madaera wine you will have placed on its stand and one half gallon of best french brandy put into it, & after two or three days it will be fit for use.

you will have the old dinning room newly papered, for Sarah's & your bed room, as it will be more convenient than up stairs—but when she sees the House she can judge for herself. The carpet in the portrait room will be taken for that, & the one in the parlour put in a one of the rooms up stairs Sarah will arrange the rooms & furniture

examine the stock hogs when you reach home, if decreased & not sufficient to make a supply for the family then along in the summer purchase

shoats & good sows, in sufficient numbers, as will make a supply of pork for the family—it will take at least 20,000 lbs of Pork for my & your family—perhaps 25,000

I suppose the quantity of Pork laid in for the present year will fall short of a supply, you will enquire & at as early a period as you can get a supply laid in—get Mr Nichol, and as far as it may be wanted for the Negroes, have it of middlings—it may take from 3 to 5 thousand pounds—the middlings can be got for six cents pr lb perhaps, 5. If the supplies I have sent on reach home in safety, you will have an abundant supply of sugar, coffee, madaera & sherry wines &c &c &c Salt & flour will be the only articles to be laid in but you will have now to begin to learn the wants of a family & supply it. This will require oeconomy & care, which you will have to learn & attend to, if you expect to get thro life well—by always knowing your means, & living within them, you will get well thro' life. This has been my rule & I recommend it to you—you & Sarah must write me often & I shall wrtie you as often as I can. When I hear from Morrison that he has finished the monument, & receive the account of sales of my last shipped cotton I will write you—tell Mr Morrison to haste with & finish this work, it is & has been a great hindrance to the farm. I will direct Mr Josiah Nichol to furnish you with such necessary funds as you may need, so soon as I hear how much remains in his hands. I have not time to write him now, as I intended, & wrote him I would do, but will, so soon as I hear from him the amount in his hands after meeting those debts I have instructed him to pay. In the mean time you will should your wants require it, call upon him for two hundred dollars, which he will advance you, & of which you will advise me forthwith, that I may not draw upon him for more than is in his hands.

Examine the stock Hogs as soon as you get home, & if there is a good supply of corn purchase up one hundred head of such as will do to fatten & kill next fall, & keep them in the pasture at the homestead, or at the Winston place.² If there is not a good supply of corn, do not buy any as it will be cheaper to purchase the Pork—but if there is corn to spare there will be a great saving in purchasing young hogs & feeding them to fall such as will suit to *kill*

If my mares are not put to the horse before you get home—have the oscar filly sent to ~~Bollivar~~ the Stockholder. The balance put to my citizen colt, if not sent on here. I name this as I wish a colt out of that mare from stockholder—but should it be found inconvenient, let her be put to *citizens*

Write me fully as to the situation of all things about the farm. The health & condition of the negroes, the appearance of my stock of all kinds, but the colts in particular, their form & size, and which promises best, the number & appearance of my oxen, & milch cattle—wr[. . .] have [. . .] oper[. . .] been [. . .] have a [. . .] full with [. . .] me the resu[. . .] a memorandum [. . .] Book, in which [. . .] enter all

settlements with all receipts. This you will find a great convenience thro life, particularly commencing this system now as you are entering into life

Andrew Jackson

For his son, A. Jackson jnr.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] memorandum for my son—A. J.

ADS, DLC (40). The last page of the manuscript is torn.

1. Mrs. Anderson was probably Elizabeth Glasgow Martin Donelson Anderson (1772–1847), mother of George W. Martin and of William Donelson's wife Elizabeth. AJ Jr. had written William on March 26 of his hopes to acquire Martin's lot (37-0513).

2. AJ had purchased the farm of his late neighbor Anthony Winston (1750–1827) in 1828.

Bank Book for March and April

March 6th. 1832	check to giusta ¹	1066 61
March 7th. 1832.	To Henry Baldwin (Judge)	\$30 25
March 12th 1832	check to A. J. Donelson for William Alexander (yellow man) trainer— ²	\$200
12th.	To E. Hume on loan—	20
13th.	To Henry Toland in full for furniture Bot prior to this date—	416 14
March 20th.	check to Genl R. K Call on loan for this sum paid & deposited in Bank d c April 1832 ³	500
March 22d 1832	check in favor of A. P. McKenney for Books for A. J. Hutchings at the virginia university & ten dollars for Hutchings tavern bill at Charlottsvill ⁴	71. ³⁰ / ₁₀₀
23rd.	check to son for	100
23rd.	check to son for Negro Girl grace ⁵	400
23rd.	To A. J. Donelson this sum—	1000
March 26th. 1832	check for this sum to A. J. Hutchings	180
26th.	To Andrew Jackson	100
29th.	check for horse for son to Thos J. Darst—	115
29	check for this sum to pay off Mrs. E. Donelsons accounts \$297. ²⁴ / ₁₀₀	
	Miss Mary Easton for hers & for A. Jackson jnr. for 67:38—	500
april 2nd. 1832	check for son, & Sarah for this sum (\$50 for each all)	400

april 4th.	for pair of horses \$550—	
	To Mr Resides ⁶	550
april 5th 1832	To M. A. Gusta—Steward	990 7
april 10th. 1832	To this check for self—	
	\$100 for [<i>J. A. H</i>]/—	120
april 14th.	To this sum for the ballance of	
	Miss Mary Eastins accounts in	
	Washington Mr. Carusi' of \$33.93 ³ / ₄	
	included ⁷	128 40
april 16th 1832	This sum to Major A. J. Donelson,	
	to pay for Evelina, a mulato girl, slave,	
	bought by him for Andrew Jackson,	
	which he has given to Mary Rachel	
	daughter of A. J. and Emily Donelson— ⁸	<u>250</u>
		498 40 ⁹
april 16th.	To check for this sum \$100 for	
	Mr E. \$20 <i>for self</i> — ¹⁰	120
april 18th. 1832	check for self for this sum—	40
april 18th. 1832	check in favor of Henry Toland on	
	his own order of date 16th. instant	
	this sum— ¹¹	536. 74

AD, DLC (78). All entries except the second are in AJ's hand.

1. Michael Anthony Giusta (c1786–1872) was AJ's White House steward.

2. Donelson had engaged noted black trainer William Alexander of Virginia at \$25 a month to train AJ's horses.

3. Richard Keith Call (1792–1862), now of Tallahassee, was AJ's former military aide and longtime friend.

4. Clement Pynes McKennie (1798–1856) was a Charlottesville printer and book dealer.

5. AJ's June 7, 1843, will and testament identified the slave Grace, or Gracy (1810–1887), as a wedding present he purchased for Sarah, to be her maid and seamstress. She later wed AJ's servant Alfred.

6. James Reeside of Philadelphia.

7. The Carusi family taught music and dancing at their Washington assembly hall.

8. Mary Rachel Donelson (1829–1905), later called Mary Emily, was the daughter of Emily and AJ Donelson. AJ deeded her this slave on April 16 (below).

9. AJ here summed the first three entries on one page of the book.

10. The \$120 check was to Ralph E. W. Earl.

11. On April 16 Philadelphia merchant Henry Toland sent AJ a draft for \$536.74 for purchasing articles for the Hermitage and shipping them to New Orleans (DLC-40; 20-0250).

April



From John Coffee

1st. April 1832—

Dear Genl,

I wrote you on the 30th. Ult. in answer to your letter to me of the 13th. I then promised to send you a copy of my letter to Mr. Currin, in answer to his informing me that Major Lewis considered me interested in his Indian Reserve tract, and calling on me to advance money on account of said interest &c. I now comply with that promise, and I also send you an extract from Mr. Currins letter, to enable you to understand mine. Mr. Currin writes a cramped hand, and I now see that I did not then fully comprehend all he said on the subject, had I have then understood him to say that Major Lewis had actually gone on to make out an account against me, and claimed a balance due to him of \$538=75. I should certainly then have written directly to him Major Lewis on the subject—but I read it over and understood enough to shew that Major Lewis had said that he considered me interested, and that I would pay to Currin this balance due to him—it then struck me, that it was inconvenient for Lewis at the time to pay Currin the balance, and that he had evaded the payment, by pretending to set up a claim against me. I was the more convinced or induced to this belief from the circumstance of Lewis promising Currin, that he would write to me and request me to pay the money, and that I had not recd. any such letter from Majr. Lewis, although Currin says the promise was made him in Feby. before, and it was in October he wrote me. I then concluded that I would write Mr. Currin all the facts and circumstances of the business, so far as I had ever been interested in it, thinking that would satisfy him—and I never read his letter to me afterwards untill to day, I turned to it in order to get the copy of my letter to send to you as promised, & on reading his letter minutely I see that he says, that he made out an account for Major Lewis against me, from *items* furnished by Major Lewis, and which shew a balance against me of \$538=75—as before stated—from this I see that there can be no doubt but Major Lewis has kept an account against me for *items* which I know nothing of, and which is most certainly incorrect. Can it be possible that he has been debiting me with moneys expended by him for this 12 or 14 years, and never let me know any thing about it—if it had been right or

proper that I should pay any thing on account of the business would it not have been right and just, that I should have paid it from time to time as it was needed for the business, I was always able to have advanced the sum now set up—and again if I was interested as now suggested should I not have been consulted on the subject of the alteration of the lease, as proposed by Major Lewis when he went with me to the nation in 1826. he did tell me his views & wishes, and he finally left his papers with me for Colbert & Brown to sign at the close of the treaty as they promised him, but which they did not do—but I had not the most distant idea that I was considered interested in the business—and again Mr. Currin did make a new bargain and alter the terms of the lease at Franklin, I knew it as one of the Commissioners, but I never dreamed of having any part or lot in it, if I had, I should have acted very different as a commissioner—all these circumstances goes to shew that I never considered myself in any wise interested in the claim, after I and James Jackson withdrew the very same year, that operations first commenced. I don't learn that there is any claim set up for James Jackson, whose interest commenced with mine, and as I have always believed ceased with mine.

you now see my views of this business, and if it will not be intruding on you, I should be glad that you ascertain Major Lewis's understanding of the business. I have always entertained unlimited confidence in the integrity of Major Lewis, & still hope that nothing is by design done wrong—but there does certainly exist a very wide difference of understanding between us somehow or otherwise. If necessary you can shew this to Major Lewis, or otherwise as you think best. My letter to Currin, and this contains my views on that subject fully.

Mrs. Coffee is mending & I hope will be well in a few days—with respects to yourself & friends, Dr. Genl. yours.

Jno. Coffee

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Genl Coffee 1rst. april 1832—

ALS, DLC (40).

[*Enclosure: Robert P. Currin to Coffee*]

Extract from a letter written by Robert P. Currin to J. Coffee

Franklin 15th. October 1831—

Dr. Sir

Last Feby. when at Washington I had a settlement with Major Lewis relative to our Indian reserve he paid me in part but left a balance due of \$538=75—which said you would pay. I at that time made account between you and him from items furnished me by him which left the balance above. The account I drew of Major Lewis said he would forward to you, and request you to pay over the money to me—&c. &c. &c.

I have proposed to Major Lewis to either sell him my interest, or buy his, I have this far attended principally to the business and the company has from the commencement to this day been largely in arrears to me, for those reasons without other prospects than the value of the soil, I dont conceive my interest will justify my attention. I will do the same with you, either buy or sell—provided Major Lewis should decline buying or selling to me.

(signed) R P. Currin

Copy in Coffee's hand, DLC (40). ALS, THi-Coffee Papers.

[Enclosure: Coffee to Robert P. Currin]

Copy of a letter written by J. Coffee, in answer to the foregoing extract from R. P. Currin

Florence 23rd. October 1831—

Dear Sir

I have recd. yours of the 15th. Inst, informing me that Major Lewis considers me a partner in your Indian reserve tract of land in the western district of Tennessee. This was unexpected to me, for many years ago I relinquished any interest which had been allotted to me in that company to those who continued to improve the place with a view to make salt—previous to my relinquishing I had made some advance of money to aid in improving the place, and some labour and money had been used in attempting to procure Salt water as I understood but without success. Mr. James Jackson who also held a similar interest with myself had been to Nashville and on his return he informed me that new exertions were about to be made on a more enlarged and expensive plan, which would require considerable funds to carry it on, and that he and myself would be expected to pay our proportions, provided we wished to continue our interest in the company, but if we preferred to decline any further interest in the company we could do so and let our interest cease to exist and devolve or revert back on the company. We both chose the latter, as we were living at a distance from the other persons concerned it would be difficult to meet and consult about the improvement to be made, and money to be laid out, and we were not willing to subject ourselves to pay our proportions of any and all contracts which might be entered into without our knowledge and consent—we therefore relinquished all claim or interest in the company from that time, and I am certain that Major Lewis was advised thereof—he may have forgotten it but he must have it in writing from us at that time. I have no recollection of the date, but it was shortly after the first attempt to procure Salt water failed, and before any other expence was incurred. I have no recollection of any promise being made to us, that we would be reimbursed the money we had advanced, and the impression left on my mind was this—that if the property became valuable, and it was a lucrative business with those that held it, that they

might refund our money at some day after having reimbursed themselves for all expences incurred—otherwise I had no expectation of ever getting anything for what advance of money I had made—indeed I thought so little of it ever being refunded, that I made no account of it, nor do I now know how much it was. In conclusion you say that you have proposed to Major Lewis to buy or sell—and you propose the same to me—you see from the foregoing that I claim nothing in the contract or company, and if Major Lewis thinks that I ought to have any interest in it, I cheerfully yield it to you with all benefits that may arise from it, but at the same time I wish it distinctly understood that I consider myself in no way interested in the business. It is somewhat remarkable that it has been now about 12 years since my relinquishing my interest—that considerable money has been laid out, and paid away, and finally new contracts made with the Indians about the property, and Major Lewis has never consulted me about it in any other manner or way than he told me his views and intentions when he accompanied me to the nation five years ago—but he failed of success at that time—but you succeeded with a similar contract last year which I had knowledge of, but did not consider myself in the least interested therein. I have thought it right and proper, for me to give you my understanding of this business at length as I have done in order to your further adjustment of the business with Major Lewis—with esteem & regard your friend

Jno. Coffee

[*Endorsed by Coffee:*] Copy of letter from R. P. Currin to J. Coffee & one from J. Coffee to Currin

ALS copy, DLC (40).

To Daniel Todd Patterson

April 2nd. 1832—

The President with his respects to Commodore Patterson, informs him that from his increased expenses, his sons marriage, and his preparation for Housekeeping, with other heavy expences that has, & is accruing, has reduced his funds so much, that makes it necessary to obtain the \$200 loaned to Mrs. U.

My son will set out for the farm in a few days & it will be a convenience to receive it before he sets out. The *principle is all* that is expected, & that will now be a convenience to receive.

AN, DLC (40). Patterson (1786–1839) was a Navy captain and member of the Board of Navy Commissioners. On May 11, 1831, AJ had written Patterson a \$200 check, which he noted in his bank book as “for the use of Mrs. Ulrick” (DLC-78). Hannah Ulrich or

Ulrick (d. 1863) was the widow of late Navy sailing master George Ulrick (d. 1822), who had served under Patterson in the naval force at AJ's defense of New Orleans in 1814–15.

From Eugene Aaron Vail

Washington 2d April 1832.

Sir

The last news from our Legation at London leave no doubt of Mr Van Buren's having, by this time, left the Legation in the charge of the Secretary, who will, by this event, be deprived of the Home he owed to the kindness of the Minister, without the means of providing one, consonant with his new position. The reduced salary of secretary of Legation would be barely sufficient to maintain, in London, a single man; without the use of the Minister's house, and it is wholly inadequate to the support of a chargé D'affaires. Aware of the embarrassment in which my Brother may be thrown by this incident, except prompt relief be administered to him from the only quarter whence he may expect it, may I be allowed to suggest that he be authorized to *defray his indispensable expenses*, for which he may produce vouchers, taking care not to exceed in amount, the salary attached to the duties which he is called to perform; and which, I have no doubt, the justice of Congress will grant? The *urgency* of the case is my apology for an appeal which, even your sense of justice, and the kind regard you have been pleased to express for my brother, would not have induced me to make[.] I am, sir, with great respect Your most obedt servant

Eugene A Vail

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Referred to the Secretary of State—1st. On the return of Mr. V.B. will not the law of May 1810 authorise the P. to appoint charge de affairs, (the Senate being adjourned) and his salary take effect from the time the minister made the appointment & placed him in charge of the mission. 2 ?can any appointment be made until the minister returns, or until his *official* report reaches us that he has left the mission & made an appointmt¹ A. J

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). Eugene Aaron Vail (1795–1843) was a former State Department clerk and the brother of Van Buren's secretary of legation Aaron Vail. On March 31, Van Buren took formal leave of Palmerston and presented Aaron Vail as interim chargé d'affaires. Van Buren sent the State Department official notice of his withdrawal on April 1. It was received on May 14 (DNA-RG 59, M30-34). AJ nominated Vail for chargé on May 23 and the Senate confirmed him on July 13.

1. The May 1810 law governing diplomatic compensation set the salary of a secretary of legation at \$2,000. It authorized appointing a chargé during the recess of the Senate.

From Marcus Hitchcock

Utica April 6. 1832

Sir

Some years since I applied to the Navy Department to get my Son a Midshipmans warrent and was told that his name and recommendation was put on the list of applicants, this is the last I have heard of it numerous warrents have been given out and lately a small boy, recv'd a warrent, of this place I know of know qualifications he has, other than that he is an ugly little fellow and his father a rich man, so it is and so it will go on till this country is ruined these are not the persons who will be in the front ranks when you call for help, now Sir I wish another Son of mine to be admitted at West Point A. H. Hitchcock if you will admit him you will find him capable and when you should wish you will find me and him and other Sons I have in the front ranks, Mr Beardsly knows me it may be said why dont you apply to the Secretary at War, because he is applied to by so many Ships cousins that he cannot do sometimes as he would wish[.]¹ I am Your Obd

M. Hitchcock

[Endorsed by AJ:] War dept. refered A. J

ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-83). Hitchcock (1781–1852) was a Utica, N.Y., physician, druggist, and former postmaster. His son Andrew Hull Hitchcock (1815–1883) was not appointed to West Point.

1. Samuel Beardsley (1790–1860) of Utica was a New York congressman. In sailors' parlance, a ship's cousin was a relative or friend of the owner who received a desirable berth or special treatment.

To John Coffee

Washington April 7th. 1832—

Dr Genl

In my last I informed you that we had just concluded a treaty with the creek Indians who had ceded all their lands East of the Mississippi river to the United States with certain reservations to chiefs & heads of families. This Treaty has been ratified by the Senate by a unanimous vote. Clay & Calhoun in the first instance trying to raise opposition to it, but finding their whole strength nine, they abandoned their opposition. This I name to you to shew you the malignity of these men, and to what they stoop in their opposition. They would if they could, overturn heaven & earth, to prostrate me—but providence athwarts all their wicked designs, and will turn it to the benefit of our happy country.¹

The object of the government now is, to have all their reservations surveyed & laid off as early as we can—they will sell & move to the west, so soon as this is done, and the commissioner of the General Land office is preparing his instructions, to forward to you with the necessary funds, so soon as the appropriation is made for this purpose and the object of this letter is to advise thereof that you may be prepared with the necessary surveyors to complete the surveys of the reservations as early as possible. When the reserves are surveyed it will require but a short time to complete the balance & have it into market, for the reserves are to be bounded by sectional lines, & the improvements as nearly in the centre, as possible.²

I hope you will be able to do something with the Chickisaws before you are called away on this business. The Cherokee Delegation are still here, and it is now believed before they leave here will propose to treat with us for their entire removal. The decision of the supreme court has fallen stillborn, and they find that it cannot coerce Georgia to yield to its mandate, and I believe Ridge has expressed despair, and that it is better for them to treat & move—in this he is right, for if orders were issued tomorrow one regiment of militia could not be got to march to save them from destruction and this the opposition know, and if a collision was to take place between them & the Georgians, the arm of the Government is not sufficiently strong to preserve them from destruction.³

I believe I may say that Miss Mary Easton will be married on Tuesday evening next to Mr Lucius Polk. The guests are all invited and I trust it will certainly take place

My health is good, as is all the family here Andrew & Sarah will set out for Tennessee on Thursday next, and Mr Polk & Mary via No. C. on Wednesday morning—with our good wishes & kind salutations to all believe me your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (20-0160).

1. AJ had submitted the Creek treaty to the Senate on March 26. On March 29, a motion by New Jersey senator Theodore Frelinghuysen to recommit the treaty for inquiry whether its Creek signers “were duly authorized and delegated” to negotiate a cession and thereby to “secure to themselves large donations in money and reservations” was defeated, 7 to 33, with Henry Clay voting yea. The Senate approved the treaty on April 2 by 43 to 0 (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:232–35).

2. The Creek treaty allotted a square-mile section of land within the ceded domain to each of the ninety principal chiefs, and a half-section to every other Creek head of household. Survey of the district was to precede their locations, which were to follow survey lines. The treaty authorized the Creeks to either sell their individual reservations with the president’s approval or hold them and receive fee simple title after five years (*Indian Treaties*, 2:341–43). General Land Office commissioner Elijah Hayward directed Coffee on May 2 to survey the Creek cession “as soon as practicable” (DNA-RG 49, M27-5). Coffee reported on July 20 that he had engaged enough surveyors to finish by the end of the year (DNA-RG 49, M1325-1).

3. John Ridge (1803–1839), son of Cherokee statesman Major Ridge, was a member of the Cherokee delegation then in Washington. AJ’s oft-quoted response to the *Worcester* Supreme Court case, “Well: John Marshall has made his decision: *now let him enforce it!*,”

was first reported in print in Horace Greeley's *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion*, published in 1864. Greeley noted that he had learned of the remark from the late George N. Briggs, who had been a Massachusetts congressman in 1832.

From Llewellyn Jones

Nottoway 9th. April 1832

My Dear Sir

I received by the last mail your esteemed favour of the 25th. Ulto requesting me to inform you whether I have purchased the two Negroe boys & two girls for your son and if not that it was your desire that no purchase be made Your letter reached me just in time to prevent the purchase as I should most certainly have bought them in time to have sent them out by my relation Mr. Jones who will start out about the 1st. of next month. If your son wrote me on the subject his letter miscarried as I never received it

It will always give me much pleasure to render you or any of your family any services in my power. And be assured my dear Sir that nobody entertains for you sentiments of more perfect and sincere esteem than, your friend most truly & sincerely

Lew Jones

ALS, DLC (40).

Roger Brooke Taney to [Daniel Carroll Brent]

Baltimore April 10. 1832

My Dear Sir

You may recollect that in the early part of March the President granted a reprieve to a slave who was convicted of murder in the District Court of Alabama; I think the slaves name was Donnelly. The reprieve was intended to give time to gain such information as would enable the President to decide whether it was not a proper case for a pardon & under his direction I immediately addressed a letter to the District Attorney making the necessary inquiries. I have not yet received an answer. And as the reprieve will I believe be out by the last of this month, the party may be executed unless some further step is immediately taken. I beg therefore to ask your immediate attention to this matter. I request you to submit to the President whether it is not advisable to extend the reprieve for one or two months more. The place is distant & if it is delayed it may be too late. The offense was said to be committed in the Indian country after the State of Alabama had assumed jurisdiction over that part of her territory—and if on examination that should prove to be the case, it would I presume be a

fit one for the interposition of the President—and therefore greatly to be regretted if the execution should take place before he has an opportunity of deciding. I am Dr. Sir respectfully & truly yrs

R. B. Taney

[*Endorsed by Brent:*] Submitted, respectfully, to the President, for his decision upon the case. D of S. 13 April 1832.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Let the respite be extended two months longer. april 13th. 1832—Andrew Jackson

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0222). Brent (1774–1841) was chief clerk of the State Department. On April 13 AJ granted an extension of Donnelly's reprieve until June 29 (DNA-RG 59, T967-1). Some days later, Taney received John Elliot's March 31 reply to his March 16 query, stating that there was no proper ground for a pardon. Taney wrote to Brent on June 8 and to Elliot on June 9 that AJ declined to intervene further, and that "the law must take its course" (DNA-RG 60, M699-1). Donnelly was executed on June 29.

To Edward Livingston

April 11th. 1832—

The President with his respects to the Secretary of State, requests to be furnished with any precedents that may be on file in the Department, where a minister, or other agent of the Government, has been allowed a claim for extraordinary expences, over usual contingent expences, for attending on the coronation ceremonies of a King &c &c.

This request grows out of an account by the 5th. auditor raised by Mr Irvine & presented for the Presidents approval & order to pay the same. It appears to the President, that congress alone have the power to allow such claims—it is therefore that if any precedent[s] exist for the payment of [*such*] claims, they be furnished

AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). Stephen Pleasonton (c1775–1855) was fifth auditor of the Treasury. Former London secretary of legation Washington Irving had served as acting chargé d'affaires from minister Louis McLane's departure in June 1831 until Van Buren's presentation at court on September 21, a period that included William IV's coronation ceremony on September 8. Irving sent Pleasonton his final accounts on September 28, 1831. He claimed £100 from the contingent fund to cover his extraordinary expenses as acting chargé, including those attendant on the coronation. Irving said he had "inserted this charge in such manner as to make it come within the technicalities of the law, though I chiefly depend for its admission upon the plain reasonableness and justice of the case" (Ralph M. Aderman et al., eds., *The Complete Works of Washington Irving: Letters*, vol. 2 [Boston, 1979], pp. 658–59).

To William Polk

Washington April 11th. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

Your letter enclosing one to your son Lucius, was duly received, and the enclosure safely delivered to him.

On last evening was consummated the marriage of your son Lucius to my favorite niece Mary Eastin. We all regretted very much that it was not convenient for you & your amiable Lady to have visited us & been present on this occasion—it would have been a source of much pleasure to us all. They leave us this morning to visit, ask, & receive your blessings—we wish them a safe & prosperous journey to your embrace.

I have charged Lucius with the delivery of a silver medal, bearing my likeness, to be delivered to you, and which I request you to present to your son whom you have honored me with his name, with my prayers that he may grow & prosper, and become an ornament to that society of which he may be a member, and a blessing to his parents in their declining years. Say to the Son, that I send it to him as a memento of my affectionate regard for him.

Present to your amiable Lady & family a tender of my kind salutations, & accept the same for yourself & believe me your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NcU (20-0184). Polk (1758–1834), of Raleigh, was a prominent North Carolina Revolutionary soldier and politician and an old friend of AJ. His wife was Sarah Hawkins Polk (1784–1843). Their son named for AJ was Andrew Jackson Polk (1824–1867).

From Graves W. Steele

Hermitage April 11th. 1832

Dr Sir

your letter baring date 24d. of March has bin recieved Mr. Hutchings has not arrived as yet but I think that he will be up in the stage in the morning agreeable to the date of your letter & the time that he left the city Mr. Liew Jones has not sent out the Negrows that you speake of in your letter to me I did on yes ter day give the Colts a triell run the track was heavey & the boys did not under stand riding the correct time could not be had with the riders that we had. Polley Baker was not in good condition for a triell run I hear give a state ment of the triall Polley Baker was run two miles & repeet Polley Baker first two miles—foar minuts & five seconds the repeet or third & fourth mile foar minuts & fifteen seconds the filley was not much distrest at the expiration of the foar miles.

Sir william stud Colt & Gilding was run and mild and repeet william stud first mile two minuts & second mile two minuts and five seconds

Gilding first mile two minuts and foar seconds and second mile two minuts and five seconds William is of the opinion that their heels and bottom ar surfiseant to com in contact with the best horses in the us States he depends moore on their bottom than on their heeles and fur thier Informes me that the ar the most promising Colts that he ever had in his hands Dunwoodey is of the oppinion that the ar the best and most promising Colts that you ever had at your stable he is of opinion that the stud Sir william is the best runner and has best bottom of the three) Mi own opinion is that not one of them will doe to compeet with first reight horses and when the ar brought on the Turf if the ar not enteried with Judgement you will have them dis grast and if it had bin Left to mi judge ment I should not have sent one of them on to the city but you have directied me to send such as Alexander may think will doe to compeet with their best horses on the Baltimoore turf I would wright you more on this subject but I will send them In and Alexander will give all the in for mation that will be required I shall starte him on monday the 16th. In company with Byron Jim and Jessey I have got evrey thing that is necessary for the Journey I am with respect your humble survant

G W Steele

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] answered 30th. of april 1832—The Colts ordered on—reprimand for agreeing to send after them—A. J.

ALS, DLC (40). AJ received this letter and wrote AJ Jr. about it on April 25 (below). Dunwoody (c1770–c1845) was AJ's slave horse trainer, and the boys Byron (b. c1820), Jim, and Jesse were Hermitage slaves. On April 15 Steele dispatched trainer William Alexander with the three horses and riders toward Washington. John H. Eaton wrote AJ about them on April 16 (below).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

W. April 12th. 1832

Dr Andrew,

Your cousin Saml. J. Hays has agreed to take the Dog—he will rest at Rockville with you to night—he takes on Sarah's Gatar—you must direct him where to leave it—with the Postmaster at Wheeling would be the best deposit, as you wil[. . .] to call there for letters—¹

I have only time to add—that all your attention to Sarah & Emma is due—they are strangers in a strange land, & will require your attention in making them acquainted with all our friends & neighbours near the Hermitage—and on the journey to make them as comfortable as you can—²

· April 1832 ·

Present me kindly to them with my prayers for your & their happiness—yr father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. When you reach the Hermitage, present my kind salutations to your aunt & all my connections & neighbours³ A J

ALS, DLC (40).

1. Samuel Jackson Hays (1800–1866) was AJ Jr.'s cousin, the son of Rachel Jackson's sister Jane Donelson Hays and the late Robert Hays. Richard McClure was the postmaster at Wheeling, Va. (now W.Va.).

2. Sarah's cousin Emma Farquhar accompanied her and AJ Jr. to the Hermitage.

3. The aunt was probably Mary Purnell Donelson, widowed mother of Emily and William Donelson.

To John Randolph

April 12th. 1832

Dr. Sir,

I have been so much occupied during the past week as to be obliged to postpone an answer to your favor of the 28th. ulto. until now.

Altho the relations of this country with England are at this moment very important I cannot undertake to entrust another minister with the responsibility which they will impose upon him without further advice from Mr. Van Buren. What impression did he make upon the British Government—what assurances of success does he possess and how are they likely to be affected by his rejection? are considerations which must influence ~~the decision to which the~~ the materially the future course of the ~~subject~~ Govt. in regard to that mission and particularly the selection of the minister: and they are such as we are not yet able to dispose of for the want of information.

Your suggestions on the subject have been weighed with the respect due to your superior acquaintance with the policy of the British Cabinet but they do not obviate the difficulties to which I have just adverted: and besides are liable to an objection which I must regard as insuperable in the present state of the country. ~~They propose~~ The public mind at this time both at home and abroad would regard the employment of a ~~secret~~ private agent however competent to ~~conduct~~ manage the important concerns of the United States at that court as a ~~surrender of an acknowledgement~~ of the weakness of the Executive, ~~if not an acquiescence and which would~~ ~~certainly~~ which could not fail to discredit the Agent and ~~preclude the~~ make it impossible for him to accomplish any thing useful other ruinous consequences would follow which I need not enumerate, but which I know will strike your mind the moment you look at the subject with a view to its political bearing upon the administration

· April 1832 ·

I can only add on this subject generally that as soon as we have the information which Mr. V Buren will soon communicate in person or in writing shewing the effect of his rejection and the views and feelings of the British cabinet on the points already opened to this discussion by him, I shall endeavor ~~to make a suitable selection~~ to select a suitable individual to represent us there

Draft by AJ Donelson, DLC (40).

From Henry Baldwin

Philadelphia 13 April 1832

Dear Sir

I received the enclosed letter from Mr Lacock last evening I think the course proposed by him is a very proper one and that it will have a better effect to procure from him the desired information than by an exparte statement. You will observe his remark in the latter part of his letter which alludes to Mr Munro it will therefore be unnecessary to put any questions to Mr Lacock touching any information derived from him

There is now a fair opportunity of procuring unquestionable evidence of all the matters necessary to elucidate the secreet History of the Seminole persecution of 1819. you know what the answers will be in substance & when they are given after notice of the questions to J. C. Calhoun no one can question their correctness or doubt their effect. yours with esteem

Henry Baldwin

[Endorsed by AJ:] answered 27th. of april 1832—no copy kept—I have said for the present I decline interrogatory When I make my promised reply, I will state facts, & if Mr. C. denies them, then will be proper to put interrogatories & notify Mr Calhoun & give him a copy A. J Mr L. letter within A. J

ALS, DLC (40). Envelope, T (20-0205). AJ replied to Baldwin on April 27 (below).

[Enclosure: Baldwin to Abner Lacock]

Washington 29th. Febry. 1832

Dear Sir,

I received your letter of the 18 and read it to the President omitting nothing, and he received it in a manner which fully justified the estimate I had always formed of his character. He told me to say that far from being offended at the frankness with which it was written he admired its candor and magnanimity and stretching out his long arm said—the nation shall be saved and tell Lacock so. There was no mistaking the tone, the empha-

sis and the manner—it was beyond all cant, affectation or hypocrisy—it made an impression on me not to be forgotten and carried with it its own assurance of sincerity. I must say too that I was pleased with the letter by which you will understand its whole contents. You ask how I am concerned in this affair—this is the way. In 1819 I understood but from whom I cannot say that you had a knowledge of all the correspondence between Genl Jackson and the Executive on the Seminole war part of which had not been communicated to the foreign committee of which I was a member—but the particulars so said to be known to you are forgotten if I ever heard them. At that time the impression on the mind of the General and many of his friends was that Mr. Crawford favored Cobbs resolutions and that impression was kept up for some time while at the same time it was a subject of very common conversation that Mr. Calhoun had been friendly to the General.¹ Until the winter of 1819-20 I had not been intimate with Mr. Crawford—after that we were and continued so. We often conversed on his situation in the cabinet and the incessant efforts to supplant him in the confidence of Mr. Munroe. You well know with what success and to whom his confidence was transferred. Had you been here it would have been otherwise—in saying this you know I speak advisedly. When Mr. Crawford would come down to Bomfords' and stretch himself on the sofa like an overgrown dutch boy and we were taking a drop of the comfortable or when I would go to his house of a Sunday morning and find him lounging on two or three chairs with his collar open his waistcoat unbuttoned and his pantaloons half hitched to his suspenders our talk was very free.² The Seminole war was a common topic. He stated to me the occurrences in the cabinet consultation, the part he took and the part Calhoun took—spoke often and with much feeling of his course having been misrepresented to and misunderstood by the General and his friends. I need not make a long story of it. In 1824 about the beginning of February I came here to obtain a mission to Mexico. This was the first meeting between the General and me since 1819. I had travelled all night but without sleeping much up to Oneal's to see the General. He had pressed my appointment. Ingham, Findly, R M Johnson & opposed me and threw George Dallas across my path. They were then as you know the partizans of J C Calhoun and of course not friendly to me. So you know was General Brown. The General stated to me that Johnson & Brown had called on him to give me up and to support Dallas and the answer he gave—they never repeated the application. This led immediately to a conversation about Crawford and Calhoun, and the part they had taken in the Seminole war in which I stated to him the conversation between Crawford and me on that subject. He seemed to have learned it for the first time, said he had done Crawford injustice and would go and see him that day which he did. I was much pleased to hear this, told the General that he was the first man I had called to see after reaching town and that Crawford would be the next. This was before Mr. Dallas

had given in his adhesion to the General and while the Calhoun party were pressing “the Pennsylvania candidate” for the Presidency. After the people of Pennsylvania took the liberty of selecting their own candidate the General and I conversed often and freely about the new recruits who flocked to the standard after the fight was over and come to receive the bounty money—and the seminole war was not forgotten.³ So much for the part I took in this matter in 1824. Last winter after the Calhoun pamphlet came out I was at the Presidents and in conversation about it recured to the Seminole campaign in Congress and stated to the President the substance of what I had told him in 1824. In November last he wrote to me reminding me of the conversation and asked me for the information on which I stated it.⁴ You recollect our conversation in Philadelphia the substance of it was communicated to the President. This is the whole story as it respects myself in 1824 and 1831. But there is another matter worthy of some note. You know the scene I had to pass through from March 1829 til my appointment—the gibes, the taunts, and sneers as well as the open triumphs of the Clay and Calhoun men metamorphosed into patent Jacksonites. The Allegany democrat attacked me personally in several papers and immediately the Treasury advertisements appeared in its columns. Thus encouraged and rewarded the attacks continued and the patronage of the State Department soon appeared in the publication of the Laws. Meanwhile the Mercury remained faithful to me—it had been true to the General from the year 1822. Gov. Wolf had not then made Mr. Snowden Register-Recorder of Alleghany County. I determined to fight to the last and if there was to be a die to die game knife in hand “foot to the foe, back to the field.”⁵ Among the pieces in the Mercury was a prediction to this effect “The General’s first term will not expire before the reptiles who now crawl in his bosom will sting him to the heart.” The prophecy was verified as to one set in less than 18 months. I have yet a year to go and come on for the fulfilment of the residue. This will give you another reason why I am desirous of having this matter brought home and of assisting the President to know who were his friends before and after his election, and to shew that while he was surrounding himself with friends he was sleeping among copper heads

Now you have my reason for interfering—the enclosed will give you those of the President. I send it neither with or without his permission—he has left it to my discretion to send it to you or not. Thinking it due to the candor of your letter to be equally candid with you I send it that there may be no misunderstanding now or hereafter.

There you have a view of the whole ground and no man is better capable of judging of the proper course than yourself. Neither the President or myself think we are asking any thing you ought not to communicate. We know it would be useless to do so if we thought otherwise. But our opinion is no guide or rule for yours. In matters of this kind every man must judge for himself and I know you will do so. My hope is you

will accede to this request. If not will you permit me to give to and leave your letter with him.

To your next suggestion whether a judge of the Supreme Court ought to interfere in this matter my answer is, considering the part which Henry Baldwin has taken in this matter from 1819 down, the manner in which the Calhoun party have treated him from February 1824 when they were forced and you know in some measure at least by the part taken by H B, considering what was done on the 4th. July last and what was attempted on the 8th. January by the *now* friends of a certain candidate to represent this state in its three prominent political attributes which you will understand without a particular designation, is it not perfectly proper for Henry Baldwin to interfere?⁶

If you think that the name of Judge Baldwin should not be known to the public, you have the corrective by addressing your reply to the President directly. If you are willing that he should retain the letter of the 18th. say so to him.

I shall submit this letter to the President and write a postscript from the Court room. yrs. with esteem

(signed) Henry Baldwin

Copy in AJ Donelson's hand, DLC (40).

1. Baldwin had been on the House foreign affairs committee in 1818–19. Georgia congressman Thomas Willis Cobb (1784–1830), a Crawford ally, had introduced House resolutions in January 1819 condemning AJ's seizure of St. Marks and Pensacola as "contrary to orders, and in violation of the Constitution" (*Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2d sess., p. 588). His resolutions were defeated on February 8, 1819.

2. George Bomford (1780–1848) had been an Army lieutenant colonel since 1815. He was shortly to be promoted colonel and head of the new ordnance department.

3. In 1824 AJ was a U.S. senator boarding in Washington with William O'Neale (c1751–1837), Margaret Eaton's father. He supported Baldwin for minister to Mexico in February after declining the post himself and after his other recommendations had failed (*Jackson Papers*, 5:364). George Mifflin Dallas (1792–1864) of Philadelphia was another unsuccessful aspirant for the Mexican mission. Jacob Jennings Brown (1775–1828) of Pennsylvania was then commanding general of the Army, and William Findlay (1768–1846) was a U.S. senator from Pennsylvania. Calhoun staked his presidential hopes in 1824 largely on Pennsylvania, and he withdrew from the contest after a state convention in March nominated Jackson instead. The Pennsylvania political faction led by Dallas and Samuel D. Ingham had favored Calhoun before switching to Jackson, and their later preferment in his administration caused resentment among others who considered themselves original Jacksonians.

4. *Jackson Papers*, 9:649–50.

5. "Shall victor exult, or in death be laid low, With his back to the field, and his feet to the foe!" is from Thomas Campbell's poem *Lochiel's Warning* (1802). Baldwin's candidacy for the Treasury Department in 1829 had been thwarted in favor of Ingham, and later Duff Green's *United States' Telegraph* had strongly opposed his nomination to the Supreme Court. The State Department awarded the printing of the laws to the Pittsburgh *Allegheny Democrat* in December 1829. John Maugridge Snowden (1776–1845) edited the *Pittsburgh Mercury*. Governor Wolf appointed him register and recorder for Allegheny County in February 1830.

6. An ostensibly Jacksonian convention held at Harrisburg on January 9 (January 8 being Sunday) had named delegates to the upcoming Baltimore convention in May and

nominated a candidate for governor in opposition to George Wolf. A Jackson celebration in Philadelphia on July 4, 1831, had broken out into quarreling after toasts were offered to Calhoun, Ingham, and Supreme Court justice John McLean.

[Enclosure: Lacock to Baldwin]

Beaver 12 March 1832

Dear Sir—

My absence from home for some days, has prevented me, at an earlier period, acknowledging the receipt of your last letter, & the one enclosed from the Pret. to you. The practice that has become too common Among Modern politicians, of betraying private confidence, and divulging confidential correspondence, is in my opinion most dangerous and dishonourable; Nor humble and unimportant as my name & example may be, shall either be quoted, as sanctioning a practice calculated to cut asunder the ligatures that bind society together.

As you have recently been made the victim of this course of policy, I think in this regard, we shall not disagree.¹ What I stated to you in relation to the Johnny Rhea Letter, was at your request, & I authorised you to mention my knowledge of the letter to Pret. Jackson for your Justification. you have done so, and ~~I hope~~ no doubt he is perfectly satisfied in relation to you. And it was this object, & this only, that induced you to ask for the information you received from me, & communicated to the President. But the President by his letter has a different object in view. he wishes to justify himself, & convict J C Calhoun of duplicity & incincerity. you are therefore no longer concerned in the result, the ground is changed intirely, & the President & V Pret. alone interested. Standing as I do politically opposed to both I cannot volunteer *ex parte* in favour of either. If however the President will send the Interrogatories contained in his letter to you, & designed for me, To J C. Calhoun, & ~~he shall~~ direct him to examine them; & put others himself if he thinks proper, I shall then ~~send~~ answer such interrogatories fairly fully & explicitly, confining myself strictly to what relates to the parties, & to them only. There is no consideration that shall induce me to disclose the knowledge of facts, I receiv'd from those not now before the public. The course above suggested is the only one to which I could assent, ~~to being~~ to have my named used in this controversy. I am dear sir your &c

A Lacock

ALS, DLC (40).

1. On December 10 and 17, 1831, Philadelphia editor Stephen Simpson published in his *Pennsylvania Whig* four confidential letters Baldwin had written him in 1829. In them, Baldwin bemoaned his failure to obtain the Treasury and accused AJ of deserting his original friends and throwing Baldwin under the feet of his enemies. Baldwin declared that the “spell” of his old attachment to AJ was “dissolved” and replaced by feelings of estrangement that “have now become DELIBERATELY FIXED.” Simpson reprinted the letters in an 1832 pamphlet, *Hypocrisy Unmasked! in Letters from the Hon. Henry Baldwin*.

· April 1832 ·

From Levi Woodbury

Navy Department
13th. April 1832.

Sir,

In compliance with the 3rd. Section of the Act of Congress of 31st. Jany. 1823, I have the honour to transmit a copy of the 4th. Auditor's report of disbursing officers and agents of this Department, who have failed to render their accounts within the time prescribed.

It has been shewn to the satisfaction of the Department that the gentlemen named in the report, are entitled to the benefit of the proviso in the 3d. section of said Act. But I have deemed it my duty to invite their attention, by a circular, to greater promptitude and punctuality hereafter. I am very respfy &c

Levi Woodbury

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] The circular Issued by the secretary of the Navy is proper, a reasonable time ought to be allowed to those disbursing officers on distant service to make their reports, & after the circular reaches them, should then a failure to comply with the existing regulation & laws, the delinquent, must be reported & dismissed the service. *The laws must be executed* A. J

LS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-132). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). The law of January 31, 1823, required all government officers who disbursed public funds to submit quarterly accounts to the Treasury. The third section mandated that an officer serving abroad who failed to render his quarterly accounts within six months was to be "promptly reported to the President" and dismissed from office, unless he could "account to the satisfaction of the President for such default" (*Statutes*, 2:723). Woodbury enclosed an April 11 report from Treasury fourth auditor Amos Kendall listing thirteen Navy pursers, all serving on foreign cruises, whose accounts were overdue (DNA-RG 45, M124-132). On April 14 Woodbury circularized the thirteen, pointing out their delinquency and urging prompt compliance with the law (DNA-RG 45, M149-21).

To James Alexander Hamilton

WASHINGTON, April 16, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR:

I received your letter recommending Captain Webb, and am now engaged examining the long roll of applicants for the Ordnance Department. Have not yet come to a final conclusion of what selection will be made. I received your last of the 11th instant, and sincerely regretted to hear of the melancholy attack of Mr. Noah—hope he has recovered, as I have heard nothing from him since.¹ I beg you to hasten the return of my manuscript-book.² I wish to be ready the first opportunity that may

present to make the reply. Fail not to have it here soon. I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.

Printed, *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton*, pp. 244–45 (20-0247). An Act of April 5 created an Army ordnance department with one colonel, a lieutenant colonel, two majors, and ten captains. AJ chose George Bomford for colonel, and on April 18 Secretary of War Cass at AJ's direction delegated selection of the other thirteen to a board of senior staff officers headed by Army commanding general Alexander Macomb. The board submitted a list of names to Cass on April 20, and AJ nominated them and Bomford to the Senate on April 26. Stephen H. Webb was not included (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:241–42).

1. On April 14 the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, co-owned by Mordecai Noah, rebutted a report that he had suffered a severe apoplexy, saying he “has been attacked with cold and stiffness in the muscles of his face, but is doing quite well and in no danger.”

2. Hamilton inserted a footnote here: “Reply to Calhoun, sent to me to be examined, with a request that I would revise and correct it. I did so, and urgently advised him not to publish. I believe it was not published” (Hamilton *Reminiscences*, p. 245).

From John Henry Eaton and Margaret O’Neale Timberlake Eaton

[In John Eaton’s hand:]

Hermitage 16. April 1832

Dear Genl.

Mrs. Overton & the Judge; myself & wife are now at your residence, where we came to day. Were you present, days of ancient hospitality and happiness enjoyed under your roof would more forcibly arise. Mr Steel however, has extended to us every politeness, & after tarrying with him thro the night, we shall again return. Betty Hanna, & the old lady not omitting Dinwiddie were quite rejoiced to see us, gave us a hearty & friendly reception, & spoke with great pleasure of the time when *master* would again be with them. Old Sampson the Gardiner expressed a strong desire, that you might be *beat next time*, because then you would *come home*. How pleasurable to be thus recollected, & kindly cherished by old & faithful servants.¹

Mr. Steel has every thing in fine order. Not one out 50 farmers have yet attempted to plant their cotton, so backward has been the season. He has half completed his; some is *up*, & the whole will be finished during the present week. His corn is mostly planted; & every thing I repeat is seemingly in fine order.

Steel informed us on our arrival that he had yesterday forwarded *three* race horses with three race riders to the City. It rained shortly, after they started very hard, which continued thro the day, so that they could not have travelled far—the streams are swollen, & hence is it fair to conclude that they cannot be more than 25 miles off. The Judge & myself have consulted upon the subject, and have come to the conclusion to start Andrew Hutchins off in the morning to bring them back We are the more

encouraged to this unauthorised course, because in examing your letters to Steel we are not able to find any possitive direction or order that they shall be sent. There seems to be discretion given, provided on trial they shall be found capable to compete with the best horses. I enquired of Steel as to their time, & he answered, that the Geilding was the best, but that neither had performed under 1.59 minutes. The solicitude of the keeper to return to his old haunts is no doubt the reason why he has taken them on.²

I feel genl, that you will agree, there are no two men in the Country, who holds your interest, happiness & well being in higher consideration than Judge Overton & myself; & to these, let our action in this matter be ascribed, if there be in it, any thing wrong. From here to the City, thro every town those racers past would it be known, they were general Jacksons horses; & every gossip mouth & news paper would proclaim it. On reaching Washington 5 or 10.000 letters would crowd the mail to every state declaring the fact, & asserting you again to be upon the track. Judge you of the effect, & the injurious effect. It would not do, to say that they were Major Donelsons, for *your own relations here would certify to the contrary*; & if this indeed should be said, the odium, he living under your roof would be cast upon you. When every tongue is furrowed with detraction, it is not merely that a public man should do, what he may feel not to be wrong; but he must do that, which cannot be even surmised to be wrong; for in worse, or more degenerate times sure, no one ever did live. If therefore in any thing we have erred, do us the justice & the kindness to believe, that our intentions towards you, are of the purest kind.

It is too late for those horses to run during this spring—they must be somewhat acclimated, & hence cannot act until fall. Twenty two or three days then, the time in which you can again be heard from by Mr. Steel cannot be very material. But when you shall come to look over the whole ground, & survey it well, the Judge & myself feel confident that you will not order them on, but let them be trained here for the fall races, & if they shew promise, then let Mr. Donelson, if he will, bring them on in the fall, & run them in the spring; but not now.

We have assumed a liberty, perhaps an inexcusable one; but our reasons are so satisfactory to ourselves, that we indulge a hope, they will be approved, when you shall fully weigh them[.] yrs

J. H. Eaton

In a few days Mr. Morris will commence laying the foundation of the tomb of your dear wife. Every thing is nearly in readiness. Your friends desire a different, & better inscription to be made upon it. I will see Morrison, and ascertain, if any engraved notice is designed to be made & if so, I will prepare & send to you one for your approval. Pardon me, for naming so tender a subject—your fortitude will bear, and your generous nature excuse. When I survey things as they now are, and contrast them with the many, happy days that have glided over your once blest mansion,

the uncertainty of all things, & the folly of feeling deep and anxious concern about the fleeting affairs of this world are forcibly brought into recollection. I would, that you were here, in the peaceful shades on your own Hermitage, free from the fretful strife, & presence of men, who to attain their own ignoble purposes would move heaven and Earth if they could, and mangle & destroy all who stood between them and their purpose.

The stone looks fine indeed—the whole arrangements are good, and they look remarkably well

Going thro So. Ca. is I think questionable at this time, Amidst the strife—contest, & angry feeling that prevails might it not be well to postpone your visit? Think of this, for it is a matter worthy of serious thought[.] With very sincere regard

J. H Eaton

[In Margaret Eaton's hand:]

My dear General

You will perceive by my husbands letter that I am at the peacefull & hospitalble Hermitage; would to heaven you were here with us, for I do believe you would be more happy; & when years shall roll round, & you shall again be the Cincinnattas of the West, you will see how devoted I have been in my attachment towards you. When the splendor of the Presidents house shall be done with, then will you be better able to tell, who are *your real friends*; & I do & can say with truth none will you find more sincere than my dear Husband & myself. As for Mr Eaton *your interest & welfare is I do believe more with him than his own or any other on earth*; but I do trust you are too well acquainted with him to require any declaration from either of us.

I have been here but a few hours, & the first thing after I took off my bonnet, was to visit the Tomb of your departed wife. Oh, my dear friend I need not say to you how glad would I have been to have met her here in person; but when I looked at the silent Tomb & reflected, how glad I was in the knowledge, that she was enjoying the sweets of Heaven, where trouble & sorrow could no more assail her. I said aloud to the cold stone, *be still*, keep those dear Ashes sacred, & let the dear Saint rest in it. I did shed a tear, yes a thousand of them, first because I knew her worth, & felt her loss; & then, I comingled the tear of joy that she had done with trouble; & with my dear departed Sister Mary in Heaven was singing Hallelujah to the Lamb.³ They were too pure for this Earth & god took them to himself let us be satisfied. The ways of providence are mysterious, & we are bound to say; “Oh god thy will be done” & not ours. Again, before I leave this, will I go to the silent Tomb & say to it rest in peace, blessed spirit, untill the Hour when we shall all be summonsed, & then my ardent prayer is, that you may be found with your lamps trimed &

burning, & never more to be parted from her to whom in Life you were so closely attached

It is Late, & I must say to you my good wishes are with you, & for you always—god bless you

M Eaton

[In John Eaton's hand:]

Tuesday morning—

I have been to yr. stables—your Bay Citizen is there timed in training he seems a fine horse—was left behind by Alexander. Steel thinks, & I believe old Dun is of the same opinion that this Alexander does not understand training

Judge Overton expects to leave Nashville for the City on Wednesday or Thursday on the steam Boat—Don Juan for Pittsburg⁴—His health is greatly improved

ALS, DLC (73).

1. John Overton (1766–1833) of Nashville was AJ's close friend and counselor. His wife was Mary McConnell White May Overton (1782–1862). Betty (b. c1793) and Hannah (b. c1801) were Hermitage slaves. The “old lady” was Old Hannah (b. c1770), Betty's mother. Old Sampson (c1770–1833) was the Hermitage gardener.

2. AJ received this letter and wrote AJ Jr. about the horses on April 30 (below).

3. Margaret's sister Mary O'Neale Randolph had died on October 21, 1831.

4. The *Don Juan* was a steamboat built in 1831.

Deed of Gift to Mary Rachel Donelson

Be it remembered that I Andrew Jackson, have this day given to Mary, Rachel, daughter of Andrew J. Donelson & Emily Donelson a mulato girl, slave, about eight years old called Emeline, which I give to her & her heirs forever witness my hand & seal this sixteenth day of April 1832—

Andrew Jackson



[Endorsed by AJ:] A. Jackson To Mary Rachel Donelson daughter of A. J. & Emily Donelson bill of sale—negro girl, Emeline,

ADS, DLC-Donelson Papers (20-0231).

To Anthony Butler

(Private)

Washington April 19th. 1832

Col A. Butler

Your letter of the 27th. February last has just been received, & read with much interest—by the same mail I received from Major Cameron a lengthy & detailed account of the operations of the contending armies up to & including the 22nd. of March last.

I deeply deplore the present situation of Mexico, & sincerely hope that peace and tranquility may be soon restored. Civil wars, of all wars are the most to be deprecated. they produce the greatest calamities to a nation, & beget, & leave the worst feelings

I have noted your account of the financial operations of Mexico, and the exhausted state of their Treasury. This is produced by the constant commotions in that country & will must continue until the Government becomes permanent, the standing army disbanded, & the labour of the country confined to exploring the vast resources of that fine country, which will soon restore commerce to a state of prosperity, and give a full treasury to the country. The intimation you so appropriately gave to the secretary of Foreign affairs, of “devising ways and means” should their pecuniary distresses become pressing, were happy & opportune, and may lead to a happy & speedy result, which I sincerely hope.

The treaty of boundary with that of commerce was laid before the Senate, both ratified, & exchanged—it was considered by the Senate that the national faith was so far pledged that its ratification was imperious—your private letter was submitted, *confidentially*, to the chairman of our committee on foreign relations.

I need not urge your attention to enlarging our boundary.

Commissioners will be appointed to extend & mark the present.¹ Our instructions will pursue the express words of the Treaty, which declares, it shall commence on the gulf of Mexico, on the north west bank of the Sabine and run up, on, the west bank &c &c therefore it must, when the Sabine forks take the west bank of the West fork. This by us will not be abandoned & it is intimated that Mexico will contend for the East fork. This we will not consent to.

I am happy to hear that your health is restored; the excursion you are about to take, I hope, will fully restore your health & vigor.

Let us hear from you often—the papers of the day will give you the extraordinary proceedings of Congress—a private citizen arrested & imprisoned for a contempt of the House because the citizen, who congress had nothing to do with, who had disturbed none of its members, being wantonly brought into debate & outrageously slandered, meeting accidentally with the member, congress being adjourned, gave him a severe flagellation, for which the citizen (Genl Houston) has been in

custody for several days. This is the greatest act of tyranny & usurpation ever attempted under our government. Congress is sick of their rashness, & how to get out of the dilemma puzzles them; and pride, prevents them from retracing their steps, & admitting their want of power² I am very respectfully yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, TxU (20-0295). AL draft, DLC (40).

1. AJ wrote Livingston about these appointments on May 3 (below).

2. On March 31, congressman William Stanbery (1788–1873) of Ohio had charged in House debate that AJ had kept Eaton on as secretary of war despite his knowledge of Eaton’s “attempt, fraudulently, to give to Governor Houston the contract for Indian rations” (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2321). Stanbery referred to a contract advertised by the War Department in February 1830. Its short thirty-day proposal deadline was purportedly arranged to shut out western bidders and steer the contract to Houston, who was then in Washington. A Houston associate had submitted a bid, but no contract was awarded (*Jackson Papers*, 8:76–77).

The *National Intelligencer* published Stanbery’s remarks on April 2. On April 3 Houston, who was in Washington, wrote Stanbery demanding to know whether its report was correct. Stanbery replied through Tennessee congressman Cave Johnson the next day that “I cannot recognize the right of Mr. Houston to make the request” (*House Journal*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 610–11, Serial 215). On April 13, ten days later, Houston accosted Stanbery on a Washington street, called him a “damned rascal,” and assaulted him. The next day, April 14, Stanbery wrote House speaker Stevenson that for words spoken in House debate he had been “attacked, knocked down by a bludgeon, and severely bruised and wounded” by Houston, leaving Stanbery “confined to my bed, and unable to discharge my duties in the House.” Stevenson laid the letter before the House. After debate over whether its power to punish a breach of privilege extended to the circumstances, a motion to arrest Houston passed by 145 to 25. Houston was taken into custody, charged before the House on April 16, and questioned on April 18. He admitted assaulting Stanbery but denied seeking him out, said that his only weapon was “a common walking cane” while Stanbery was carrying pistols, and denied committing or intending to commit a contempt or breach of privilege toward the House. He was then ordered for trial (*HRDoc* 210, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–2, Serial 220; *Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 2512–53, 2556–69).

From Martin Van Buren

Cologne April 2 1832¹

My dear friend

I intended to have written before this but have been prevented by the rapidity of my movements, & the intense interest which I have taken in the scenes through which I have passed since I left London. Our stay at Paris was very short, & we left it with a promise to stop some days on our return, but which the dreadful state of the disease which now ravages that beautiful city will not permit. In the course of the few days which it took me to go there the Cholera cases increased from 30 to rising of 1000 a day, & before we left the City the work of interment was every where seen going on—and a universal panick pervading the place. To make the most of our time we determined to strike across France from Paris to the Rhine

descend that river through Germany to Holland, & take Belgium on our return; and we have reached thus far in the fulfilment of that intention. The gratification which I have experienced has far exceeded my most sanguine expectations, & more than once have I expressed to Dr Maccaulay, who accompanies me, the extreme pleasure it would give me to have you witness this most interesting country—especially at the present moment. From Paris to Strassburgh a distance of about 350 miles we could almost say that we passed through a line of soldiers. Every considerable village is filled with them & I was strongly impressed with the fact that all the privates are very young men. I do not recollect to have seen a single old soldier—they have either been all worked up by Napoleon, or returned to the plough. Every where the work is done by the women and old men—so much so that it is rare to see in the village gatherings a single youth who does not wear the soldiers uniform. You see in France ten soldiers where you see one in England; & I have no doubt that Marshal Soult has well sustained his reputation by the position in which he has placed his Country—with an army, or armies, of at least 400.000 young men, led on by officers of experience France has it ~~I have no doubt to rem~~ at her option to remain at Peace, or not—under different circumstances her wishes might not have been consulted; & I am thoroughly satisfied, that if the movement party had succeeded, and France had followed up the Revolution of July by a general war, she would have been crushed by the colossal power of Russia, Prussia, Austria, & the smaller German states combined.² We do not, I am persuaded, on our side of the water estimate at its value the extent & solid qualities of that power. The forces which they have actually in the field are almost without limit, and the frontiers of France are lined with fortifications erected by the allies since 1815, particularly in the extensive dominions allotted to Prussia by the Treaty of Vienna, embracing both sides of the Rhine from Coblenz until the river enters Holland—and on the French side for a great distance above Coblenz, towards Strassburgh. no one can be truly impressed with the addition this made to the power of Germany, & particularly of Prussia, and the extent to which France was crippled by that arrangement, without passing through the Country. In following the course of the river from Strassburgh to this place we have passed through the Grand Duchies of Baden, Darmstadt & Hanover—the free City of Frankfort on the Maine & are now near the center of *Rhenish* Prussia. The whole of this rich & fertile valley is in the state of the highest agricultural improvement, and constitutes, I have no doubt, as prosperous & flourishing a tract of Country as the world can produce. The people are every where hard at work, and as far as a stranger can perceive, contented. Turn your eye which way you please in the large Towns, & you see the drill going on, & the music of the drum is never suspended except out of respect to the organ-working—praying & preparation for fighting occupy all the different classes, and beggars, which abound in England & France, are here seldom seen. At Mayence there are stationed 8000 Austrian, & 8000

Prussian Troops, as a permanent garrison under the Treaty of Vienna.³ They suffered us to go through the stables of the Cavalry & to see as much as we desired of the quarters of the Troops &c. The Town, as you may well suppose, resembles more a military post than a commercial City. Coblentz which belongs exclusively to the King of Prussia, and which is regarded as one of the strongest points on the frontier, has been fortified since 1815 at an expense of twenty one millions of dollars, & contains a population of but little rising of ten millions thousand. We went through the works and if fortifications can render a place irre[clai]mable I should think that has been made so—the troops in the different fortifications & City amount to 7000, & are generally a healthy and well looking, & well dressed body of men—that may with truth be said of all the Troops we have met with on both sides, and if a war should break out you may depend upon it that the struggle will be fully equal to any thing that has gone before it. Upon one fort at Coblentz, the name of which is so outrageously hard that I will not trouble you with it, but which in English is interpreted “The broad stone of honor” there has been expended ten millions of Prussian dollars. It was formerly considered the strongest work in Germany and was blown up by the French, who gained the possession of it by surprise & treachery.⁴ It is on the bank of the Rhine, & rises 474 feet above it—several feet higher than the steeple of St Pauls church. This place—where we are detained two days, for the Steam Boat is also well fortified, has a garrison of 7000 good troops—its population is about 60.000 and forms but an inconsiderable portion of the valuable dominions which Prussia acquired upon the Rhine by the Treaty of Vienna. If Bonaparte had insisted upon the Rhine as the boundary of France, & contented himself with that, he would have made France the most powerful nation in the world—that was or could hereafter be; & he would have done right. I can give you no adequate idea of the interest with which the traveller is inspired by upon this route. I would for no consideration have avoided taking it. At every step you are met by relics of the Romans, the ruins of their works never being for a moment out of view, & they are constantly intermixed with monuments of the achievements of the French, in the first revolution, & under Napoleon to whom we are indebted for as good a road as can be made upon the immediate banks of the river, from Mayence to this place. I am obliged to acknowledge that the scenery on the north River, interesting as it certainly is, will not bare a comparison with this; & the flats or low lands of which we think so much, are but gardens when compared with those of the Rhine.⁵ My respect for the German character has been greatly increased by my observations during the two weeks which I have spent on the Rhine. We certainly do not do them the justice they deserve. In point of agricultural industry and improvement they are not behind any thing that I have seen. Their Towns are more cleanly & lively—their houses better built and the face of the community wears throughout more favourable evidence of general prosperity, and happiness than in France or even in England. Nor

is this in my opinion their only or greatest merit. It is may be rashness for a stranger who only runs through their country and but imperfectly understands their language, to speak of their mental & political character, but there is no reason why in this scrawl I should not speak to you of men & things precisely as they have struck me. The impression thus made is that the Germans are a modest, sensible reflecting & well informed people—better calculated to sustain free institutions than other nation in Europe, & I firmly believe that if Republican governments are ever established & maintained out of North America, it will be in Germany. The criminal excesses of the first French Revolution, the shocking abuses by Napoleon of the opportunities which Providence, & the bravery of the French people placed at his disposal, the failures in South America, and the disappointment of the French in their expectations from their last struggle, have served to inspire this people with a distrust of violent & party commotions—but they are neither idle nor indifferent, but are constantly improving their political condition—not by abortive insurrection but by making their rulers sensible of the justice, & what is more effectual, of the necessity of infusing into their govrmnts, a degree of freedom & liberality in some degree measure commensurate with the improved, and improving condition of the people; nor have their efforts been unavailing. The Dutchies of Baden Hesse Darmstadt, Nassau & the City of Frankfort—containing a population nearly equal to half of the U. States are now living under a reasonable governments, contrasted with the rest of Europe and with the exception of Frankfort, all their privileges, which are of value, have been acquired within the last ten years. The people elect by universal suffrage 100 electors who appoint the popular branch of the Legislature—the senate is chosen of as follows, one third is composed of the principal judicial & religious functionaries—one third are chosen by the Assembly & the remaining third are appointed by the Grand Duke. In these two bodies all Legislative power is vested & by them also is the civil list of the Grand Duke regulated; which is fixed in each of the Dutchies at about \$100.000 of our money Pr Annum, including in that sum the establishments of the whole ~~Royal~~ Ducal Family. In Frankfort the Officers of the Government from the highest to the lowest are chosen by the people, and that annually: & with the exception of the short period, during which they were divested of their liberties by Napoleon, and attached to the Prince primate, they have for nearly two centuries maintained a well regulated system of Government.⁶ In all this is seen the increasing importance of the people in the general scale, & the slight opportunities I have for observation satisfied me that the reigning families are disposed to secure their power by respecting public sentiment—their attentions in the Theaters &c to the respectable classes of their subjects are marked & politic, & if there are any public stations in the world which afford pleasure to the incumbents, it is these Dukedoms. William the 4th., L. Philip, & yourself have had hard times of it, but these good easy men, & their good easy *smoking* subjects,

whilst peace lasts, ~~truly~~ have fine times of it, truly. But it is time to close this hasty scrawl which I commit to your indulgence almost without reading. John joined me here last night in a very reduced state from a severe cold which he took in Switzerland, but from which he is rapidly recovering. I found after I left Paris that there were two cases of Cholera in the Hotel at which we stayed, & the disease followed us regularly in our jaunt through France—when we entered Germany we *were thoroughly smoked*, and have since that time had the enemy at a respectable distance. I consequence of the obstructions to our movements interposed by the spread of the Cholera, we find ourselves driven to the necessity of extending for a few days the period of our stay, or giving up our jaunt altogether. We determined to do the former, but to make up for the delay, by sailing from Liverpool instead of Havre, as I have written to Cambreleng I have written to Ogden to take our passages in Packet of the 1st. of June in which if Providence permits we shall be punctual, & I hope soon after that to take you by the hand in health and good spirits.⁷ We hope to reach Holland in two or three days from which place I will write you again. In the mean time remember me most kindly to all your family and to my other friends at Washington and believe me to be very truly yours

M. Van Buren

P.S. Dr Maccaulay & John desire to be affectionately remembered to you. You will have seen that all my anticipations in regard to the peace of Europe & the settlement of the Belgian question have been sustained. All sides are too well prepared to induce either to venture on War & the *third estate* the people, have become too potent to permit Crowned heads, as formerly, to make war for pastime or to gratify their caprice and the Sovereigns themselves have also become wiser, & I believe better

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (20-0099).

1. Van Buren often composed long letters over several days. He left a blank space after the “2,” perhaps to be filled in later. This letter was likely written on or soon after April 20.

2. Nicolas Jean-de-Dieu Soult (1769–1851), a general and marshal under Napoleon, was now the French minister of war. Following the 1830 July Revolution in France, a faction known as the “movement party” had advocated support for insurrections against neighboring monarchies.

3. At the 1815 Congress of Vienna, the victorious powers—Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—redrew the map of Europe at the end of the Napoleonic wars. Mainz, the capital of Rhenish Hesse, became a key fortress against France.

4. The fort’s name was Ehrenbreitstein. The French captured it in 1799 and dismantled it before withdrawing in 1801.

5. North River is another name for the Hudson.

6. In 1810 the formerly free city of Frankfurt was subsumed within a Napoleonic satellite state, the Grand Duchy of Frankfurt, whose ruler Karl Theodor von Dalberg (1744–1817) was also Prince Primate of the Confederation of the Rhine. After Napoleon’s defeat, Frankfurt became again a free city.

7. Churchill Caldom Cambreleng (1786–1862) was a New York City congressman and Van Buren’s friend. Francis Barber Ogden was the U.S. consul at Liverpool. Van Buren sailed from Liverpool and reached New York on July 5.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington, April 23d, 1832.

Dear Andrew,

I am still without the least information of you since I parted with you. My anxiety, you must have supposed, to hear from you, and how you progressed on your journey, and what was the state of all your health, has been very great; particularly from the state and condition of Charles, when he set out. I am truly at a loss to account for your silence and that of our dear Sarah, as I had requested, and obtained a promise from both of you, that you would write, even if it was but one line, to say how and where you were.

We have been lonesome since you left us. Mary McLemore arrived on Sunday a week ago and left us yesterday, accompanied by Miss Mary Ann Lewis and Mr. Earle. I have been under a gloom ever since I parted with you, and so soon as Congress adjourns, will travel somewhere, *home*, if time will permit.

I have written you to Wheeling, and two letters addressed to you at the Hermitage, in one of which I enclosed an invoice of the articles last shipped from Philadelphia, which I hope you will receive on your arrival at the Hermitage. I write you now only to let you know my anxiety to hear from you, and that in this I have been disappointed.

Present me affectionately to Sarah and Emma, and believe me affectionately your father,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, S. G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* (Nashville, 1920), 2:396 (20-0349). Extract, Alwin J. Scheuer Catalog 4 (1928), p. 33.

To Stephen Pleasonton

April 23rd 1832—

Dr Sir

The bearer is young Mr Ebenezer J. Hume, that I brought to your notice on saturday evening, as a proper person to fill a vacancy in your office that is about to occur. He is a young Gentleman of good education, and of unspotted moral character, his father amongst the most amiable of men, and his appointment will be gratifying to the President yrs respectfully

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I have mentioned the subject to the Secy. of the Treasury who sanctions the appoint. A. J

ALS, Swann Galleries, sale 2004, lot 120 (20-0364; mAJs). Hume began work the next day as a clerk in the fifth auditor's office at a salary of \$1,000. He remained until June 1836.

To William Cabell Rives

Washington April 23d. 1832

Dr. Sir,

I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the return of Mr. Pageot to address you this note more to assure you of the friendly recollection in which you & Mrs. Rives are held by me & my family than to communicate any thing of importance or of a public nature.¹ We anticipate with much pleasure the prospect of seeing you in the course of the fall when I trust we shall be able in the way of conversation to repay some portion of the many favors under which we have been placed by your letters.

Altho' there is much agitation in the political circles of the day and some symptoms of menace to the integrity of the union in one quarter, I have no doubt before your return that it will be seen that every embarrassment of this character is to be ascribed to the reluctance of a few men to acquiesce in the determination of the people not to continue them in office. In regard to the great interests of the country and the manner in which they have been conducted since the administration has been placed in my hands; I have the consolation of possessing already the most gratifying proofs that the public sentiment does not countenance the dissatisfaction expressed by a portion of Congress. On the contrary I have every reason to believe that the voice of the country is disposed to accord to me too much praise. If I am not deceived in this respect I can repay the indulgence and favor of my countrymen in no better way and certainly in none more agreeable to my feelings than by impressing them with just views of the obligations which I owe to those who have cooperated with me at home and abroad. In this number allow me to assure you that I place you.

Please tender to Genl La Fayette my prayers for the continuance of his health and the influence of his counsels upon the peace and tranquillity of Europe:² And accept for yourself and Mrs. Rives the kind regards of Mr. & Mrs. Donelson with mine[.] I am very respectfully and sincerely yr. obt. sert

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson's hand, DLC-William C. Rives Papers (20-0366).

1. Alphonse Joseph Yves Pageot was secretary of the French legation at Washington. He returned to the U.S. in September, and on November 29 he married Mary Ann Lewis, daughter of William B. Lewis, at the White House. Rives's wife was Judith Page Walker Rives (1802-1882).

2. The Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834) was a renowned hero of the American Revolution and, since his 1824-25 tour of the U.S., a friend of AJ's.

To Anthony Bledsoe Shelby

[This letter is extant only in a later printed version.]

(Private) WASHINGTON, Apr. 23, 1832.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 25th March was received a few days gone by, and I seize the first leisure moment to acknowledge it. Having duly observed its contents, I sincerely thank you for the information it contains. After an approving conscience, nothing can be more grateful than the approbation of our acts by our fellow citizens. After the unprovoked and secret course of Poindexter, goaded on by his prompters, J. C. Calhoun, Webster and Clay, to slander and destroy me, if they could, to be sustained, as you inform me I am, by the good citizens of Mississippi, is a full reward for my labors to promote the real prosperity of my country. It is on the people that I rely for support, not upon the ambitious demagogues who would sacrifice the best interest, of their country to grasp the object of their ambition, and would employ the basest means to obtain it.

The course of McWycliff, and others, has been as astonishing to me, as is to you, and others of my friends. It goes to show the combination formed by Mr. Calhoun and others, at the commencement of my administration to drive from my cabinet my well tried friend Eaton, and all others that would not bow to that combination. Whilst Eaton and Van Buren, were engaged aiding me in the faithful discharge of my executive duties, with an eye single to the prosperity of our beloved country, schemes were formed in secret to disturb the harmony of my cabinet, and drive all from me who would not unite to promote the ambitious views of Mr. Calhoun. We were looking alone to the faithful discharge of our duty, leaving it to the people to select a president, and the meeting spoken of by McWycliff, was a demonstration under the secret guidance of Calhoun, to drive Eaton out of my cabinet.¹

The information you obtained from a member of Congress—the name of that gentleman is important for me to know, and as you have been good enough to say you would, if *necessary*, communicate it to me, I have to ask the favor of you to give me, *his name*, at as early a day as possible.

I have not renominated, McGewin, as yet, will do so shortly.² You see by the papers we have made a treaty with the Creeks, and I hope the Chickasaws, will be provided for west, when we will get clear of all Indians in Mississippi, and have a white population in their stead.

With my salutations to your family, believe me very Respectfully yours,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, *Huntsville Weekly Mercury* [Ala.], September 1, 1886 (20-0370). Shelby (1789–1851), a lawyer, came from Tennessee and now resided in Mississippi. He was later a Texas supreme court justice in 1840–41.

1. The *Globe* and Eaton had charged Calhoun with being behind the March 20, 1830, meeting of Kentucky and Tennessee congressmen chaired by Charles A. Wickliffe, purportedly called to procure Eaton's ouster from the Cabinet.

2. AJ renominated Samuel Gwin on June 11.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington April 25th. 1832—

My Dr Andrew

Your hasty note from Wheeling has this moment been recd. I was very solicitous to hear from you, and am happy to hear that you are all in good health, & spirits; and over the fatiguing part of your Journey, and I trust to the superintending care of a kind providence that he will in health & safety land you at the Hermitage. The late fatal accident of the burning of the steamer on the Mississippi with the loss of so many valuable lives has occasioned great solicitude for your safety down the river—but that providence that protects & preserves you on land, will protect you on the water—still it has & will increase my anxiety until I hear of your safe arrival at home.¹

I have this morning recd. two letters from Mr Steel one of which I enclose you the other being on the subject of the colts which he informs would set out with three boys on the 16th. instant and gives the opinion of Alexander & Dunwoody, that they are first rate animals—he has sent Byron on as one of the boys. The letter of Mr Steels which I enclose is for the purpose that you may have it, and compare it, with others, on the settlement with him—you will find in his account that he acknowledges a ballance due me of the money recd for articles sold from the farm of twenty or thirty dollars, and in one of his letters he says “so soon as he receive his money for his wages from Mr Nichol, he will leave in his hands, or pay him the one hundred & fifty dollars which he recd. from the sale of the pair of horses & Carryall. I bring this subject to your particular notice that you may have a fair settlement with him. His various, & different statements at different times may proceed from ignorance rather than from any other cause—having a blacksmith, it was a great want of oconomy to buy single plows, fourteen plows to be bought, with the number on the farm is an extravagance in which I would not permit any overseer to indulge. You must now attend to these things—your interest & that of your family *now* require it.

Deliver the inclosed to my Dr Sarah with my kind respects to Emma, and with kind salutations to all my good neighbours believe me your affectionate father—(give my respects to Mr Steel, and say to him I will write him soon—tell all the servants how do you—yours in haste

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (40).

1. On April 9 the steamboat *Brandywine*, bound from New Orleans to Louisville, caught fire on the Mississippi north of Memphis. Newspapers reported more than one hundred lives lost.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington April 25th. 1832.

My Dr Sarah,

I have this moment recd. your kind, affectionate & hasty written letter from Wheeling—it was a balm to my anxious mind, for I began to fear that some accident must have happened, and your silence was, least the information might give me pain. I rejoice at your safe arrival at Wheeling, & that you are over the fatiguing part of your journey. I hope soon to hear of your safe arrival at the Hermitage in good health. I am truly glad to hear that Andrew has got safely on his fine dog. I was uneasy, as I knew his anxiety to have him, least he might be lost on the way. A dog is one of the most affectionate of all the animal species, and is worthy of regard, and Andrews attachment for his dog, is an evidence of the goodness of his heart.

you must write me when you reach the Hermitage, on the farm, the garden, the colts &c &c &c, & how the servants are, and how clothed & fed—and my Dr Sarah, drop a kind tear over the tomb of my Dr wife in the garden, for me.

I must close—the mail is closing. I beg you to present me kindly to Emma & all my surrounding connections and kind neighbours.

I have been lost since you left me—Miss Mary McLamore came on, Sunday was a week gone by, & left us last Sunday with Mary Ann Lewis, & took Mr Earle with them, & I have been lost, when a leisure moment presented, for some one to talk, & walk with me. I must close, accept of my blessing, & believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THer (20-0390).

From William Savin Fulton

Little Rock April 25th. 1832.

My Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you of my safe arrival at home, on the 17th. inst. I was fortunate in reaching this place, the day previous to the commencement of the term of the Superior Court, at which my own presence, and that of the papers in my possession, were both indispensable. We are now engaged in having the remaining cases decided. Decrees will

be entered up, in all the review cases, by the eighth of May. This business will then, be finally disposed of in Arkansas, unless the Supreme Court should next winter, reverse the decision in the case taken up by appeal. In that event, the proceedings here, in most of the cases, would be overturned. Of this however, I have no fears, as well from my own views, as from the opinions of Mr. Taney, expressed in our several conversations.

As it will be necessary for me to go on to Washington again next winter, with the papers which are to be used as evidence in the case now pending before the Supreme court; it will be necessary for me to receive instructions in writing to that effect from Washington. The Governor leaves this place to morrow for Kentucky, with the intention to remaining there, until the fall; and I understand, he says, he has business there next winter, which, (unless he is instructed to the contrary,) will afford him an excuse, for absenting himself during the winter also. You will therefore perceive the necessity, for of my receiving positive instructions, so as to justify me in requiring of him, to remain here, when he returns to the Territory in the fall.

Even if I should not be allowed any thing, for appearing in the case now pending in the Supreme court, from Arkansas; it would be highly gratifying to me, and would I have no doubt, be of great service to me, in a professional point of view, to be permitted to assist Mr. Taney in the argument of this case, in the Supreme court next winter. I therefore take the liberty to ask you, to grant me such permission. From the conversations I have held with Mr. Taney, I have no doubt, it will be gratifying to him, to have me associated with him. He would have requested it last winter, if he had considered that the law of 1830, would have justified you in employing an assistant counsel, in this case in the Supreme Court. As I should like to argue the case, even without compensation for so doing in the Supreme court; I hope it may be in your power to grant me the permission to do so. If you find you can authorise me to appear in the case in the Supreme court, I have to request you to inform me of it, as early as convenient; so that I may devote as much time as possible, to the preparation necessary to do justice to the case. At all events, it is my intention to be in Washington with the papers before the commencement of the next term of the Supreme court; so as to enable Mr. Taney to urge the court for a decision of the case, at the earliest period possible.

Captn. E. W. B. Nowland went up the river a few days since, with a stock of goods. He designs getting an additional stock this spring, from New Orleans. He has not his family with him. He will not remove them until the fall.¹

I rejoice to learn that the Creeks have treated; and particularly, as I understand they are to remove themselves. I fear the expenses of removing the Choctaws, will astonish, if not alarm you, when you ascertain what it has amounted to. Considering however, how late in the season the movement was made, & the extreme cold weather, the scarcity of

provisions, and the difficulty of obtaining means of transportation, it is not wonderful that the expenditure should far exceed all the calculations which were made.² It is universally believed, that you would have succeeded in treating with the Cherokees, had it not been for the Opinion of the Supreme Court in the Georgia case. If you do succeed, notwithstanding that opinion, the rejoicings to the south & west will be unbounded. As an act of gratitude for the many favors you have bestowed upon me, we have determined to call our son “Old Hickory,” unless you would give “Andrew Jackson” the preference. will you be so good as to say which you prefer.³ Remember us kindly to Majr. & Mrs. Donnelson Majr. Lewis Mr. Earl & all friends I am yours

William S. Fulton.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Judge Fulton Arkansa—to be submitted to the Sec. of the Treasury & the atto. General A. J. To remain on file (private) A. J—

ALS, DLC (40). *TPUS*, 21:500–502. An Act of May 8, 1830, authorized the superior court of Arkansas Territory to revisit and reject private land claims it had previously confirmed if they were found to be based on forged documents. In February 1831 the court annulled a Spanish claim it had approved in 1827, now held by one Joseph Stewart. The U.S. Supreme Court had agreed to hear Stewart’s appeal. Apparently pursuant to Fulton’s request, Treasury secretary McLane on May 17 inquired of Taney whether Fulton should be instructed to bring the papers in the case to Washington in person (DNA-RG 60). Taney replied the next day that he should, and that his knowledge of the cases from arguing them in Arkansas would make his aid useful in preparing for the appeal. Instructions for Fulton to bring the papers were issued on May 24 (*TPUS*, 21:506–7, 510). With Fulton and Taney appearing for the U.S., the Supreme Court heard Stewart’s appeal at its January 1833 term. It rejected it, affirming the legitimacy of the 1830 law and of the Arkansas court ruling voiding his claim (*Sampeyreac and Stewart v. The United States*, 32 U.S. Reports 222–42).

1. Fulton’s Tennessee brother-in-law Edward William Benjamin Nowland (1806–1841) had been appointed sutler at Fort Gibson in February.

2. In the winter of 1831–32, about 4,000 Choctaws had emigrated to the West under terms of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Severe weather, delays, and failures of transport and supply had marked the removal.

3. Fulton’s son was Hickory Fulton (1832–1839).

To Henry Baldwin

(Private)

Washington April 27th. 1832

My Dr. Sir,

Your letter of the 13th. instant, with its enclosure reached me some days past, but a press of business with which, on its receipt, I was surrounded, has caused the day in my answering it.

I have after mature deliberation declined putting interrogatories on notice given to Mr. Calhoun with whom I have long since closed all writ-

ten communications. I could give many reasons for this my determination, which I will do, when we meet—should a proper occasion arise for my coming before the public with my promised reply, I shall state facts, & leave it to Mr Calhoun to deny them, which if he does, then will be a proper time to serve him with a notice of interrogatories to be submitted to Mr Lacock.

If you wish Mr Lacock's letter returned, please signify the same, and I will immediately inclose it to you—

You no doubt have seen from the publick journals that the House of Representatives has arrested a Citizen for an assault & Battery upon a member of Congress who he casually met in the streets—the member armed the citizen without arms. The arguments in this case will bring into review the Alien & sedition law, and the power of congress over a citizen for assaulting one of its members, and to punish him for a contempt, & deprive him of a trial by jury, & arrest him from the judiciary for an infraction of the law, is well questioned.¹ The trial is progressing and a few days will unfold what congress will do. It is more easy by rash, & hasty, proceedings to get into difficulties, than to get out of them.

I am very much indebted to you for your friendly aid in procuring the knowledge of Mr Lacock of Mr. C. course on the Seminole war. I am very respectfully and in great haste yr mo. ob. Servt.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PMA (20-0393). Baldwin replied on May 13 (below).

1. The Alien and Sedition Acts, passed by a Federalist Congress in 1798, included a provision making defamation of Congress a criminal offense. The Acts had become bywords for egregious federal violation of constitutionally protected civil liberties.

Memorandum on Charles Landon Carter Minor's Court-Martial

Memoranda—Lt. Minors case—to be Looked into.

A. J.

proceedings carefully read—they exhibits to be read

A J

the whole being examined, the case is a hard one, and oppressive, and the commandg. officer ought to be reprimanded, or arrested, for insulting & oppressive conduct to his subordinate—see the Sec. of War on this subject—

A. J

ANS, DNA-RG 153 (20-0399). Minor (1805–1833) was an Army second lieutenant and assistant quartermaster at Jefferson Barracks in Missouri. On September 5, 1831, Minor had refused a direct order from his commanding officer, Brevet Brigadier General Henry Atkinson (1782–1842), to furnish a hasp and staples for personal use. On September 30 Atkinson abruptly ordered Minor to vacate his quarters, to which Minor responded by addressing a written protest to Western Department commander Brevet Major General Edmund P. Gaines. Atkinson then preferred charges against Minor for disobedience of orders and disrespectful and insubordinate conduct, including in the latter his appeal to Gaines. Minor was held in close confinement until his court-martial in January 1832, where he was honorably acquitted on all charges. The Army published the proceedings in a general order on February 28 (DNA-RG 94, M1094-3).

Minor was transferred away from Atkinson's command in March. On April 16 Secretary of War Cass submitted to AJ a memorial from Minor, along with his trial record and a report from Army commanding general Alexander Macomb (DNA-RG 107, M127-2). On April 28, apparently pursuant to this memorandum, Army headquarters issued a general order stating that AJ had "seen with regret, a severity on the part of General Atkinson towards Lieut. Minor, while under arrest and awaiting the assembling of the Court, wholly unprecedented in the American Service, in allowing Lieut. Minor to remain *in close confinement* for the long period of One hundred and Eight days and this too without any apparent necessity for such extraordinary rigor towards him. Nor is the President satisfied with the treatment received by Lieut. Minor, from General Atkinson as his Superior and Commanding Officer in reference to his quarters. Under a full view of the facts disclosed in the trial the President has commanded the General-in-Chief to make known his dissatisfaction as above expressed and to direct that in cases where officers may in future be put in arrest that *close confinement* is not to be resorted to unless under circumstances of an aggravated character and when the arrested officer should exhibit evidence of an utter disregard to the station he holds" (DNA-RG 94, M1094-3).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington 30th. April, 32—

My Dr. Andrew

I wrote you this morning a short & hasty scrawl. I am astonished at Mr Steel permitting judge Overton & Major Eaton to send Hutchings after Alexander to bring him back with the colts. Major Donelson, with your consent, has made arrangements for them, came under obligations about them both expensive and imperious, which if not complied with, may place his feelings in a very delicate situation, & do great injury to the character of our stock—if therefore, Alexander has returned back, send him on with them immediately as the summer will be on, & it will be very injurious to the colts to travel in warm weather. I am astonished at Hutchings. I pray god to take you in his holy keeping, bless you with health & restore you to your dear little family and me in good health, & may god bless & prosper you thro life, in all your just pursuits is the prayer of your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS facsimile, Profiles in History, catalog 31 (2000) (mAJs).

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington 30th. of April 1832

My Dear Sarah

I hope this night you are reposing under the peaceful roof of the Hermitage enjoying with your Dr Andrew & Emma, health & ease, after your fatiguing journey, and that you have found the Hermitage a pleasing home. The thought & sound is pleasing to my recollection, & brings endearing recollections to my memory, and I wish I was there. I have spent a lonely time since you left me. I may say truly that my nights are spent in perfect solitude. I must change the subject lest it might lead me to gloomy reflections.

I will be happy to hear from you; I have just recd. from Major Eaton and his Lady a letter written at the Hermitage which has brought to my remembrance the endearing, tho malancholy, reflections. I feel greatly indebted to them for their friendly visit to the Tomb, of my Dr wife, their sincere friend—do write me, my Dr Sarah, often, and give a history of your journey, and how you are pleased with the Hermitage, and the neighbourhood—present me to Emma, remind her of her promise to write me. When alone in my room, your letters will be a treat & company for me—say to Andrew not to be so lasy in writing me.

Congress is still in excitement. Much to do, & nothing done. When it will rise, the lord only knows, for it is beyond mortal ken. Accept my prayers for your and Andrews happiness & prosperity, and also Emma's—nothing in my power will be wanting as long as I live to promote it. I shall endeavour to visit the Hermitage—but this is still uncertain—therefore if I should be disappointed, you Andrew & Emma must meet me at Guyendot in September.¹

It is now ½ past ten P.M. I must bid you good night, with the assurance that I am your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (40).

1. Guyandotte, on the Ohio River, is now part of Huntington, W.Va.

From Joshua Noble Danforth

Mr Danforth would be obliged to the President, as he is going into a land of strangers, if the President would favour him with an introductory letter of a general kind to his friends.

In the distortions which rumour makes of facts, it is more than probable that something will be said abroad injurious to my ministerial character, which is more precious to me than life. As the enemies of the President

have already made the most of it, his friends may, under a wrong impression, attribute things to me of which I am entirely innocent; I therefore desire a written communication from the President to this effect—That ~~he is personally~~ for some time he has been personally acquainted with me—on friendly terms—that I have not been as he assures the Genl personally the channel of conveying any reports injurious to the character of the President in his relations to Congress—as some have erroneously supposed—that ~~the Presi~~ I have his best wishes for success in every good & benevolent work &c

I merely throw out these hints—Whatever the President feels himself authorized to add ~~will~~ or to alter will be received gratefully by his friend & humb servant

J. N. Danforth

[*Endorsed by AJ Donelson:*] ansd.—30th. April 1832—after the receipt of his note of that date

ADS, NjP (20-0411). Danforth (1798–1861), pastor since 1828 of Washington’s Fourth Presbyterian Church, was moving to Boston as an agent for the American Colonization Society. On April 20, he and his father Joshua Danforth (1759–1837), a Revolutionary veteran then visiting Washington, called at the White House. North Carolina congressman Daniel Barringer was also there. According to a widely republished April 23 report to the *New York Journal of Commerce*, AJ in their presence “indulged in the most vehement and profane language, wishing there were half a dozen Samuel Houstons here, to dragoon all the rascally members of Congress who Stanberry-like slander honest men.” The report said AJ’s profanity was “so excessive, that the clergyman deemed it his duty to admonish him of its unworthiness,” and that AJ afterwards called Danforth back to apologize and also to reprove him for giving out word of his tirade, which Danforth in fact had not done (*Albany Evening Journal*, April 27).

On April 25, William Stanbery announced in the House during Houston’s trial that “he was aware of the threats uttered by the Executive against any member of that House who should dare to question his acts” (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2592). Later, on May 14 and 17, Stanbery and New Jersey congressman Lewis Condict introduced resolutions to investigate whether AJ had instigated or countenanced violence against members of Congress (*House Journal*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 742, Serial 215; *Register of Debates*, pp. 3037–38). In response, AJ penned several memoranda of what he had said to Danforth. They formed the basis for an editorial article, “The Conversations of the President,” in the May 26 *Washington Globe* (below).

To Francis Preston Blair

Mr. Blair—

The 6th. section of the first article of the constitution provides that “The senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except Treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance of their

respective houses, and in going to & returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, ~~during his continuance in office~~ they shall not be questioned”—can it be seriously urged, that members of congress possess greater privileges than is given them by the above section of the constitution—do they possess any powers but what is defined by the ~~above section of the~~ constitution, except as a body, & whilst in session which arises from the necessity of the case, to preserve order that the public business may be proceed, in due order & deliberation.

I ask the question, has a member of Congress a right to abandon his constitutional legislative duties, wantonly bring in to ~~view~~ debate the character of a private citizen for the sole object of slandering him, & detailing disgrace upon him & his family & privileged from all responsibility for this injurious, unjust, & dishonorable procedure. I think not—and so long as such disorder & unconstitutional procedure is permitted by Congress & the disorderly conduct of such member not punished by the constitutional power of the house ~~by his~~ with expulsion the free ~~men~~ citizens of our country who are persuing their business peaceably, & over whom congress has no power to legislate or investigate, the disorderly member, thus abusing his power & his trust & disgracing the body of which he is a member will be surely Houstonised. Therefore it behoves congress who by the constitution are the conservators of the character of all the citizens to be guarded that none of its members violate their duty by becoming the slanderers of private citizens for political effect, & when any does, that they expell him. Then, & not until then, will these members who forget right and a proper respect for themselves & the body to whom they belong supposed that these disorderly members will be exempt from chastisement—it being the only redress left to the injured citizen & the only way to correct the morals of the offending member who has shewn that he is devoid of all sense of justice and propriety. Let the speeches of several members the present session be carefully turned to & read, and it is a disgrace to our republic that such members have seats in congress—even the character of females have been dragged into debate in the secrete sessions of the Senate—and then given out in whispers the sure destructive weapon of Slander—answer ye christians & men who appreciate character who have wives & daughters, does not such wretches as these deserve to be publickly known & Houstonised me thinks there cannot be one who values female character, who has a mother, a wife, a daughter but will respond in the affirmative—and behold we see the House of Representative usurp the power of the judiciary, deprive a citizen of rights secured to him by the constitution that of a trial by jury, and deprived of his liberty by a usurpd power ~~& deprived of his liberty,~~ without due process of law. ?Where is the law that authorises the speaker to Issue a warrent to arrest a citizen for assault & battery—where is the law to authorise congress to form themselves into a jury to try the fact of

· April 1832 ·

who gave the first assault. Look at the constitution & the rights secured to the citizens before you attempt to commit any except those within the verge of your Hall when ~~in-session~~ sitting who are disturbing your deliberations, or have attempted to corrupt the pure channels of Legislation by an attempt to bribe your members.

AD, DLC (73).

May



To Edward Livingston

May 3rd. 1832

The President requests the Secretary of State to send to him a nomination for Col MRee, late of the Engineer corps, as commissioner to run the boundary line agreeable to the late Treaty with Mexico—and of Col Love of North Carolina as Surveyor—if the christian names are not in the State Dept., the President will insert them. The President not having the Treaty in his office believes there is but one commission & surveyor to be appointed by the senate

AD, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). William McRee (1787–1833), a former Army engineer, was surveyor of public lands in Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas. Robert Love (1760–1845) was a former North Carolina legislator. On May 4 AJ nominated McRee for commissioner and Love for surveyor to run the boundary with Mexico under the treaty. Both were confirmed on July 14. Love wrote AJ about his appointment on September 1 (below).

From Louis McLane

[The protective tariff—a tax on imports that provided most of the federal government's revenue while also aiding American producers by boosting the price of competing foreign goods—was a leading bone of political and sectional contention. A high tariff enacted by Congress in 1828 had brought strenuous protests from southerners, who charged that it was a sectional measure to enrich northern manufacturers at their expense and that the manipulation of a revenue law to such ends was oppressive and unconstitutional. In Jackson's first and second annual messages to Congress in 1829 and 1830, he proposed reducing some rates but also defended the maintenance of a tariff for protective purposes even if it should yield an income beyond the needs of the government (Richardson, 2:451, 514–15). However, in his third annual message to Congress on December 6, 1831, Jackson, anticipating the approaching extinction of the public debt and the consequent release of an annual charge to the Treasury of \$10 million or more for debt service, called for

“a modification of the tariff which shall produce a reduction of our revenue to the wants of the Government” (Richardson, 2:556).

On January 19, 1832, the House of Representatives passed resolutions calling on Treasury secretary McLane to report on the state of manufactures and the tariff. McLane reported to the House on April 27. Observing that “patriotism and wisdom,” as well as “the state of public feeling” in the South, dictated an amelioration of the tariff, he submitted a bill that would reduce annual revenue by \$10 million or more by lowering duties from an overall average rate of 45 per cent to 27 per cent. McLane claimed that his bill would operate “with as little inconvenience as possible to all parts of the Union,” relieving southern distress while leaving “all the great national interests adequately protected” (HRDoc 222, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–5, Serial 220). Previously, on February 8, George McDuffie of South Carolina had reported a bill that would immediately slash the highest duties to 25 per cent and reduce all rates to no more than 12.5 per cent within two years.]

May 5. 1832.

My dear Sir,

My official engagements preventing me from waiting on you personally, I beg to send the enclosed for your perusal. The tender of compromise made by the Administration seems to be favorably received every where. The position of the “Richmond Inquirer” *obliges* him to take exception that his ultimate concession may be less hazardous. Besides, he does not accurately comprehend the scheme.¹ I am assured that, the *South*, without any other exception than, perhaps a majority of, South Carolina will support the Bill, unless materially modified. Rely upon it, Sir, that our danger is in *New York*. The opposition to the Bill in the delegation of that state is serious, and if not averted ~~may~~ will not merely defeat the *compromise*, but may, & most probably will, lead to other important consequences. If the responsibility of preventing a *compromise* or some reasonable adjustment of the difficulty can be thrown upon New York, it will not be in the power of Man to connect any politician of state with the coming election: and I have no doubt your superior sagacity will discern, better than I can describe, the plausible, if not substantial, pretexts for such a course. I have reason to apprehend that a deep and formidable plan is forming to rally N. York & a portion of Penn. upon the Bill of the Senate as the terms of adjustment. To reconcile *that* Bill with the *just* demands of the South will be utterly impracticable; and such a scheme, if persisted in, will not only produce all the evil you have so anxiously laboured to avert, but demonstrate the absolute weakness of the Administration by a defeat of the great & leading Measure of your policy. How can N. York call for aid from the Administration, if they obstinately prostrate it at the feet of its enemy on the most prominent ground of its policy, and at the hazard of the peace of the Union!²

I am sure your influence, if any thing can, only can prevent these consequences, & I think an early & earnest interfeerence of all our friends ought to be made. I have the honor to be with the highest respect & faithfully
Yr fd & Servt

L. M'Lane

ALS, DLC (40).

1. On May 4, Thomas Ritchie's *Richmond Enquirer* had reviewed McLane's tariff proposal. Ritchie called it "much better than the present system" but criticized several specific provisions and objected to its "great want of concession" in "fixing these rates as the permanent ones" instead of providing for further gradual reductions.

2. In the Senate, Henry Clay on January 10 had proposed to abolish or reduce duties on imported items that were not produced in the United States, thus shrinking the revenue while preserving protection. On March 30 the Senate Committee on Manufactures, of which Clay was a member, reported a bill to strip off duties on exotic foodstuffs and other noncompetitive goods. On May 1 it reported a second bill to adjust other duties while retaining some protectionist rates ranging well above 25 per cent.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington May 6th. 1832

My son

This will be handed you by Mr Saml F. Armstrong of Boston, who with his lady [*is*] on a visit to the western Country to explore it. They have promised to call and spend a few days at the Hermitage—receive them kindly, introduce them to Sarah, and make them comfortable during their stay.

Present me affectionately to my Dr Sarah, and believe me to be your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, ICHi (20-0481). Armstrong was probably publisher and politician Samuel Turrell Armstrong (1784–1850).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

I have nothing new: Congress still pursues their corrupt & log-rolling system of legislation, and electioneering, neglecting the subjects appertaining to the great interests of the nation. Houston is still in custody, will be dismissed by a large vote and will sue for his false imprisonment—as daring an act of usurpation as this has never before been attempted by the Government.

. . . I hope you have reached the Hermitage & found all things well there. I had a hope that the colts would have been here by this time, but the foolish conduct of sending after them & bringing them back is an

encumbrance to the farm, to the great mortification of Major Donelson, after incurring a heavy expense which he, and you, must meet . . . Steel as you know, was positively instructed to have them sent on early . . . to reach here before the hot season. . . . That he should have permitted Hutchings to go after them . . . is more than astonishing to me. It was not the plan to make my farm a racing stable and our colts at our expense to be run in Tennessee, for others' benefit. . . .

Write me fully—How my family are, the state of the farm, and particularly the State & condition of my Brood stock, the colts, their looks, number and age, including the stud colt Citizen, and his colt from the . . . filly . . . The mares must be well fed until the colts get fat and begin to grow. Attend to this, for¹ my son, you will find, the horse stock the most profitable product of the farm.

With my kind salutations to Sarah Emma, Thomas, and all connections and neighbours I am your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. say to Hutchings that he has violated his pledge to me, of writing so soon as he reached the Hermitage—that if it had not been for Capt Stockly Donelson's letter to Major Donelson that he had went on to bring the colts back, I would not have known that he had reached home—say to him, that he that violates his promise to a friend, never will be confided in. When a promise is made it ought to be sacredly complied with.

Printed extracts, Christie's (Forbes sale #3), November 15, 2005 (mAJ's); partial facsimile of ALS, Sotheby Parke Bernet catalog, April 28, 1981 (21-0479). Both catalogs give the letter's date as May 6, 1832.

1. The preceding text, including ellipses, appears here as printed by Christie's. From this point forward the text comes from the Sotheby Parke Bernet facsimile.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington May 6th. 1832—

My Dear Sarah,

I had the pleasure on yesterday to receive your kind letter from Louisville, of the 25th. ulto. It gave me much pleasure to learn that you had reached so near the Hermitage, in safety and health, and that you & your Dr Husband with Emma were so comfortable on board the Steam Boat. I shall anxiously await a line from you after reaching the Hermitage, where I hope you may reach in health & safety, and find it as comfortable a home, as I think you will, and as I wish it.

I have been very busily engaged since you left me, and very loansom—a good deal hiped at times, and wearey with the corruption of the times & the scenes in congress—every day increases my desire to be at the Hermitage, where, with you & Andrew, I could spend the ballance of my

days in quietude and peace. I have made many sacrifices, of my private & domestic happiness, for my country, and would freely still make others, did I believe I could add to its repose & happiness—but so long as the members of congress loose sight of the general prosperity of our beloved country, and are split up into political parties, each headed by an ambitious demagogue, who are without virtue or principle, and whose only object is self aggrandizement, even at the expence of the union, the post of honor, for an honest man, is a private station—still I do not, I will not, despair of the republick, or shrink from my duty, altho I cannot refrain from shedding a tear over the immorality of our ~~country~~ congress, and the corruption of the times, still there are a redeeming spirit in the virtue of the people, in which I trust, to perpetuate the liberty of our country, & check the corrupting course of the ambitious demagogues. I have been lead to these expression from corrupting scenes in congress since you left me, altho improper to be introduced in a letter to you my Dr Sarah but to give additional reasons why I wish for retirement.

When I will be able to join you at the Hermitage this summer is still uncertain. There is no data, as yet, upon which any correct opinion can be formed when congress will rise. The Tariff bill is before them and all agents of the ultras & nullifiers are at work to defeat it, that they may have some ostensible ground to dissolve the union. I have still hopes, that a majority of Congress will pass the bill, and give harmony to the union. This done, it will leave the nullifiers not a loop to hang an excuse for their wickedness in attempting ~~the~~ by deluding the South to dissolve the union, and congress will soon adjourn after passing the Tariff bill, and I may be able to join you at the Hermitage in july or early in august—if not, I will meet you in Septbr. at Guiendot, and bring you on here.

I wish you to give me a history of your journey, how you are pleased with the Hermitage, and whether the macanic has finished the monument over the grave of my Dr departed wife. Say, with my kind respects to Emma, that if she is as forgetful of her promises to her lovers as she has been to me, that she will never marry. I believe you were a witness to her promise to write me, and I have not recd one line from her, and but one note from Andrew at Wheeling.

The family, Major Donelson & Emily, with Mr Earle comprising it, are all well, and joins in salutations.

Present me to Andrew, Emma, and believe me to be your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. When you have time give me a description of the stock—how the horned cattle look, the lambs, &c &c, and what colt you have selected for your riding horse—you must become an equestrian

A. J

ALS, NjP (20-0483). New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, February 6, 1887. Faded text in the manuscript has been supplied from the newspaper printing.

From James Alexander Hamilton

[On April 30, chairman Augustin S. Clayton reported for the four-member majority of the House committee that had been appointed on March 14 to investigate the Bank of the United States. His report offered evidence of purported charter violations, mismanagement, and corruption by the Bank, including the issuing of unsecured loans to Courier and Enquirer proprietors James Watson Webb and Mordecai Noah to influence their editorial policy. The report opposed rechartering the Bank or chartering any new national bank at least until the public debt was paid. A subsequent minority report on May 11 by committee members George McDuffie, John Quincy Adams (now a Massachusetts congressman), and John G. Watmough defended the loans to editors as straight business transactions, exonerated the Bank of misconduct overall, and urged its recharter. On May 14 Adams submitted a further report, signed also by Watmough, which condemned the majority's conduct of the investigation (HRRep 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 227).]

New York May 7 1832

My dear Sir

The Bank report has realized all your anticipations and consequently Justified to the most sceptical or perverse opponent the course you have taken in relation to it; Should an act to extend the charter be passed at this, or any other session, which I beleve is impossible, you may take new or additional ground which is as stable as truth or Justice; not only has it subsidized the press, but it has ruinously administered its affairs as it respects the stockholders, and most injuriously as it respects the Country. Connected with this subject and particularly its corruptions my mind has been much occupied in relation to the position of the Surveyor; and I will as I am accustomed to do on all occasions frankly express to you my views = That he has been bribed seems to be admitted on all hands and consequently that he is unworthy of the confidence of the Government This office is one in which if he is disposed he may do great mischief and he is now exposed to ten thousand times more temptation to enrich himself at the public expense than he was before; without having the restraints which character impose and the shield it threw round him before for Bad men ~~until now would be~~ before would have been afraid to approach him, now the way is not only opened to them but they are invited to pursue it. Again If you may in any event or at any time be called to reject a Bill and should you as a reason for doing so urge this maladministration consistency requires that he should be first removed; Again by his removal

allowing full time for a thorough investigation and his defence you throw the weight of your opinion & character into the scale with the ~~opinion~~ conclusions of the committee and thus Justly put a mark of opprobrium upon the Bank, more effectual and more lasting than any thing that could be done and I think by doing so you would gratify in a very high degree the Public feeling without the slightest risk of injustice. I am quite sure that your true friends as well as that portion of this community which are not partizans would receive it as a most welcome sacrifice of your private partiality to promote Public Morals. His conduct on this occasion, & in relation to our friends at Albany, and Just now as to Mr Cambreleng—has striped him of favor and influence and would therefore if expediency is to be a consideration on the occasion render such a course quite proper.¹ I have thus reasoned this matter ~~as~~ in this letter as I have before with myself without however intending to intimate any belief for I have none as to what your views are

My feelings towards Noah are not those of hostility but rather of pity & I should therefore but that I think in these cases great public ought far to outweigh all private or ~~public~~ personal considerations be induced to plead for him. But it is my duty to say to you that is his removal is here expected with the utmost confidence²

I have been most arduously engaged for some time past indeed so much so as to render it necessary to my health to take a Journey for a few days in which direction I shall go I do not know my inclination would lead me to Washington but prudence suggests doubts which I cannot disregard.

I beg leave to congratulate you upon the results of Neilsons mission with all my heart and to ask me to remember me as your friend with ~~all my heart~~ the truest attachment³

James A Hamilton

ALS, DLC (40).

1. New York City congressman Churchill Cambreleng was a member of the House committee on the Bank and had taken the lead in conducting its investigation and composing its majority report. A *Courier and Enquirer* editorial on May 4 termed the report “weak in its arguments and false in its conclusions.” It accused Cambreleng of unscrupulousness and dishonesty, and charged that “most gross injustice has intentionally been done this paper to propitiate the ‘Money Changers’ in Albany.”

2. Noah was not formally removed as customs surveyor, but resigned in December.

3. John Nelson, U.S. chargé to the Two Sicilies, had been instructed to seek reclamation for Neapolitan depredations on American shipping during the Napoleonic Wars. An erroneous report first appearing in the *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser* on May 5 stated that “Mr. Neilson” had completed an agreement recognizing American claims in full. The *Globe* contradicted it on May 10. AJ dictated instructions for Nelson to Edward Livingston on or about June 11 (below).

From Samuel Emerson Smith

Executive Department of Maine.
Augusta, May 10. 1832.

Sir,

For the purpose of promoting a perfect harmony and good correspondence and of removing all grounds of dissatisfaction especially in regard to the North Eastern Boundary between the State of Maine as a member of our happy Union, and the United States of America, I have with the advice and consent of Council appointed William P. Preble, Reuel Williams and Nicholas Emery, Esquires, three distinguished citizens of this State as Commissioners to proceed to Washington, and there to confer with such person or persons as have been appointed by you in order to arrive at some mutual and amicable understanding and arrangement between the Government of this State and of the United States, in relation to the definitive and permanent settlement of all difficulties in regard to our said Boundary. And while this State in nothing recedes from her just claims and pretensions, it gives me great pleasure to present these gentlemen to you, reciprocating as I do, in its fullest extent, the spirit of conciliation and respect, which in proposing this measure, you have been pleased to manifest towards this State.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration and entire respect.

Saml. E. Smith

LS, DNA-RG 76 (20-0501). Reuel Williams (1783–1862) was a Maine legislator and later U.S. senator, and Nicholas Emery (1776–1861) was an attorney and later justice of Maine's supreme court. Beginning May 18, the three Maine commissioners met in Washington with Cabinet officers Livingston, McLane, and Woodbury, whom AJ had designated as administration negotiators. Talks were suspended in June to await Senate action on King William's arbitration award. On June 23 the Senate voted, 23 to 22, to advise the president to open a new negotiation with Britain over the boundary (below). The commissioners then concluded a provisional agreement. It called for Maine to relinquish to the U.S. its claim to territory north and east of the St. John and St. Francis rivers—the boundary drawn by King William's award—in return for an indemnity of the sale proceeds of one million acres of federal land in Michigan Territory. If the state lost less territory in the final settlement, its indemnity was to be reduced proportionately. On July 25 the U.S. commissioners sent a final signed text of the agreement to the Maine commissioners, who had returned home. They signed and sent it back on August 21, pledging to recommend its approval by the state legislature when it convened in January 1833 (*Resolves of the Eighteenth Legislature of the State of Maine*, 1838, pp. 373–85). On receiving their reply, Livingston wrote AJ on September 1 (below).

From John Freeman Schermerhorn

Utica May 12th. 1832

My Dear Friend

On my return from New-York on Wednesday the [9]th Inst I had an interview with [Gover]nour Throop. He informed me very frankly, that through the want of candour on the part of his political friends, he did not know until very recently the state of feeling with regard to his re-election. And that when informed of it to his satisfaction by a letter and also of the views of the Hon. Mr Marcy, as expressed in a letter to a friend in Albany; in order to prevent division & distraction in our political ranks he did not hesitate a moment to decline being considered a candidate for re-election. He says that he has warmly & sincerely recommended the appointment of J. Suydam Esqr as a commissioner under the French treaty and that therefore he cannot think of suffering his name to be thought of for that place; or indeed for any other situation *at present*.¹

There is not the least [*doubt*] in my mind that there will be a strong & desperate effort made by a combination of the Nationals, Anti-Masons and the advocates of the U. States Bank; and those in the opposition of every name to carry the election here next fall against the Administration of the General & state governments. I think however there can be no doubt, since the honorable & dignified course Govenor Throop has taken to preserve harmony in our Jacksonian ranks; but that they will meet with a complete rout & defeat. I now consider the next election as safe in favour of the administration.²

I found my family all well on my return yesterday; and shall continue with them until the [fi]rst of June when I shall again return to the City of N. York. I wish to be informed as early as possible of any intelligence from the Cherokee Nation as to the course they have determined upon with regard to the overtures made to them. With great Respect your friend &c

J. F. Schermerhorn

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] The Revd Mr Schemerhorn to be answered when we hear from Cherokees—A. J.

ALS, DLC (40). Schermerhorn (1786–1851) was a Dutch Reformed minister and missionary. In October AJ appointed him one of three commissioners to settle the locations of Indians emigrating west of the Mississippi.

1. On July 13, 1832, Congress passed an Act directing the president to appoint three commissioners to distribute the 25 million francs in spoliation claims due from France under the convention of July 4, 1831. John Sudam (1782–1835), an Ulster County lawyer and sometime state senator, was not appointed.

2. The Anti-Masonic Party had risen in reaction to the abduction and presumed murder in 1826 of William Morgan of Batavia, N.Y., who was planning to expose secret rituals of the Order of Freemasonry. In the November 1832 gubernatorial election, William Marcy defeated Anti-Masonic and National Republican candidate Francis Granger.

To Allan Ditchfield Campbell

(Private)

Washington May 13th. 1832

My Dr Sir

I have this moment recd. your letter of May, postmarked, the 10th which I hasten to reply to.

Whilst I sincerely regret the misfortune of your father, I can only assure you how much pleasure it will afford me in lending my aid to his relief. The subordinate offices in the customs, are entirely under the controle of the Collectors, who nominate, and the Secretary of the Treasury who approves, or rejects—if your fathers friends in Baltimore who have influence with the Collector of that port, would get him to appoint him to any office in the customs, I would take pleasure in speaking to the Secretary of the Treasury on the subject, so as to ensure his approval. I have only to add that there has been, & still continues to be, such a great press for office, that unless your friends in Baltimore do urge the collector on this subject, it may be a long time before your father can be taken up.¹

I feel greatly indebted to you for your attention to my little order for the Glass—would have returned you my thanks for the same, but was posponing this untill I received the bill for the amount, when I intended to have accompanied the remittance with my thanks—please say Mr Bakewell to send me the bill, & on its receipt, I will with pleasure remit him the amount.²

The Bank report did nothing more than confirm what I had always thought, that it was, as at present constituted, one of the greatests Mamoths of corruption ever created, winding its way into all the ramifications of our Government, and endeavouring to corrupt, & corrupting every branch of it—we have seen its effects upon the Press—it is yet to be seen how far it has operated upon the pure streams of Legislation. This *monster*, as it stands, & as administered, must be put down, or it destroys the virtue & morality of our country, and with that, our present happy form of Government.

Present me affectionately to your amiable lady, & sweet little family, & to all my friends, and believe me your friend sincerely

Andrew Jackson

P.S. My Son & daughter has gone to the Hermitage—you cannot imagine how great my anxiety is to be there. I am wearied with the *corruption* & faction, which prevades this *great* Matropolis. London cannot exceed it, even with its *superior numbers*

ALS, Priscilla Bakewell Linn (mAJs). Campbell (1791–1861) was a Presbyterian minister in Allegheny (now Pittsburgh), Pa. He had become friends with AJ while serving at the First Presbyterian Church in Nashville in the 1820s.

1. Campbell's father, Baltimore merchant William Campbell (1766–1852), apparently did not receive a customs appointment. James Haines McCulloch (1756–1836) was the Baltimore collector.

2. Benjamin Bakewell (1767–1844), his partner Benjamin Page, and sons Thomas Bakewell (1792–1866) and John Palmer Bakewell (1800–1842) operated the Bakewell, Page & Bakewells glass manufactory in Allegheny. Allan Campbell was married to Benjamin's daughter, Nancy White Bakewell Campbell (1797–1862). AJ had ordered \$144.25 in glassware from the Bakewells for the Hermitage. He sent payment through Campbell on April 8, 1833 (DLC-42).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington May 13th. 1832—

My son

Calculating that you arrived at the Hermitage on the first instant, I had a hope of receiving a line from you or Sarah to day, but in this I am mistaken. I recd. a letter from Mr Steel dated 28th Ult. informing me that he had got planted 185 acres in cotton some up, & part of his crop of corn worked over. When your Leisure will permit I will be glad if you will inform me how much cotton he has planted this spring, & how much corn & other grain, & grass. When I receive your letter, I can better judge of what reliance can be reposed in his statements

Your cousin Andrew and myself were truly astonished, at the unaccountable conduct in sending Hutchings after the colts & returning them back, to be an incumbrance there after the engagement made on them here—and I was truly mortified on being informed by Steel that he had turned them into training to run at the spring races in Tenness. I was in hopes, on your arrival you would have started Alexander on with them forthwith, & I still hope you have done this—had the colts not be turned back they would have been now here resting, growing, and fattening; and your filly would, I have no doubt, won the sweepstake in the fall. If she does she worth to you \$8000 May still do it if she gets here in time and before the fly season & Summer is on—do tell me whether Hutchings had not his colt sent for to be trained, and whether others were not to be trained at the turf at the Hermitage—have the Turf closed, plowed up & permit not a horse to be galloped upon it.

I have nothing new to inform you, more than you will see from the papers. Houstons beating Stansbury has taken up better than two weeks, & those high dignitaries & pr would be priviledged order, has voted their power to punish a citizen for whipping a member of Congress distant from the Congress Hall, and when it was not in session by a majority of seventeen. The people will inquire into this act of usurpation, & make these little Tyrants who have thus voted feel the power of the people. I inclose for your amusement a well drew caricature of the scenee, taken from the real facts & deposed to by senator Buckner a witness who was present—preserve it.¹

give my love to Sarah & deliver to her the inclosed letter, and make my kind respects to Emma, and Thomas, and to all my connections & good neighbours, & believe me your affectionate father.

Andrew Jackson

P. S. I pray you to hasten the completion of the monument over My Dr wifes Grave—and let not my hands be taken from the crop—we must endeavour to make a good crop this year A. J.

ALS, DLC (40).

1. On May 11, the House of Representatives had concluded Houston's trial by voting, 106 to 89, that he was "guilty of a contempt and violation of the privileges of this House" and should be brought to the bar of the House to be reprimanded by the Speaker. Speaker Stevenson administered the reprimand on May 14 (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 3014–22). Missouri senator Alexander Buckner had witnessed Houston's attack on Stanbery. He testified in the House trial on April 23 and 25 that Stanbery threw up his hands and turned to run at Houston's assault. Houston jumped on his back and Stanbery carried him some ways, then fell on the ground and put up his feet, crying out "wild heterogeneous expressions" including "oh don't," "dont strike me any more," and "please sir, oh Lordy" (*House Journal*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 636–38, 662, Serial 215).

From Henry Baldwin

Philadelphia 13 May 1832

Dear Sir

Since the receipt of Mr Lacocks letter enclosed to you in my last I have received a duplicate from him which he authorises me to copy & send you there can therefore be no objection to your retaining the one now in your possession

I have reflected much and anxiously on the subject of putting interrogatories to Lacock; you have been deceived, betrayed, and publicly attacked, by a sett of men who sought your confidence merely to advance their own interest and ambition, and you know that with such men it is a practical rule in their political morals never to forgive the man they have injured. If you have not already had sufficient proof of this being their rule of action, I shall be much disappointed if many months elapse before it becomes most manifest; not only by the course of those who have been your open assailants but of others who have remained behind the curtain, rehearsing their parts preparatory to public exhibition. Thus far you have made out a triumphant vindication of your own conduct in relation to them, your friends are proud of it, & the country has approved and will sustain it, but you have not done with the man who assailed you before the public of duplicity towards him It is not enough for you to repel this charge on yourself only you owe it both to your own character and to your friends, to retort & fasten the charge on him, by evidence which he cannot impair, and which no one will doubt: that evidence is not only in your power, but

offered to you by a witness whose personal veracity is above reproach, who has stood towards you in an attitude in which no one can impute a personal or political bias in your favor. Tho he yet avows himself to be your opponent in politicks he offers to do you justice in relation to a matter concerning which you have and ought to have an anxious desire that the public should appreciate your course, and correctly understand that of your enemy and accuser His testimony is offered in writing in answer to interrogatories and you ought certainly to wish it so taken as to expose it to no objections which will weaken its effect, and give it the greatest possible weight in public opinion. Your experience & observation have no doubt often led you to remark on the difference in the effect produced by a declaration, written statement, or deposition made in the presence of the opposite party, where he had the opportunity of explanation or cross examination; and where it is made *ex parte* without either From mine and Lacocks letters you are well informed as to the proper subjects of inquiry, and cannot be taken by surprise, in the answers which will be given, no doubt in conformity with former statements—when this is done on notice to J. C. C. he can complain of no unfairness or secret means and Mr Lacock will not be exposed to the imputation of having volunteered his interference in the controversy. The disclosure will be much more full than you could obtain in any other manner; the letter of Lacock to J. C. C. would be an unquestioned document of the greatest possible weight, from his having received it and by his silence admitted the correctness of its contents, and this can be had in no other way than the one proposed You will observe that there is no restriction imposed as to the questions to be put, except such as may relate to “those not now before the public” and these are not your mark There are no considerations which in my mind can balance these Mr Lacock wants or expects no favor from you neither can he have any expectation of putting you under any personal obligation he is now disposed to make a full statement in answer to questions of which a copy shall be sent to J. C. C. events may possibly occur which may induce him hereafter to be less willing when he finds his offer has not been accepted He must now feel bound to make the required statement but hereafter he will not be so unless he is willing if there is already or should be any political coalition between Mr Clay & J. C. C. that may furnish a reason why Mr Lacock would be unwilling to furnish any statement calculated to injure the personal or political standing of the latter Tho from the evidence already in your possession there can be no doubt of the nature and extent of the communications between him & J. C. C. on the subject of your confidential letter yet much of it must depend on inference and construction and you cannot expect to have the same means of nailing your accuser to the counter as you would have by an explicit definite answer in writing admitting of no doubt as to its meaning & extent We both have good reason to know the course taken by him in the Senate on the Seminole war and that the whole correspondence

was known to him from his conversation with and his letters to me he must have conferred fully and freely with the other. You can have the whole authentically stated in the mode pointed out but cannot have it so full or satisfactory without it and your triumph may be less complete owing to your having omitted the means necessary to enforce it. Lacock may die and those who represent him be unwilling to have any reference made to his papers or correspondence on this subject.

I have taken the liberty of making these suggestions and urging them on your consideration in hopes that you will reconsider and change the opinion expressed in your letter it is done solely from an earnest wish that you may the best possible means of making out in your own favor and against your enemy not only a strong and conclusive case in your own favor but against him There is in my opinion no man in the country who can furnish as powerful testimony as Mr Lacock he is of all others the best possible witness you could expect to have

I am very glad to hear that you are in good health & spirits[.] yours with esteem

Henry Baldwin

ALS, DLC (40). AJ wrote to Calhoun and replied to Baldwin on May 28 (both below).

From James Buchanan

Thomas' Hotel, Berkeley Square, London
14 May 1832.

Dear Sir,

We arrived in Liverpool on the 3d. Instant & in this City on the 8th. On our way, between the two places, we passed over the rail road to Manchester & visited Birmingham, the ruins of Kenilworth Castle, Warwick Castle, Stratford upon Avon, the castle of Blenheim, Oxford, &c. &c. Agriculture is much further advanced in England than in the best portions of our own Country. Every spot is cultivated, & this gives a richness & beauty to the face of the Country which renders it delightful at the present season. We expect to leave here for St. Petersburg in the Steam Packet on Friday next, & trust we shall be at the end of our journey about the first of June.¹

The newspapers will inform you of the resignation of the Whig ministers & its causes; & that the Duke of Wellington is to be again the Premier. From the tone & temper of the papers on the liberal side of the question, the people of our Country may be induced to believe that there will be a revolution in England. Judging from what I have seen & what I have heard, (& my opportunities of obtaining information on both sides of the question have been considerable,) I think such an event very improbable. The King has undoubtedly disgraced himself. All parties admit that

he is a weak man & much under the influence of those around him. One week ago he was the most popular monarch who has sat upon the British throne for centuries: now he is not only detested but despised. Still a revolution is very improbable. The Duke of Wellington, no doubt has pledged himself to carry the Reform Bill or something like it. He believes he will preserve his character for consistency by declaring that he is still opposed to the measure; but that the course of the late ministers had produced such a popular excitement in its favor, ~~that~~ he was compelled to yield to the necessity: & that if he had not accepted office the Bill must have been carried by creating such a number of new Peers as would have destroyed the character & dignity of the House of Lords. The people will ~~accept~~ not refuse the Bill though it be tendered to them by a Tory ~~ministry~~ hands.² Indeed I should not be astonished if Wellington ~~should~~ would again become popular. His windows have been boarded up for some time to prevent the mob from breaking them, & yet it is said when he went to the Palace on Saturday last he was cheered by the people. The truth is that so many of the middle classes which are the bone & sinew of ~~this Country~~ England are interested in the public stocks, in the Church & in the institutions & abuses of the Country, that a popular revolution is at this time a most improbable event. If however the people should obtain such a representation in Parliament as the Reform Bill proposes, I have no doubt this change will eventually lead to the destruction of many abuses, to the advancement of liberty, & it may be finally to a Republican Government. I am persuaded however this last event is far distant.

I have been convinced since I came here that the American character is rapidly rising in the public estimation. Indeed an intelligent American informed me yesterday, that in regard to our Country, there was danger, the public feeling here ~~would run~~ having been long in one extreme would run into the opposite. Without flattery, this change in our favor may be in a considerable degree attributed to yourself. I have been in no company since I came to England that your name has not been mentioned in terms of the highest approbation. Your selection first of Mr. McLane & then of Mr. Van Buren for the mission to this Country was in the highest degree auspicious. They were both very popular, & Mr. Van Buren's rejection by the Senate is much regretted.

Permit me however to make one suggestion to you. The tories of this Country cannot possibly love the U.S. or its government. They no doubt ~~blame~~ believe that our example has produced the change in public feeling here which must eventually liberalize the Government & destroy their power. The new administration will be of a rank tory character, & all concessions which they may grant to the people will be extorted. Under all circumstances, would it not be advisable to send a minister here immediately? Such a man as you will select might not only do much good but prevent evil. An able & a firm man who would maintain the rights of his own Country & command the respect of the people here would ~~complete~~

confirm the favorable impression which has already been made. Such a minister could not have a better auxiliary than Mr. Vail, in the character of Secretary of Legation.

I have met Mr. Levett Harris in London who has been exceedingly friendly & polite.³ He gave me an introduction to Prince Lieven with whom he seems to be on intimate terms. The Prince has treated me with great kindness. Indeed he immediately offered to send by his courier any communications which I might have to make to Mr. Clay, & I embraced this opportunity of writing to him to have suitable accommodations prepared for us on our arrival. Russia now exercises a vast power over the affairs of Europe. The internal condition of both England & France is such as to leave her almost uncontrolled.

I am much pleased with Mr. Barry. I find him to be an agreeable & intelligent companion & no doubt he will be useful to me.⁴

These crude speculations for your private use have been written in much haste this morning for the mail. Up till this time, with the exception of the Premier, the members of the new Cabinet are not yet known. I again repeat, that whether the Wellington administration shall long continue or not—there will be no revolution. I think it will continue for some time.

I have already seen enough in this Country to make me thank my God I was born an American rather than an Englishman. Ever your friend with gratitude & respect

James Buchanan

P.S. Please to remember me to the members of your family, Mr. Barry & Mr. McLane. If it be not too much trouble, I would thank you to inform the latter that his letter to Mr. Bates has rendered me essential service.⁵

ALS, DLC (40). *Works of James Buchanan*, 2:187–90.

1. Buchanan sailed from London to Hamburg and then traveled overland to St. Petersburg, arriving June 2.

2. The Reform Bill to overhaul the system of parliamentary representation and expand the franchise had passed the House of Commons but stalled in the Lords, which had rejected a previous version in 1831. When Earl Grey and his Whig Cabinet proposed on May 8 to make a majority for the Bill by creating fifty or more new peers, King William IV balked, and instead accepted their resignations on May 9. William asked Tory leader and former prime minister Arthur Wellesley (1769–1852), Duke of Wellington, to form a new government to pass a reform measure. Wellington, who had himself opposed the Reform Bill, was unable to assemble a Tory ministry in its support. He admitted failure on May 15, and the Grey ministry resumed power. On May 18 William IV approved the plan to create new peers. It proved unnecessary, as Tory opponents in the Lords absented themselves and allowed the Reform Bill to pass on June 4. It received the King's assent on June 7.

3. Levett Harris (d. 1839) of Philadelphia had been U.S. consul and chargé d'affaires at St. Petersburg between 1803 and 1817.

4. John Waller Barry (1810–1837), an Army lieutenant and son of AJ's postmaster general, had sailed with Buchanan as private secretary.

5. Joshua Bates (1788–1864) from Massachusetts was a partner in the London banking firm Baring Brothers & Co.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington May 15th 1832—

Dr Andrew

I was certain that the mail of this morning would have brought me a letter from you. Govr. Carrol who reached here yesterday & left Nashville on the 29th. ulto. informed me, that he learned at Bolingreen K.y. that you had passed there. I trust you & Sarah reached the Hermitage with Emma in good health. I have not had a line from Hutchings, nor no intelligence whether he delivered the girl safe at the Hermitage.

I have just recd. the inclosed from your brother John and inclose it that you may be informed of his sentiments on the subject of Saml and Alexanders land. The law, as yet, has not passed dividing the survayors District of St Louis. When it does I will nominate him for Arkansa.¹ Judge Overton is now here, his health good—and regrets that he had the colts turned back. Major Donelson is waiting with anxiety to hear of there coming on. When Steels letter came advising that they had started, he engaged Lotts and Stables for them, in the country, for which he is now paying.

With my love to Sarah, & compliments to Emma, and your brother Thomas & all our connections I am your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, MoSW (20-0527).

1. A bill was before Congress to create a new public land surveying district for Arkansas Territory, separate from Missouri and Illinois. It became law on June 15, and AJ wrote AJ Jr. again about the surveyorship on June 21 (below). It appears that AJ had here confused AJ Jr.'s brother John Donelson with his cousin, the surveyor John Donelson Jr.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington 19th. of May 1832

Dear Andrew

I have just recd. your letters of the 1rst. & 6th. of May with those from Sarah inclosed. I am relieved from the great anxiety I had about your safety & health, as about that time many steam Boat accidents had taken place—as you are now at home with your Dr Sarah & Emma in good health I hope you will be all happy, and spend your time pleasantly—write me often, for as yet, I cannot say whether it will be in my power to visit you at the Hermitage this summer. I cannot see when congress will adjourn. Write me the situation of Sarah and if I cannot go home I will meet her at Guiendot in due time to bring her to this place before she becomes too clumsey to travel. Emile presented Major Donelson last night

with a fine son. Sarah I hope in due season may present you with a fine daughter—if so, I will claim to name it *Rachel*.¹

I have been mortified with the course pursued with the colts. Steel well knew that I was opposed to have any horses trained on my farm, or track in my plantation. Stockly Donelson was to have furnished *one*, you & Andrew has Alexander employed at \$25 pr month—engagements was made on the colts, Alexander sent on, Stockly refuses to have any thing to do in the concern—a tract at your request opened on the farm, the colts trained, trial made, the colts started agreeable to instructions sent after, & brought back, fearful that it might injure my character, but returned, and my farm made a training Stable of, the very way to injure me, and Stockly, agrees to pay half the expence; all the expence of Alexander from the time he left here, half the expence whilst in Tennessee & returning here with half the expence of Stables & Lotts engaged for them by Major Donelson—no my son Stockly only means the pittance whilst there—no my son, your engagements with Major Donelson you must comply with and Alexanders wages must be paid until he returns, therefore the colts must be sent on here, or a training stable procured some where else than on our farm and Major Donelson exonerated by you & Stockly paying all expence that has & will accrue by detaining Alexander. This I am sure Stockly will not do. Therefore the colts I hope before this reaches you have been sent on—indeed I had a hope that the moment you got home you would have started them. Hutchings & Steel both well knew that the colts were to be sent on, and that my plantation was only thro' necessity made a training ground. I am constrained to believe that there was some intention in their being turned back more to benefit others than you & Major Donelson and for this act I blame Mr Steel, and I have lost all confidence in him—have the Virginia filly by Stockholder and her colt by Bolivar well taken care of and fed well upon oats corn & grass, as well as the sway backs, and the oscar fillys. These young colt are valuable, and altho the oscar filleys colt by citizen does not look well at present—it has the blood. feed the mare well and I have no fear but it will come out. The citizen is now the best blooded horse in your country, and unless my mares can be sent to the Stockholder, the oscar filly particularly, I wish them put to citizen—but as to this, do as you please, and send the Virginia filly to crusader—still I think citizen the best blooded horse—and this year it may be as well to put him to all the mares.

I wish you to have the House finished & the monument in the garden spedily—see Mr Morrison, and have a fair settlement with him & with Steel—the House and monument I hope will be finished before I reach there in july—on the monument being finished, say to Mr Josiah Nichol to pay Morrison the ballance of the thousand dollars yet unpaid, but not until the work is finished. My memorandom as to all other matters will govern you.² The deficiency of Pork you must make up. Middlings for the negroes are the best.

I must close for the present. My letters will give you my wishes and your discretion must supply the rest. I inclose you a letter from your friend McCauley. I have recd the present & will attend to his request of the Pictures. If you write him inclose the letter to me & I will have it forwarded to him—deliver the inclosed to Sarah, present my affectionate regards to Emma, to Thomas and all my connections & good neighbours & believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (40).

1. Emily and AJ Donelson's third child, John Samuel Donelson (1832–1863), was born on May 18. AJ Jr.'s daughter Rachel Jackson was born on November 1.

2. This was the memorandum written about March 31 (above).

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington May 19th. 1832—

My Dear Sarah

Your letters of the 1st. & 8th. of May, under cover of Andrews have been this day recd. which relieved me from that anxiety under which I laboured to hear of your safe arrival at home being *there* in health & safety, with Andrew Emma, and my good neighbours, I hope you will enjoy be happy, enjoying contentment and ease. I look forward with great solicitude to join you at the Hermitage nothing could afford me such pleasure, but as yet, I cannot form a judgt. when congress will adjourn, or whether this happiness will be afforded this year. I will write you as soon as I can determine this point

I sincerely regret the ravages made by the frost in the garden, and particularly that the willow at the garden gate is destroyed. This I wish you to replace. The willows around the tomb I hope is living, and a branch from one of them might replace the dead one at the gate—it will grow if well watered if planted on the recpt of this.

I have the pleasure to inform you that Emile presented the Major with a fine boy last night half after ten. She was at dinner, sat with us in the parlour until nine, and when the company left me, and ~~when~~ I went up to my room I was informed that the child was born. She is in good health & the child large & healthy. I have no time to say more at present—the city is unusually crouded, and I am interrupted by calls from 9 in the morning until ten at night—present me to your dear Andrew, and say to him, I am happy to hear that you think him so very handsome—he must have improved since I saw Thomas, for then I thought Thomas would be amongst the handsomest of the connection except Andrews brother John. May he, Andrew, always improve in your esteem, and you in his, is my prayer, as it will ensure your happiness here, & hereafter and tend to my happiness in my declining years. I present you both with my blessing

Present me to Emma. I still await the fulfilment of her promise in writing to me. Make her as comfortable as you can—write me often & believe me to be your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I am happy that you have seen poor poll, under your care she will be safe—for this bird I have a great regard—it was my dear wives and I hope it may be preserved as long as I live—take care of her.¹ A.J.

ALS, THer (20-0542). *Nashville Banner*, January 21, 1911.

1. Poll the parrot, purchased in 1827, had been a favorite pet of Rachel Jackson.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington May 24th 1832

My Dr Son

I have this morning recd. your letter of the 14th instant with much pleasure and satisfaction, and am pleased that the colts are sent on—you know my son, how loth I was to have any horses trained on my farm. It was that, which might have been construed that I was encouraging racing, not when I was giving them to you, and Andrew, and them sent away & run else where. I hope they will reach their stables provided for them by Major Donelson, and that your filly may prove profitable to you—and the other two also. I have no wish to acquire wealth for myself, if I can add to your & Sarahs comforts whilst I live, and leave you comfortable and independent of the world when I die, I am contented.

I approve your sending the oscar filly to Crusader, it will be pleasing & profitable to Mr Cryer, and my son I expect you to exercise your discretion in all things about the farm. I have full confidence in you, but why I give you memorandums *now* is, that you want experience, are entering into life, without a sufficient knowledge of mankind or of the world—and having a little property, you will be beset by swindlers, to obtain it if they can wrongfully from you.

I am happy to learn that my Stock is in such good condition & that my negroes are in good health & contented and all things going on well.

I wish you to bring to a close the accounts with Steel, settle the whole with him amicably, if you can, and take his receipt—and also with Mr Morrison—remember the old adage, “that short settlements makes long friends,” & never pay mony without a receipt—with Steel, take into account the season of Bolivar last year—after a settlement you can judge better if he ought to be continued longer than the present year and before he is notified of a change be certain that you can get another that will do as well as him. I think him honest, but unacquainted with accounts but in your settlement you will be able to conclude whether I am mistaken in the

good opinion I have formed of him—he never ought to have blended his accounts with mine, and if he had not, there was no need of a settlement, or any difficulty in our accounts, as every year my account was settled for articles furnished for the use of the farm with Mr Josiah Nichol who furnished them, and In your settlement it will be necessary to advert to Mr Nichols accounts and examine them *well* to see whether I am not charged with for mony advanced for those articles contained in Steels acpts. and charged to me.

I wish you to direct & see that the colts, viz, the two year old filly by Stockholder & the Bolivar colts, are well fed; Their food ought to be mostly oats & grass, much corn injures their legs, particularly in hot weather. These colts if well attended to will be valuable.

Sarah writes me about a Carpet for the dining room & some table linnen and common furniture for the Table. There were abundant supply of table linnen &c &c when we left the Hermitage, but I suppose it must have gone the same way as the sheets. I have said in my letter to Sarah inclosed that a carpet must be bought for the dining room. There is always a supply of carpets made by the Shakers, to be had at Mr Nichols, and she must buy such furniture as the House wants, having an eye to a proper economy. This you will have done agreeable to her directions. I have named the domestic carpet, as it will be cheaper and better than an oil cloth or matt.

I must close as it is very late and I am wearied with the labours of the day. I will have the Globe and other papers sent to you—with my love to Sarah & Emma & all friends beleve me to be your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P. S. Mr Earle Major Donelson & Emily & Major Lewis all send their affectionate regards. Emily is doing well, and the son grows finely. I am crouded for these two days with the delegates from the Baltimore convention, where it nominated Van Buren by a unanimous vote—Vanburen getting more than $\frac{2}{3}$ the first Ballot.¹ This to me is a source of much gratification. The coalition is prostrate & the Tariff is settled the ultras & nulifiers with Calhoun & Clay at their head, is prostrate forever A J

ALS, DLC (40).

1. A “Republican” convention to nominate AJ’s vice-presidential running mate met in Baltimore from May 21 to May 23. Each state was allotted as many delegate votes as it would hold in the next electoral college, and a two-thirds majority was required for nomination. On the first ballot on May 22, Van Buren received 208 votes, followed by Philip P. Barbour with 49 and Richard M. Johnson with 26. The convention then endorsed Van Buren unanimously.

From Graves W. Steele

Hermitage May 25th. 1832

der Sir

your Letter baring date the 3d. of this inst has bin riced & your ordeirs as it respects the colts has bin Complied with¹—you Say to me in your letter that you was informd that the Sway Back mair was in bad Condition when delivered to Major Donelsons over Seier I war astonished to hear of that all thoe knowing what base Scoundrell Mr Donelsons over Seier was & thinking at the Same time that him or Som otheer Base person maut Say that the Mair was in bad health or in bad Condition I had her examined by Sevrell of the Kneighbours hoo informd me that the had never befoar seen this mair in as goo condition I will refeer you to Mr Cryer hoo See her onley a few days befoar She was Sent off all So to Thos J Donelson hoo war present & hoe I got all So to examine her I can asure you Sir that the mar was in two high keeping at that time for aney kind of Servise & I will feal trewley thankful to you for in for mation of the person who has maid or communicktied this to you which is Base & holey destitute of truth I am confident that it is and that doe not wish you well in Boddey or mind²

I hope that your Son will make in qurey in to Such things & give you the necessary in for mation about matters & things that ar concerning the plantation I have prest on Andrew to pay Strict attention to the manigement & manner in which your affairs has bin conductied during your absence but it appears that he dont take the least pride or feill the least intrusted in the farm or aney thing their pertaining I hope that f he will give you the necessary in for mation about the concerns of the farm. I regret to in form you of the destructive rain that fell on the 23 third of this month I think that I had the pirtiest prospect for a crop of cotton that I have had Since year 1826 but the heavey torrent of rain has blastied it I had Just put my cotton to a Stand & I think that their has bin about one fifth part of the crop entirley washed up & the ballance of it beet to the ground the plantation more washed than it has in all during the last foar years[.] respectfuley in confidence

Graves W. Steele

ALS, DLC (40).

1. This was probably the letter noted by AJ on an envelope from Steele: "Graves Steel—25th. of april 1832—recd. 2nd. of May 1832. answered—rebuking the order for colts to return & the training for to run in Tennessee & order them on. The oscars filly to be well fed—the colt will improve—A. J." (DLC-40).

2. AJ Donelson's overseer was Burnard Warner Holtzclaw (c1800–1842), whom AJ would hire to replace Steele at the end of the year.

Drafts on a Conversation with Joshua Noble Danforth

[The House of Representatives voted down resolutions offered by William Stanbery and Lewis Conduct on May 14 and 17 to investigate whether Jackson had instigated or countenanced violence against members of Congress. On May 26, the Washington Globe ran an editorial entitled "The Conversations of the President," attacking what it called "monstrous fabrications" that were "intended to supply the place of proofs, and to support the insidious allegations . . . so artfully interwoven in the rejected resolutions." Identifying reports of Jackson's April 20 conversation at the White House with Reverend Danforth as "the groundwork of the monstrous charges," the article gave a detailed narrative of that conversation. The three memoranda below, the first two in Jackson's handwriting and the third in Andrew J. Donelson's, furnished the apparent basis for the Globe account, which followed their substance and some of their language.]

April 20th. 1832—

The proceedings of congress vs Houston. The conversation was introduced by the Revd. Mr Danforth—about the proceeding against Genl Houston. In which he justified the course & power of congress over a private citizen, & approbated the conduct of Stansbury & disapproved that of Genl Houston. The President denied any constitutional power in congress to arrest a private citizen beyond its wall, and for acts done to a member of congress, which did not interrupt their proce[edings] that every citizen was equally under the protection of the law, and the only privilege a member of congress had more than a citizen, was the freedom from arrest—and freedom from suits for words spoken in debate—and if members of congress deviating from their constitutional duty, & would bring into debate private character for the object of slander & abuse he might expect that the slandered citizen would seek—redress. The Revd. Mr Danforth, condemned an assault upon any member under any circumstances. The President replied with some zeal, and asked him if he did not condemn more seriously the slanderer—that for my his part, I he had, & would ever view, the slandered worse than the murderer—for the murdered only took away life, & left the good character to descend as the good heritage to his children, instead of leaving him a living a monument of disgrace, & detailing infamy on his children. Mr Danthforth replied that Genl Houston was a favorite of mine, therefore my feelings were warm in his favor, I replied he was mistaken in saying he was a favorite of mine or believing that I had even seen him since the Assault. I viewed his case the case of every citizen, that Genl Houston had great claims for his services. That the members of congress when out of the House were like

all other citizen protected by the law. That there were no privileged order under the constitution and I hoped never would be, that all the protection the President had was the law like other citizens & it was enough. That Mr Stansbury could indict or sue Genl Houston—but the Genl could not sue him for his slanders delivered in debate—whatever he might do, for deliberately writing out & publishing it. This is a summary

A. J

ADS, THi (20-0316).

Substance of a private conversation between the Revd. Mr. Danforth and the President in the presence of his father & friend—detailed, as it appears, by Mr Barringer who came in at the time to introduce a female friend—and altho' a private conversation he has given it publicity & a false colouring.¹

After talking over our revolution with the old gentleman, the conversation was introduced, (the President thought by the Revd. Mr D. but he says by his father,) relative to the arrest & confinement of Genl Houston for an assault upon Stansbury, when I took occasion to remark, that his arrest & confinement by congress was an act of usurpation, not warranted by any grant in the constitution; ~~and~~ that the punishment of Houston for the violation of the law, belonged to the judiciary not to congress, its power being confined to its walls, & not beyond them. I added, congress had nothing do with private citizens in their deliberations, and it might rest assured, that if it did not restrain its members from such disorderly behaviour as introducing private citizens into their debates, for the purpose of slandering them, by exercising its constitutional powers by expelling those members who do it, for disorderly behaviour many such results as Stanburees would occur.

Mr Stansbury, in reply asked if I justified the such conduct of as Genl Hs. by way of answer, I asked, if he justified members in slandering private citizens in debate, with whom, or with whose character a member of congress had nothing to do. he replied he did not, but a citizen ought not violate the law by an assault & battery on a member of congress, for any thing used in debate. I replied that is true—but if a members violated their constitutional duty, under the cowardly cloak of the constitution, by pronouncing the most vilal & unfounded slanders & then retired to their rooms wrote them out, and give them publicity thro' the Tellegraph to the four corners of the world, for which he the member was not answerable by suit for slander²—what was a citizen to do; was he to silently submit to the loss of his own character, & that of his wife or daughter, (for not only male but the female character had been assailed with the walls of congress) and drag out a miserable life, living as a monument of his own disgrace, and leaving at his death that disgrace as a legacy to his children—as for my part I ever had, & still viewed the slanderer worse than the murdered. The

murderer only took away the life of the parents, leaving their good name as a valuable heritage to the children, whilst the slanderer having deprived the parents of their good character, left them as monuments of disgrace, which descended to the children. I assured My Revd. friend that this was such a course that the free citizens of america would not submit to, nor would I, if I was a private citizen—and adverted to the case of the Prime Minister of France, who is ex officio, a member of their House of deputies, & who in debate had brought into discussion the character of a French citizen & charged him with crime who was in hearing, and who awaited the adjournment of the House & met him beyond its walls & chastised him. The Deputy & prime minister complained to the House, who refered him to the judcial authority for his redress; This course I observed was the proper course and one which I approved, the law being the protector of all, and the proper functionary to execute them law was the judiciary, who I had no doubt would in all such cases punish the violater of the law ~~exemplary~~ with just severity and when congress would punish their disorderly members, who slandered a private citizen (which Mr. D. agreed with me nothing could be more disorderly then, such scenes as had taken place, would cease to exist, or disturb the peace of society)—

Mr Berringer who was present appeared to assentd to all my propositions, & since it appears, has voted for the power to be in congress to punish a citizen for contempt if the act was 1000 miles distant³

AD, NjP (20-0318).

1. North Carolina congressman Daniel Laurens Barringer (1788–1852) had been present at the conversation, and was the presumed source of the newspaper accounts of it criticizing AJ's temper and language.

2. The *National Intelligencer*, not the *Telegraph*, had first published Stanbery's remarks in the House about Houston.

3. Barringer had voted for the May 11 House resolutions finding Houston guilty and ordering him to be reprimanded.

The assault of Houston upon Stansbery—

The conversation so often alluded to on this subject between the President and the Revd. Mr. Danforth was a private one and occurred in the presence of the Father of Mr. Danforth and his friend. In the midst course of it Mr. Barringer a member of congress from North Carolina called to introduce a female friend to the President. The part of the conversation which occurred after his introduction to the room, altho private, he has detailed to the public ~~and~~ with much false coloring.

The following is substantially the history of the whole conversation.

It commenced with a very natural ~~recurrence~~ reference to such incidents of the revolution as may be supposed to be familiar to two persons of the age of the President and the elder Mr. Danforth; after which ~~the old Gentleman introduced~~ the subject of Genl Houstons arrest was introduced and the circumstances ~~attending~~ which produced his assault

upon Stansbery. In reply to his some of Mr Ds remarks the President with his characteristic frankness and candour stated generally the views which he entertained of the powers of congress over cases of contempt. The substance of these remarks was that according to his understanding of the facts Genl. Houston had not committed a contempt, because he did not consider the power of congress to punish in this summary way as extending to offences which occurred beyond its walls and which could not interrupt its deliberations. The President referred to the clause of the constitution from which this power ~~was~~ is drawn and to the other clauses of the constitution fixing the limits of the Judiciary power within which he thought Genl Houston was clearly punishable for an assault and Battery as all other citizens are. He added that the proceedings of congress in this case clearly shew the insufficiency of their power to apply the proper correction and that therefore they were calculated rather to weaken than fortify the principle on which this question of privilege rested: and as a natural consequence from such premises proceeded to shew what danger there was if Congress persevered in the assertion of such a power of its imposing its claims as a body to the respect and reverence of the citizens.

Mr. Danforth asked if ~~I~~ the President justified such conduct as Genl Houston's. The President asked in reply, if he justified the conduct of members of Congress when they brought into debate the character of private citizens for the purpose of traducing it. Mr. Danforth ansd. that he did not, but that a citizen should not violate the law by committing an assault upon a member of congress for words spoken in debate. The President replied that he agreed with him—that the only difference between them was not as to the offence of the citizen but the proper tribunal to punish it. The President then spoke ~~of~~ with much feeling and warmth of the situation of a citizen who finds himself dragged unnecessarily into the debates of Congress where his character may be slandered and traduced without his enjoying the opportunity of self defence, & without even the power of appealing for protection to the courts of justice. He painted with his usual force of language the feelings of a high minded and honorable man who hears such a slander not only uttered within the walls of the house but afterwards sees it in the public prints published ~~by the~~ under the guaranty of the privilege claimed for the member who uttered it: and asked what was the citizen to do? He assured his Revd. friend that the free citizens of this ~~could not~~ country would not submit to injuries of such a character nor would he were he a private citizen. He adverted to the case of the Prime minister of France who is ex officio a member of the House of Deputies and who brought into discussion upon the floor of debate the character of a French citizen. This citizen after the adjournment of the House met the minister beyond its walls and chastised him. The Deputy and Prime Minister complained to the House but the house referred him to the courts of justice.

The President observed that this was the proper course in as much as the law was the protector of all, and the Judiciary the proper tribunal to administer in cases of such a character: That with the aid of this tribunal and the exercise of the power clearly vested in the House to punish its own members for disorderly conduct there would be no difficulty in ~~keeping the peace~~ preserving order and peace both within and out of the doors of Congress.

Mr. Barringer appeared to assent to all the propositions of the President: altho he voted for the power of the House to punish Gnl Houston.

D in AJ Donelson's hand, NjP (20-0322).

To John Caldwell Calhoun

May 28th. 1832—

The following interrogatories are intended to be submitted to Abner Lacock Esqr. of Pennsylvania for his answer thereto.

Did Mr. John C. Calhoun at any time during the session of Congress in the winter of 1818–19, or at any other time, mention to you my confidential letter to Mr. Monroe dated 6th. of January 1818, relative to Florida and the Seminole War, shew you the letter or a copy, thereof or speak of its contents? Did he ever tell you, that letter had been answered? If yea, what did he say was the substance of that answer, If nay, did he give any reason why an answer was not given, and what? What did you understand to be Mr. Calhouns object in speaking to you of that letter? Did Mr. Calhoun at any time, and when, communicate to you the views expressed or the course pursued by him in Mr. Monroes Cabinet in relation to my conduct in the Seminole War? If yea, what were these views and that course?

What opinion if any, did Mr. Calhoun express to you as, at the time of your conversation, entertained by him relative to my orders and the manner in which I had executed them? Was your object in consulting ~~him~~ Mr. Calhoun to procure information to aid you in framing your Report upon my conduct in the Seminole War, made to the Senate on the ____ day of February 1819? Did Mr. Calhoun understand that to be your object? Did Mr. Calhoun see your Report or any part of it before it was made? Did he, before it was made or afterwards, in direct allusion to the Report or otherwise, express to you his concurrence in the views therein expressed? What other views, or opinions, or facts, if any, relative to my conduct or his in the affair of the Seminole War, did Mr. Calhoun communicate to you at that or any other time?

· May 1832 ·

Has any thing passed between you and Mr. Calhoun since the session of congress in 1818–19, explanatory of his conduct or mine in relation to the seminole war and the incidents which grew out of it? If yea, what.

Andrew Jackson

Washington May 28th. 1832—

Genl A. Jackson takes leave to acquaint Mr. J. C. Calhoun that in collecting facts relative to the Seminole War, for future & historical use, it is deemed necessary to request of Mr. Abner Lacock of Pennsylvania answers to certain interrogatories, a copy whereof is herewith furnished Mr. Calhoun that he may have the opportunity of proposing on his part to Mr Lacock such questions as he may deem proper¹

[*In AJ Donelson's hand:*] The undersigned certifies that he delivered on the 30th. inst to the Honble J. C Calhoun a note of the President to him of which the foregoing is a copy. The undersigned also certifies that the copy of the interrogatories which was enclosed in that note is correct.

Andrew J Donelson
30th. May 1832

ADS copy, DLC (40). Copy, NN (20-0610); *Calhoun Papers*, 11:588–89. ADS draft, Sotheby's, 2002 (mAJs). Draft dated May 21 in AJ Donelson's hand, DLC (73; 20-0612). Calhoun replied on May 31 (below).

1. In the ADS draft, AJ framed this passage as a May 21 covering note to Calhoun from a third party, probably intended to be AJ Donelson, rather than from himself.

To Henry Baldwin

Washington May 28th 1832—

My Dr Sir,

Yours of the 13th. instant was recd. in due course of mail. But surrounded as I have been with business of publick concern I had not time until now to give the subject that due consideration it deserved. I have concluded to adopt your suggestions, and have had delivered to Mr. Calhoun a copy of the inclosed interrogatories, and a copy of the note thereto annexed. This will, I presume, meet the views of Mr. Lacock and induce him to answer the interrogatories agreeable to his promise contained in his letters to you of the 12th of March last.

Will you have the goodness to write and forward the interrogatories herein inclosed to Mr. Lacock, and request him to answer them and inclose a copy of the interrogatories with his answer thereto, to me at as

early a day as will suit his convenience. It is important to me that I should have his answer, as my object & sole object is truth, and to do justice to all men[.] I am with great respect yrs

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PJo (20-0606). ALS draft, DLC (40). ALS draft, T (20-0608). Baldwin forwarded AJ's queries to Lacock, who replied to AJ on June 25 (below).

To Lewis Cass

May 29th. 1832—

The President with his respects to the secretary of war—requests him to send by Colo. Rogers, to Capt Jolly chief of the Cherokees on Arkansa, a medal, in the name, of his friend & father, the President of the U. States

[*Endorsed by John Drew:*] Recd. June 27t. 1832—from E. Herring Esqr. a Medal of the largest size for Capt. Jolly—Col. Rogers having left Washington and having requested me to take charge of it. John Drew

AN, DNA-RG 75 (M234-78). Presidents since George Washington had presented silver peace medals to Indian leaders as tokens of friendship and badges of authority. In 1831 the U.S. Mint at Philadelphia began producing medals with AJ's image in three standard sizes. On June 4, Elbert Herring (1777–1876), head of the War Department's Office of Indian Affairs, wrote Western Cherokee principal chief John Jolly, or Oolooteka (1776–1838), that AJ was sending him a medal of the largest size (about three inches in diameter) as a “testimonial of your Great Father's esteem and friendship” (DNA-RG 75, M21-8). John Drew (1796–1865) was a member of the Western Cherokee delegation in Washington, and James Rogers was the delegation's interpreter.

From Enoch Parsons

Claiborne May 30th. 1832—

Dear Sir

After a delay protracted to seven months upon the road, I have at length reached home, and hope soon to be able to set about my usual avocations. My broken leg (the right one), is some two or three inches shorter than the other one, the thigh very crooked, the foot turned out, and the knee very stiff. My right arm is recovering very slowly, but gradually the elbow, wrist, & finger are still stiff, but since my return home have improved so much that I think I shall soon be able to write &c.¹

In compliance with my promise I now proceed to communicate such information as I have been able (under very disadvantageous circumstances) to obtain relative to the disposition of the Creeks & Cherokees

to emigrate &c. On my way from Knoxville home, I entered the Cherokee nation at Calhoun on Hiwassee River, and from thence passed through the heart of the nation to Wills Creek, being thirteen days on the route. From conversation with the most intelligent of the tribe I discovered that they were fully apprised of the late decision of the Supreme Court, through their agents in Washington, and were much elated thereby. I saw a letter from Wm. S Coody one of their delegates to McCoy a half breed, stating "*that by that decision their independence was forever secured—that they could enjoy their home and their Country in despite of the authority of the U.S.—that the Indians [have] nothing to do but to occupy a neutral position—that their friends in Congress were at work for them. That if war was the co[n]sequence of the decision, it would be a war between the Whites in which the indi[ans have] nothing to do—that the Ridge & others were on to the East Co[ast . . .] good people.*"² In consequence of this feeling and these impressions they [*are*] averse to emigration—and express a strong determination to remain. They are enraged at the Creeks for their late Treaty. They appear to believe th[at] the decision and the further aid of that Court, together with the sup[port they] should receive from their friends in Congress & elsewhere, themselves [. . .] and all other Indian tribes, might maintain their sov[ereignty].

The opposition to the emigration of the Cherokees proceeds [. . .] mainly *from the half breeds, and the whites among* [. . .] whenever it shall be clearly ascertained and understood [. . .] within the several States are to be subjected to the [. . .] States, and that neither *political intriguers in Congres[s nor]* the supreme Court can prevent the States from exercising [. . .] and enforcing their laws they will be willing to emigrate. [. . .] men among Indians, generally speaking have no wish to renew their intercourse with the whites, there being most commonly some good reason why they have heretofore excluded from such intercourse.

I have not as yet been able, & think I never shall be to reconcile the opinio[n] of the supreme Court, with the rights of the several states. By what I have been able to learn since my return home, I think the Creeks prop[erly] managed will emigrate speedily. Present my best [. . .] Donaldson, Maj Donalson, Mr. Trist Col. Campbell & Maj Lewis an[d . . .] my sincere regard &c Yours, &c.

E. P[arsons]

LS, NjP (20-0680). The manuscript is frayed. Parsons (1781–1841) was a lawyer and former Tennessee and Alabama legislator, now residing at Claiborne, Ala. In June he was appointed a commissioner to implement the March 24 Creek treaty. He wrote again on October 12 (below).

1. Parsons had suffered a broken leg and arm in a November 1831 stage accident.

2. William Shorey Coodey (1806–1849) was a member of the recent Eastern Cherokee delegation to Washington. Major Ridge (c1770–1839) was known as The Ridge. However, Parsons must have meant his son John, also a delegation member. From January to March, John Ridge and *Cherokee Phoenix* editor Elias Boudinot had conducted a speaking tour of cities including Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. McCoy was perhaps Alexander McCoy (c1785–1837), clerk of the Cherokee national council.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington May 31st. 1832—

My Dr Andrew

I have this moment recd. your letter, with one from My Dr Sarah enclosed, of the 19th. of May, instant; It always affords me great pleasure to hear from you, and particularly; as I find you are happy & enjoying health. I too could be contented to be with you in retirement, freed from those scenes of corruption that I am surrounded with, and which I am compelled to witness—but I must be resigned to my fate, and be always ready to say “the Lords will be done.” I have not time *now* to write to Sarah, but with affectionate regard, say to her, I will answer her affectionate letter this morning recd. the first leisure moment.

I have only time to say to you that I have duly noted that part of your letter which relates to the purchase of Saml & Alexanders Lotts of Land adjoining me. I wish you to conclude the purchase. The note for which the stud colt was sold, becomes due, in July next for \$500—it is payable in Bank, get it from Mr. Steel, and apply it to the purchase of Alexanders and agree that the ballance shall be paid on next christmas, which shall be complied with by me, on William Donelson & John giving a bond that Alexander will convey when he arrives at full age. With Samuel you will close the contract, and on his executing a Deed, to his Lott agreeable to the survey, you are authorised to draw upon me for fifteen hundred dollars at ten days sight which will be honored & paid by me. My son recollect I pay no interest. Therefore Let Saml make arrangements for letting it out on interest—he can sell your bill on me for cash at Nashville. Should I leave here, I will appoint an agent to take up the bill drew by you as above for \$1500 in favor of Saml.

I wish if it can be done by Steel that Brick be made by the hands on the farm, to put up the Stable for the carriage & saddle horses near the House—you will surely have the carriage put in good repair. I shall meet you & Sarah at Guendot with my carriage to bring Sarah &c on to this place so soon as I determine whether I go to Tennessee or not, I will write you fully.

I was fully aware of the goodness of Mrs. Love & family. I wish you & Sarah to cherish her friendship & her society. She is an amiable Lady & when you see her present me in the kindest manner for her kindness in visiting Sarah with her daughter.¹

With my respects to enquiring friends, and request that you ask Hutchings why he has forgot his promise to write believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, Christie's (Forbes sale #6), May 22, 2007 (mAJs).

1. Frances Peyton Dixon Love (1785–1833) was the wife of AJ's friend and neighbor Charles Jones Love.

From John Caldwell Calhoun

Copy

Washington 31st. May 1832.

Sir

I yesterday recieved from major Donelson your note of the 28th. Inst. covering a long list of interrogatories to be propounded to Abner Lacock Esq. with the view, as you inform me of collecting facts relative to the Seminole war for future and historical use; and a copy of which you state has been furnished me, that I might have an opportunity, on my part of proposing such questions as I may deem proper. I must inform you that I cannot avail myself of the opportunity, however intended, which you have thus afforded me.

If it be your object, as I would infer from the interrogatories, to put my conduct at issue, in the attempt to establish the correctness of your own, I must tell you that you have greatly misconcieved my character, in supposing that I would so far degrade myself, (as I would by joining the issue) as to descend from that lofty elevation, on which, in reference to this whole affair truth and honesty have placed me.

I now occupy the elevated ground of one, who has successfully repelled an unjust and unprovoked attack on his character, from a quarter where he had a right to expect friendship, and who has not the slightest apprehension that the attack can, under any circumstance, be successfully renewed; but were I so weak and destitute of all self respect as to put in cross interrogatories & thus join the issue you tender, it must be obvious that such an act of low minded folly would sink me from my present elevation and present me to the world in the light of a degraded culprit defending himself against the charges of an accuser.

But if it be intended to put, not mine but your conduct in issue; if you now believe that the ground on which you have heretofore placed the defence of your conduct, in the Seminole affair, that your orders authorised the occupation of St Marks and Pensacola, can be no longer sustained, & if acting under this impression you suppose that your name will fill a more respectable page in history by attempting to show that you acted under a secret intimation of the wish of the Executive, in violation of your public orders, I have then to inform you that I have too little interest in the subject, to justify the trouble of putting in, on my part a single interrogatory. Incidentally, indeed, I might be said, even in this vew to have a slight interest. For were it possible for you to prove that you acted under a knowledge of the secret wish of the Executive, which, however, I know to be impossible, at least as far as my knowledge extends, it would only seem to prove demonstratively, had it not already been, that I placed

· May 1832 ·

the true construction on your orders and, of course, that your attack on me was utterly destitute of all foundation[.] very respectfully I am &c &c

J C Calhoun

Copy, NN (20-0683). *Calhoun Papers*, 11:589–90.

June



From Powhatan Ellis

Senate Chamber June 7: 1832

Sir

I have recd. several letters from highly respectable and intelligent gentlemen in Mississippi expressing a wish that Samuel Gwin Esqr should be appointed Register of the Land Office at Clinton. From the best information I have, I am satisfied he is well qualified to discharge with ability and to the entire satisfaction of the Govt the duties of that office. I have felt it my duty to state these facts, so that you may judge of the propriety of re-nominating Mr Gwin to the Senate for the office he now temporarily holds.¹ I have the honor to be your Obedient St

Powhatan Ellis

[Endorsed by AJ:] A renomination to be made to the Senate. This letter with all others on the same subject to accompany the renomination—A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0708). AJ enclosed this letter with his renomination of Samuel Gwin to the Senate on June 11 (below).

1. Despite his rejection by the Senate in December 1831, Gwin still held office under his previously issued recess commission. Under the constitution, a recess commission expired automatically at the end of the next Senate session.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

June 9th. 1832—

My son.

you will hand the inclosed to Sarah presenting the kind regards of Mr Breathitt Col Earle & all the family to her Emma & all enquiring friends.

I am informed that the articles last shipped from Philadelphia had safely reached Neworleans, I hope ere this they have reached you, and that the House is put in good order, and that the workmen have finished & departed.

I am fearful the deranged state of the House has given Sarah a good deal of labour to arrange it—be careful to prevent her from lifting heavy articles—from her situation this might prove injurious.

· June 1832 ·

The colts have not reached Major Donelson. Congress has not yet adjourned & the Lord only knows when it will—with compliment to all my good neighbours & enquiring friends I am affectionately yours

Andrew Jackson

P. S. you might write me once a week what is Thomas doing A. J.

ALS, DLC (40).

From Maunsel White

New Orleans June 9th. 1832

Dear Sir,

I recd. your Letter of the 8th. april enclosed by Mr. S. J. Hays, whose carriage arrived & was duly sent on in Conformity. I have also recd. & forwarded all the articles sent to me for you by Mr. Toland, & should have sooner replied to you, but I was anxious to close the sales of your last lot of Cotton & knowing you were fully engaged with public matters I did not like to trouble you with Letters until it was necessary or important that I should do so. I have been unwell for some days which has been in some measure the cause of the detention of those sales which I now have the pleasure to annex. nt proceeds \$1097⁰⁹/₁₀₀ to your Credit in accot. current, which you will also find annexed, shewing the charges incurred & how I have disposed of the proceeds, by sending the amot. in a check from the B. Bank of the U States to Mr Josiah Nichol Nashville. you will observe that after holding the cotton a considerable time, I at length got for it 11½¢ except for those that were stained, & those he gave me 10½¢ for. the same gentleman bought them, & this morning I was informed by one of the partners of the House to whom yr first lot of cotton was sent in Liverpool that 20 Bales were sold at 8½d sterling—which is the highest quotation, so that your cotton this Season has brot. the highest price at home & abroad. Should you visit the Hermitage this summer, I shall endeavor to wait on you to pay my respects. in mean time I remain most sincerely your Friend & very obt Servt.

Maunsel White

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Col White, acct of sales of cotton & acpt current. recd june 22nd. 1832—ansrd. 23. 1832—A. J.

ALS, DLC (40). White appended an account statement showing that sales of 25 bales of AJ's cotton on May 19 had netted \$1,097.09. From this White had deducted his expenses, including those for forwarding shipped goods from Philadelphia on to the Hermitage, and had sent Josiah Nichol a check for the remaining \$977.39 due to AJ.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington June 10th. 1832

My Dr Sarah

Your affectionate letter of the 31st. ultimo was received just as I was starting to church this morning, and having returned I take my pen to acknowledge its receipt.

I am truly gratified to hear that you and Andrew are contented and happy at the Hermitage I have no fears of your becoming a good House keeper, your taste for neatness will ensure this, and your industrious eye will ensure a faithful fulfilment in the servants in complying with your directions. I will endeavour to visit & spend a short time with you this Summer at the Hermitage and I am sure you & myself can arrange a system of neatness and oconomy in Houskeeping, that will be satisfactory and pleasing to all—you must engage Andrews attention to this part of domestic oconomy, by which your labours will be lightened, by his attention to the servants & seeing that your orders are duly executed. This is his duty and I hope will be performed by him well.

The information that the willows, whose destruction by the Frost I was lamenting, was putting forth from the roots has delighted me, and I have to ask your attention to having the old stoks sawed off near to the earth and the most promising shoots from the root preserved, and the ballance taken from the stock & planted in such place as you & Andrew may think will decorate the yard & lawn most—if the nutts sprout, my Dr Sarah have them well preserved. speak to Mr Steel who will have the old stocks cut down & the young sprouts planted where you may direct—you cannot anticipate the anxiety I have once more to visit the Hermitage. Congress is still in session, doing no good, but intriguing for the Presidency, and the opposition aided by my professed friends, Legislating to exhaust the Treasury, & thereby prevent the payment of the national debt. It is well there is virtue in the people, it has become a scarce commodity in Congress

Emily has not yet left her room but is up & doing well, and the son is a fine & healthy boy. They join in their affectionate regards to you, Andrew, & Emma.

I am happy to hear of Mr. & Mrs. Polks arrival, present us all kindly to them & all enquiring friends.¹

I shall keep the valued little Book which you left until we meet again—if I go on to tennessee I will take it with me, and present it to you—it is a valuable Treasure, and one which you ought *always* to keep.

I shall await the promised letter from Emma with patience—present to her my kind respects, and assure her that from the delay, I shall expect a full discription of her beaus, amongst the other various matter which I anticipate ~~that~~ it will contain—tell her she must put off the wedding until I come. Genl Ward who was with me to day, coincides with me that nothing

but the important subject of matrimony could have engaged her so much as to occupy *all her time* not leaving ~~time~~ a moment to write to a friend—but to be serious, we really expect her to comply with her promise.² The Genl with Mr Breathit, Mr Earle Major Lewis & Mary Ann—(The latter engaged to be married next october, *private*) all join in respects to you, Andrew, & Emma

with my prayers for your & Andrews health & happiness I am your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THer (20-0728). *Nashville Banner*, January 21, 1911.

1. Lucius J. Polk and Mary Ann Eastin Polk.

2. “Genl Ward” was probably New York congressman Aaron Ward (1790–1867).

To [Edward Livingston]

despatch for Mr. Nelson—forth with on the receipt of it to make it known to the Govt. of Naples, that unless within 20 days from the delivery of his note they explicitly promise to admit our claims, and enter upon an adjustment for their final payment, that he is instructed to ask his passports, assuring that Government, that this notification & demand is for the express purpose on the refusal, to enable the President to put into execution all his powers to coerce justice to be done to our merchants. That this step would have been taken on the receipt of the despatches by the Ontario, had it not have been from the assurance in the ministers note that on the return of the minister, whose absence was occasioned by great emergency, & who would return in a few days, the answer promised should be given

AN, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). On January 31, U.S. chargé to the Two Sicilies John Nelson had presented foreign minister Antonio Statella (1785–1864), Prince of Cassaro, with AJ’s demand for a prompt settlement of American spoliation claims still lingering from the Napoleonic wars. Failing to receive a promised reply from Cassaro, and learning that he had left Naples for Sicily, Nelson on March 9 addressed Carlo Avarna (1757–1836), Duke of Gualtieri and head of the council of ministers. Gualtieri replied the same day, explaining that Cassaro had left to attend to urgent family affairs but promising Nelson an answer “without delay.” Nelson wrote Livingston on March 12, enclosing this exchange and accusing the Neapolitan government of deliberate stalling. His dispatch, sent on the sloop *Ontario*, reached Washington on May 6 (DNA-RG 59, M90-2; Howard R. Marraro, ed., *Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies*, vol. 1 [New York, 1951], pp. 214–31). On June 11 Livingston sent instructions to Nelson mirroring this directive by AJ (DNA-RG 59, M77-8). Nelson concluded a claims convention on October 14.

To the United States Senate

[On June 11, Jackson renominated Samuel Gwin of Tennessee for register of the Mount Salus, or Clinton, land office in Mississippi. He had nominated Gwin at the beginning of the current Senate session, on December 8, 1831, and the Senate had rejected him on December 22 by 25 to 13. In its previous session, on February 3, 1831, the Senate had adopted, by 22 to 10, a resolution by George Poindexter of Mississippi declaring it “inexpedient to appoint a citizen of any one State to an office which may be created or become vacant in any other State of the Union within which such citizen does not reside, without some evident necessity for such appointment” (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:150–51, 181, 188–89).

Presented here are two drafts of Jackson’s message renominating Gwin. The first is from Jackson’s private memorandum book. It in part echoes a protest which Jackson had drafted, but not sent in to the Senate, some time after Gwin’s initial rejection in December 1831 (Jackson Papers, 9:791–94). The second draft, dated May 11, in Andrew J. Donelson’s hand with corrections by Jackson, closely resembles the message as delivered on June 11. On July 10 the Senate voted to table the renomination, 27 to 17 (Senate Executive Proceedings, 4:272–73).]

The rejection of Mr Saml Gwin, and if renominated to be incorporated in the Message—

On the 3. of February 1831, the following motion submitted by Mr Poindexter was considered and agreed to by the senate “Resolved, that it is inexperience to appoint a citizen of any State to an office which may be created, or become vacant, in any other State of the union within which such citizen does not reside, without some evident necessity for such appointment.” Inasmuch as the Senate have not the power to “appoint” an individual to an office within any of the States, this resolution must be considered & understood as having been intended to *controle* the President in his nominations. This understanding of it is confirmed to be correct by reference to a resolution offered by Mr Poindexter on the 23rd. of Decbr. 1830 in respect to the appointment of Surveyor Genl of Public Lands south of Tennessee, and the very recent rejection of Samuel Gwinn Esqr to be Register of the land office at Clinton; Miss.¹

The President in matters of appointment is called upon to discharge a delicate and highly responsible duty—that he might fulfil, and faithfully and truly discharge it the constitution does not confine or restrain him to ~~any constitutional~~ in his selections to any territorial boundaries, and any attempt on the part of the senate, to impose restraints on the Executive which were not contemplated by the constitution must be regarded as without the sphere of their duty, as acts of usurpation, and

by the Executive firmly resisted. It is highly proper to pay great regard to the pretensions of applicants for office residing within the state where the office is to be filled, and such is & has been the practice of the Executive, but he does not regard an individual who like Mr Gwinn has rendered important services to his country, is poor, & possesses every necessary qualification to discharge the duties of the office, disfranchised because he happens then to be an inhabitant of another state, particularly when the office is one, the duties of which appertain to the sale of the *public* land which is the property of *all* the states in common. If the senate have the right to instruct the President whom it is “*inexpedient*” to appoint, before any nomination is made, it also possesses the right of determining what *class* or *sect* of men it is *expedient* to appoint, and in fact what particular individual should be appointed. If they have the right to confine him to a particular state the same principle will justify them in restricting him to an individual. It is not denied but ~~the~~ that the senate have the *power* to enforce the principles of their resolution, as they can continue to reject the nominations of person who are obnoxious to it; but the *right* does not always follow the *ability* to do an act—& the President having the perfect right to nominate, will resist the power. If the Executive was tamely to submit to the resolution, he would in effect, surrender the appointing power to the senate, and thus contravene the intention of the constitution. The constitution makes it the duty of the Executive to nominate, and the senate to confirm or reject an individual thus nominated, if he is not honest, fit, & capable, but if honest fit & capable, they are bound by that solemn instrument, to confirm him, whithersoever in these united states he may reside—but they have no constitutional right to instruct the Executive whom he shall nominate, and whenever such dictation is attempted, the Executive owes it to himself, the interests of the country, and the preservation of the constitution in its primitive purity to resist it with firmness. The constitution declares that “the citizens of *each* state shall be entitled to all priviledges & emoluments of citizens in the several states.”² How can this resolution be reconciled with the spirit ~~of the~~ if not the letter of this declaration?

The Executive for these reasons and in consequence of the strong recommendations of James Gwinn, which he presents to the senate herewith nominates him &c & &c³

AD, DLC (64; 18-1530).

1. AJ had nominated Stockley D. Hays to be surveyor of public lands south of Tennessee on December 20, 1830. On December 23, Poindexter had moved for a committee inquiry into whether Hays was qualified and a Mississippi resident. The residency query was deleted before adoption of the committee’s final instructions on January 12, 1831 (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:135–36, 145). The Senate then passed the general resolution against out-of-state appointments on February 3.

2. Article 4, Section 2. AJ misquoted “emoluments” for “immunities.”

3. James Gwin, AJ’s friend, was Samuel’s father.

[Underlined passages are insertions by Jackson.]

Washington
May 11th. 1832

To the Senate

I renominate Saml Gwin to be register of the Land office at Clinton in the state of Mississippi

In nominating Mr. Gwin to this office, again, it is proper I ~~should~~ to state to the Senate, that I do so in compliance with the request of numerous citizens of the state of Mississippi, and with that of one of the Senators from the same state. The letters expressing this request are herewith respectfully enclosed for the consideration of the Senate. It will be perceived that they bear the fullest testimony to the fitness of Mr. Gwin for the office and evince a strong desire that he should be continued in it ~~notwithstanding he was not at the time of his appointment by the President a citizen of the state in which it is located~~

Under these circumstances, ~~which are believed presumed to remove meet the objections that produced the rejection of Mr. Gwin, and with a perfect knowledge of his claims upon the government for faithful services performed, his honesty and fitness,~~ I feel it my duty as an act of justice to him, to place his name again before the Senate, not doubting that the Senate will embrace with cheerfulness an opportunity to ~~do him equal justice~~ reconsider their former vote upon his nomination ~~should when~~ it appear to have been given without a full knowledge of his claims & qualifications for the office

Draft in AJ Donelson's hand, DLC (76). DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0735). *SDoc* 338, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 2–3 (Serial 241). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:255; Richardson, 2:574. The delivered message ended with “upon his nomination,” omitting the draft's closing phrase. With this message, AJ submitted Powhatan Ellis's letter of June 7 (above) and five petitions from Mississippi. The petitions bore more than 200 signatures headed respectively by Thomas Hinds, Wiley Ledbetter, A. G. Creath, E. H. Whitfield, and Preston Garner (DNA-RG 46: 19-0549, 19-0553, 19-0539, 19-0564, 19-0546). Apparently circulated from January through March, the petitions protested the Senate's action and urged Gwin's renomination. Gwin's Senate file also contains five letters from Mississippians to Poindexter charging that James Gwin, Samuel's father, had gotten up the petitions on instructions from AJ (DNA-RG 46).

To John Freeman Schermerhorn

[As the cholera spread across Europe, Americans braced for its arrival in the United States. On June 6, the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church in North America convened in New York City. It appointed a committee to correspond with other denominations and with civil authorities “in order to obtain the general observance of a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, that if it please God that our country may be preserved from the attacks of pestilence, and that his judgments now abroad in the earth may be sanctified to all nations” (Albany Argus, June 26,

1832). Committee chairman John F. Schermerhorn sent the proceedings to Jackson, who replied on June 12. Printed here are Andrew J. Donelson's draft of Jackson's reply and the reply itself as published in the press.]

Dr. Sir

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th. inst. submitting to me an extract from the minutes of the session of the general synod of the reformed church of North America, and recommending the appointment of a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer by the President of the United States relative to the general observance of a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, which it is recommended that the President of the United States should designate appoint.

Whilst I concur with the synod in the efficacy of prayer, and in the hope that our country may be preserved from the attack of Pestilence, and "that the judgements of the Most High now abroad in the earth may be sanctified to the good of all nations," I am constrained to say that according to my views of the I deem it improper for the President of the United States to have I do not deem it proper for the President of the United States to decline as President of the United States acting upon the the appointmt of any period or mode for as proper for the public manifestation of this sentiment conviction reliance. The religious concerns of this country belong to the pulpits and the State Governments. I could not do otherwise without transcending my views of constitutional duty. I could not do otherwise without transcending those limits which are assigned prescribed by the constitution to the executive of this government for the President, and without disturbing in some degree the security of religion which consists in my opinion as much in its independence of the General Government feeling that I might in some degree disturb the security which religion now enjoys in its total in this country in its complete separation from the political concerns of the General Government.

It is the province of the pulpits and the state Governments to regulate recommend the mode by which the people may best illustrate attest their reliance on the protecting arm of the almighty in times of great public distress. To them therefore I must respectfully If the anticipation of the Cholera presents such an a proper occasion for their notice Whether the anticipation of the apprehension that cholera will visit our land is a proper subject furnishes a proper occasion for this solemn notice, I must therefore leave to their own consid

Draft in AJ Donelson's hand, DLC (73).

Washington, June 12, 1832.

Dear sir—

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. submitting to me an extract from the minutes of the session of the

General Synod of the Reformed Dutch church of North America, relative to a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, at this time; and which your committee request the President of the United States to appoint.

Whilst I concur with the Synod in the efficacy of prayer, and in the hope that our country may be preserved from the attacks of pestilence, “and that the judgments now abroad in the earth may be sanctified to the nations” I am constrained to decline the designation of any period or mode, as proper for the public manifestation of this reliance. I could not do otherwise without transcending the limits prescribed by the constitution for the President; and without feeling that I might in some degree disturb the security which religion now enjoys in this country, in its complete separation from the political concerns of the general government.

It is the province of the Pulpits, and the State Tribunals, to recommend the time and mode, by which the people may best attest their reliance on the protecting arm of the Almighty, in times of great distress; whether the *apprehension* that the Cholera may visit our land, furnishes a proper occasion for this solemn notice, I must therefore leave to their consideration.

I am very respectfully, your servant,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, *Albany Argus*, June 26, 1832 (mAJs). *Niles*, July 7, 1832.

From John Robb

[By an 1804 treaty whose validity was later disputed, the Sac (or Sauk) and Fox Indians ceded their domain in Illinois, retaining a right of occupancy until the ceded lands were sold for settlement. In 1829 lands in the Rock River area were opened for sale, and the Indians, who had continued to reside in the growing season on the east side of the Mississippi, were ordered to remove and remain on the west side, in present Iowa. Refusing to recognize the 1804 cession, a large band of Sacs and other Indians led by Black Hawk (1767–1838) returned across the Mississippi in the spring of 1831 to the Sac village at present Rock Island, Illinois. Governor John Reynolds and U.S. Army general Edmund P. Gaines mobilized militia and regular infantry against the “invasion.” On June 30, Black Hawk signed articles of capitulation with Gaines, agreeing to vacate Illinois and stay west of the river.

On April 5, 1832, Black Hawk and about 1,000 Indian men, women, and children again crossed to the east side of the Mississippi and began moving up the Rock River valley. Governor Reynolds again mobilized the militia in cooperation with Brevet Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, now U.S. commander in the region. On April 24, Atkinson urged Black Hawk and his band to return across the Mississippi. They replied on April 26,

avowing their peaceful intentions but refusing to depart (Black Hawk War, 2:301–2, 312–14). What became known as the “Black Hawk War” began with a May 14 skirmish between Indians and Illinois militia at Stillman’s Run, south of present Rockford. After the fight, Black Hawk continued north up the Rock River toward Wisconsin, while Atkinson assembled a force to pursue him.]

Depart of War
June 12. 1832

Mr Robb, has the honor to enclose the President, the letter prepared by him, for Gen Atkinson. If the President approves it, Mr R. will have it despatched by the way of St Louis, and a *copy* sent to Gen Clark, to be forwarded, if the original should not reach him.¹

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Sir, you will by way of postscript say to Genl Atkison, that the black Hawk & his party must be chastised and a speedy & honorable termination put to this war, which will hereafter deter others from the like unprovoked hostilities by Indians on our frontier yrs. A. J.

June 12th. 1832—with this your letter is approved. A. J

AN, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). *Black Hawk War*, 2:579–80. Robb (c1791–1869) was chief clerk of the War Department and acting secretary of war during Lewis Cass’s absence from Washington. The letter he had prepared was a draft of one sent this same day to Atkinson. On May 5, Army commanding general Alexander Macomb had ordered Atkinson to assemble a force sufficient “to drive the Sac’s and Foxes over the Mississippi.” He was to order them back across the river and “forthwith attack them” if they refused. No reply from Atkinson had yet been received. Robb’s June 12 letter stated AJ’s “utter astonishment, and deep regret” at hearing nothing from him while reports flooded in of “the movements, depredations, and murders” committed by Black Hawk’s band. Robb wrote that Atkinson apparently had adequate force to effect his object, that “the President had a right to anticipate promptness and decision of action, and a speedy and effectual termination of Indian hostilities,” and that “some one is to blame in this matter.” Robb closed: “The President directs your particular attention to the subject of this communication, and instructs me to say that Black Hawk, and his party, *must* be chastised, and a speedy and honorable termination put to this war, which will hereafter deter others from the like unprovoked hostilities by Indians upon our frontiers” (*Black Hawk War*, 2:351–52, 580–81). Atkinson had in fact written Macomb on receiving his orders on May 25, but his letter did not reach Washington until June 15. On that day Secretary Cass ordered Brevet Major General Winfield Scott to proceed to Chicago and supersede Atkinson in command. Macomb wrote AJ on July 24 (below).

1. William Clark (1770–1838), co-leader of the famed Lewis and Clark expedition, was Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis.

Account with Lovejoy & Denham

Washington City June 12. 1832

President of the United States } Dr.

To Lovejoy & Denham

April 26th.	To	Binding	1 vol Morning Courier & New York Enquirer 1830–31	\$4.50
"	"	do	1 do D. Louisville Public advertiser	4.50
"	"	do	1 do Richmond Enquirer	4.50
"	"	do	1 do Globe	4.50
"	"	do	1 do D. National Intelligencer	4.50
"	"	do	1 do U. S. Telegraph	4.50
"	"	do	1 do New York Evening Post	4.50
"	"	do	1 do Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser	4.50
				<u>\$36.00</u>

Recd Payment in full
Lovejoy & Denham

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Lovejoy & Denham recpt for Book bind.g. \$36 june
12th. 1832—

DS, DLC (40). John Naylor Lovejoy (1798–1882) and Zebulon Warner Denham (1808–1881) were Washington bookbinders. AJ wrote them a \$36 check on June 12. “D” signified the daily city edition. Some daily papers also published a twice- or thrice-weekly country edition.

To Andrew Jackson Jr. and Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington June 13th. 1832

Dr Andrew & Sarah—

Mr. Burrows is now here I have had a walking cane made for him of a hickory brought from the Hermitage and on yesterday presented it to him in your names as being sent from the Hermitage I wish you to write him addressed to Newyork, informing him, that a letter from me just recd. has advised you of the presentation of the gold headed cane, prepared & forwarded by you, to be delivered to him by me. This I wish you to attend to.

The colts has just arrived, very poor. The boys well.

· June 1832 ·

With my affectionate regards to all enquiring friends, believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (40). Mr. Burrows was New York merchant Silas E. Burrows.

To Martin Van Buren

(Private & confidential)

Washington June 14th 1832

My Dr Sir

This moment I have recd. enclosed from Mr McLane, with his note of this day my letter to you of the 1st. of april last, which I am mortified you did not receive. I now send it under cover to Col Hamilton, that he may hand it to you on your arrival. It was written in great haste, full of blunders, but it being written in the spirit of prophesy, I send it, that you may read & burn it, and judge of the fulfilment of my prediction.

The coalition are determined to press upon me at this session the bank, and a few more internal improvement bills. I am prepared to meet them as I ought—but I want your aid. The able heads of Departments, except Woodbury and the attorney General, are all in favor of the Bank. Let me see you as early as you can[.] your friend

Andrew Jackson

[*Endorsed by Van Buren:*] A. Jackson June 1832 Sent to meet me at N. York explaining the condition of his Cabinet on the Bank question & asking me to come on.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (20-0758).

From James Alexander Hamilton

NEW YORK, June 15, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR:

As it is understood that the opponents of compromise intend to call upon our Legislature to pass resolutions which will aid them, it becomes therefore the duty of the friends of Union and your Administration to defeat that attempt, and to endeavor to induce the Legislature to pass resolutions in favor of compromise. To that end, I intend to go to Albany and spend a few days there during the Session. I feel assured if nothing is done to promote, something will be done to frustrate, our wishes.

The state of things in England is such as I have supposed might render it deserving of consideration whether we ought not to be represented there in a stronger manner than we now are. Should there be revolution, an American Minister of talent and character, without improper interference, could do much to benefit both countries, and the liberal party will feel that they have a right to such a measure at your hands.

I always feel at liberty to communicate any suggestions that occur to me, without fearing the imputation *from you* of improper interference.

With the truest attachment, your servant and friend, &c.

Printed, *Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton*, p. 246 (20-0760).

From the Marquis de Lafayette

[Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur (1725–1807), Count Rochambeau, had commanded the French army that fought alongside George Washington's during the American Revolution. Rochambeau's grand-daughters were Augustine-Eléonore de Vimeur (b. 1783), Marchioness de la Gorce, and Constance-Thérèse de Vimeur (1784–1866), Countess d'Ambrugeac, wife of French general Alexandre-Charles-Louis de Valon du Boucheron (1770–1843). On March 12, 1832, the two women, pleading impoverished circumstances, petitioned the U.S. government for compensation for Rochambeau's Revolutionary services. Lafayette enclosed the petition with a letter of his own to William C. Rives, U.S. minister to France, who on March 30 sent the papers on to the State Department "to be laid before the President" (DNA-RG 59, M34-29).]

La grange June 16th 1832

My dear Sir

You Have Received from Mr. Rives a memorial Relative to the Situation of Count Rochambeau's family, namely His grand daughter married to gnl. d'ambrugeac. altho' He Has Been pleased to mention my own Sentiments on the occasion I feel it a duty as well as my inclination to pay a personal tribute of remembrance to the great Services Rendered By Rochambeau in the Cooperation of the french troops with our Army under the order of our great Commander in chief. My own immense obligations to the munificence of the United States is for me an additional motive to Be interested in the Cases not only of my Beloved American Companions in arms, But also of a family whose late Chief did By His applications to His own Countrymen as well as By His proper Conduct among us greatly Contribute to our definitive Success.

Be pleased, my dear Sir, to accept the affection and Respect of Your Sincere friend

Lafayette

ALS, DLC (40). Copy, DLC-Lafayette Papers (mAJs). AJ submitted the petition and Lafayette's covering letter to the House of Representatives on February 22, 1833 (Richardson, 2:635). The sisters continued to appeal to Congress and from 1836 to 1847 several House committees reported bills for their relief, but none passed.

From the Marquis de Lafayette

La grange June 16th 1832

My dear Sir

Permit me to adress you on a particular Case which We Had agreed Mr. Van Buren and myself to write upon after His Return from Holland. But as He went directly to the U.S. I will not longer delay my statement in Behalf of Mr. Carr the protem Consul on the Coast of Morocco.

I Had the pleasure to see Him on His passage through paris With His Amiable young Lady whom I Had known a pretty little girl on my Happy Visit to the United States.¹ Mr. Carr fell Sick; the Spots on His face Bore Witness to the state of His Health; it was prescribed to Him By the phisicians not to leave town Before He Had Recovered from His Bodily Situation.

in the Mean while they Ran into debt and He informed me that instead of proceeding to His destination He was in danger to Be Arrested for a sum of about \$ two thousand. the only way to avoid this disgrace to a public officer of the U.S. was to persuade His Creditors to let him go under the Hope He might Be enabled to satisfy them.

After a Conversation on the subject With Mr. Rives and Mr. Van Buren, I authorised Mr. Carr to assure His Creditors that altho' I Had no Right or any intention to take an engagement in your name, I would state to you their Situation, and presume to Request that the greater part of His salary be sent to the American Minister at paris in order to Cancel His debt. With that View and to lessen His expenses Mrs Carr Returned Home, and Mr. Carr Was allowed to pursue His journey to Morocco.

This is, my dear friend, what I know of the affair which probably Mr. Van Buren will Have explained Before my letter Reaches you. it seems to me, as Mr. Carr is an intelligent and well informed man, that His Consular Services may Be Continued with public utility, while the disgrace upon the character of an American officer will be avoided. Such Has Been my principal object in this transaction and the promise I Have made to lay it Before you. Most Respectfully Your affectionate friend

Lafayette

Remember me very affectionately to Mrs donaldson, edw. Livingston and other friends at Washington.

ALS, DLC (40). In August 1831, AJ had given Samuel John Carr (c1802–1847) of South Carolina a recess appointment as consul in Morocco. The Senate confirmed him in December.

Carr had previously been a Treasury clerk, and had amassed debts that AJ had insisted he settle before assuming his new office (*Jackson Papers*, 9:492). Carr sailed for France in October 1831, arriving in November. He left for Tangier in May 1832 and reached it in July. Meanwhile the State Department learned that in France Carr had drawn on the government's bankers in London for \$2,570, more than twice his due salary and allowable expenses. On June 7 AJ nominated James R. Leib to supplant him as consul. Leib was confirmed on June 21 and arrived to replace Carr in early October. In Tangier Carr had incurred further debts which, together with an attack of violent insanity that led to his forced confinement within the consulate, delayed his return to the U.S. until 1833 (DNA-RG 59, T61-5).

1. In 1828 Carr had married Mary Elizabeth Polk (1814–1876), step-daughter of University of Maryland medical professor John Beale Davidge. She and their young daughter sailed for the U.S. in April. Lafayette had met her on his 1824–25 American tour.

From William Henry Ashley

Washington June 17th 1832

Sir,

Entertaining the most unlimited confidence in the patriotism, skill, and abilities of Majr. Nathan Boon, of St Charles County, and James H Bruffee of Potosi, Washington County Mo. I beg leave to recommend them as fit persons to command two of the companies of mounted rangers, which, under a recent act of Congress, the President is authorised to raise for the protection of the western & northwestern frontiers. And I deem it my duty to suggest the propriety of raising two of said companies in the State of Missouri, where a number of men are to be found, who have been almost constantly employed for the last ten or fifteen years, in the fur trade in the Region of the Rocky Mountains, & who in the pursuit of that business, have acquired a knowledge of the country, where the proposed troops will have to operate, and almost every requisit, necessary to qualify them eminently for the military service in question. I have the honor to be Sir with great respect yr Ob Sevt

W. H. Ashley

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Referred to the secretary of war—A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 107 (20-0763). Ashley (1778–1838), founder of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, was a Missouri congressman. On June 15 AJ had signed an Act to raise a battalion of six hundred mounted rangers for frontier defense. Nathan Boone (1781–1856), son of frontiersman Daniel Boone, was commissioned one of six captains in the new force. James B. Bruffee (1789–1832), who was not appointed, had worked for Ashley and been a Missouri legislator. The rangers were reorganized in 1833 as a regiment of dragoons.

From Samuel Smith

Washington 17 June 1832

Dr Sir

This letter requires no answer

I received on friday the Enclosed letter from my Son. I pray you to read it, and take it for as much as it is worth. He appears to have assumed what appears to be a general opinion, "That you will give the Bank Bill your Veto" and wishes, that which almost all your friends desire, That you may give such reasons as will leave the Subject *open* for the decision of the people at their next Election. This will quiet those of your friends who require that the Bill should now be signed by you. The mootng of the question at the present Session was against my Opinion, It will however have the Effect to Cause all the Elections to be contested on the principle of Bank or no Bank—and if the people shall in that way determine for a renewal of the Charter, Sound Policy would say—Comply with their declaration.

My own private Opinion is to disappoint those who have pressed the Subject, who expect and Count on your Veto, and mean to injure the Party in public Opinion. I believe it will have little Effect but I should like to dissappoint those gentlemen. If, however you should determine against Signing the Bill at present, I pray, Beg and intreat you to do it, So as to leave the Subject *open* for the decision of the people

With the sincerest personal & political Regard, I am Sincerely and truly your friend

S. Smith

ALS, DLC (40). ALS draft, DLC-Samuel Smith Papers (mAJs). A bill to renew the charter of the Bank of the United States had passed the Senate on June 11 by 28 to 20, with Smith voting in favor.

[Enclosure: John Spear Smith to Samuel Smith]

Montebello 14 June 1832.

Dear Sir

I find that all the leading friends of the bank approve your vote on the proposition to reduce the rate of interest. Mess. Patterson, Brown, Oliver, Colt &c. Its rejection is much to be regretted, as the benefits to the country would have been as universal, as they would be important. This vote is another strong argument for not acting on the renewal at the present time. Who can tell what will be the rate of interest four years hence? And who can tell whether the members of the next Congress, if the subject were left to them, would not put the discounts at 5. per cent?¹

The President has, without touching the constitutional question, the strongest arguments to put in his veto message, should he put his negative on the bill.

First, that some three millions of people are unrepresented in the present Congress.²

Second, that the subject has not been fairly put to them yet, and the presumption is that at the next elections, they will select representatives, with an eye, in part, to this subject.

Third, no inconvenience can result from the postponement, but much benefit may be the result, as the intervening time may afford much light on the wants of the country, in its new attitude, of exemption from debt, and diminished revenue.

Mr Clay's opinion that a reduction of the interest by the Bank of the U.S. would not be followed by a similar reduction on the part of the State institutions is fallacious. All the banking people here say, they would be compelled to follow the example or be driven out of business. Biddle has himself no objection to it, but on conferring with McDuffie and others, he found that they would oppose the bill, with such a provision in it.³ Now, I can account for this in no other way, than that they thought it would make it more *palatable to the President*. My calculation is that it would save the people of the United States, between four and five millions annually, and what a valuable item would it be to add to the long list of benefits gained by the country, under the Administration of Genl Jackson, *that he has reduced the interest of money from six to five percent, thus saving to the people four millions of dollars in each year*. I wish you would make it a point to see him and to suggest this affair of interest for his veto message. Affectionately

J. S. S.

ALS, DLC (40). AJ drew closely on Smith's arguments in a draft of his July 10 veto message (below).

1. On June 4, Senator George M. Bibb of Kentucky had moved to amend the recharter bill by deleting a clause requiring annual 'bonus' cash payments from the BUS to the government, and replacing it with a provision limiting interest on BUS loans and discounts to a maximum of 5 per cent instead of the 6 per cent stipulated in its present charter (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1022). Samuel Smith voted for the amendment, which was defeated 26 to 18 on June 5. William Patterson (1752–1835), a Baltimore merchant, banker, and railroad entrepreneur, was Samuel Smith's brother-in-law. Robert Oliver (c1759–1834) and his son-in-law Roswell Lyman Colt (1779–1856) were Baltimore merchants and businessmen. Brown was likely banker Alexander Brown (1764–1834) or his son George Brown (1787–1859), a founder of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

2. The next Congress, to convene in 1833, would be the first to reflect reapportionment based on the 1830 census, which expanded the House of Representatives from 213 seats to 240.

3. Nicholas Biddle (1786–1844) of Philadelphia was president of the Bank of the United States. In a June 4 speech against Bibb's amendment, Henry Clay contended that a reduction in BUS interest rates from 6 to 5 per cent would affect just one-tenth of the country's banking capital and would therefore only benefit borrowers from the BUS and not the public at large (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1023).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington June 21st. 1832

My son

The bill laying out the Territory of arkansa for a survayor District having passed, and it only giving to the survayor General fifteen hundred dollas a year, I did not present John Donelson to fill it, as his present business is much better and no responsibility. But believing that a deputation would be better for him when he compleats his present business have engaged for him any section of country that he may chose in arkansa to survay. I give you this information as Thomas may wish to engage in the survaying business if he chooses. I have appointed Mr Conway survayor Genl for Arkansa, and Mr Sevier has wrote him that Mr J. Donelson is to have the survaying of any section he may choose. John is now receiving the sum of five dollars pr day from 21st of May last, & found—which is much better than the survayor Genl office at \$2000 pr annum who must find himself¹

I have written John to day, giving him this information, & requesting him to see Mr Conway and write Thomas his advice whether to join him or not. It is important for me to know whether you have Bot. Saml Donelsons Lot of land or not, & if you have whether you have bargained for Alexandes Lot, and if you have, whether the note for the stud colt sold to _____ for which Dr Butler is bound is due, or paid; This is for \$500—the note for the stud colt sold Stockly is for upwards of \$300—whether these two notes will be taken in part of Alexander I wish you to inform me that I may *certainly* know for what I am to provide—do not neglect this, and give me information as to the settlement with Mr Morison and Steel.

you said in your first letter after you reached home, that Mr Steel would have to be superceded by another this fall—have a full settlement with him before you say any thing to him on this subject—and see the man recommended by Mr Lucius Polk and make a contract with him before you determin about superceeding Steel.

your filly is admired, as is the stud; they are very poor—they boys are well deliver to Sarah the within with my prayers for her continued health—yours affectionately

Andrew Jackson

ALS, UPB (20-0785).

1. The bill to split off a new public land survey district in Arkansas Territory became law on June 15, and on June 21 AJ nominated James Sevier Conway (1796–1855) for surveyor. The law prescribed a salary of \$1,500. Surveyors in the six already existing districts were paid \$2,000. Ambrose Hundley Sevier (1801–1848), Conway's cousin, was the Arkansas Territory congressional delegate.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington June 21st. 1832—

My Dr Sarah

I had the pleasure to receive your affectionate letter of the 11th instant, on yesterday and seize the first leisure moment to acknowledge it. It always is a treat to me, to receive your letters. I cannot account for Andrews silence

I am happy to hear of Mary Polks safe arrival & of her happiness, and that they are to dine with you with the rest of her family—please present me to them all kindly.

I am happy to hear that Saml Hays and his dear Frances & children called & tarried with you for a short time—any kindness that Andrew & you thought proper to bestow upon them, is gratifying to me. It is a duty we owe one another, to bestow kindness ~~to~~ on our friends, when they are in need, and we can do it with convenience, and without injury to ourselves. Providence blesses us with the means thus to bestow favors, and when we open our hands to charity he blesses the act, & rewards the donor.¹

I am happy to hear that Emma is enjoying herself in Nashville, it is evidence of a continuation of good health, and I trust when the wedding & ball is over she will have time to give me a passing notice of the gaily & beauty & beaus she has seen—present me to her. I am happy to hear of Mr. McLamores recovery—he is a worthy man and his life is of great importance to his family. I hope he may long live, but that he may be spared until he winds up his business is my fervent prayers.

The Colera has reached Quebeck & Montreal, is expected soon to reach Newyork. The alarm is great, and Mary McLamore has written to her Aunt that she wants to leave Philadelphia—we will send for her soon—give this information to her Parents & grand mother. There is more to be dreaded from the Panic than the disease, & I am sure, it will destroy more than the Colera—we my Dr Sarah, knowing that we have to die ought to live to be prepared to die well, and then, let death come when it may, we will meet it without alarm and be ready to say, “the Lords will be done.”²

I am happy to learn that the articles last shipped by Mr Toland are at Harpeth shoals on cumberland.³ I am glad to hear this, as there are many articles amonghst them that you want. I regret to learn that there are no Coffee or Tea potts amonghst the china forwarded. Mr Toland has packed up a box of those articles & will send them to Nashville as soon as a convayence will permit—in the mean time you must supply yourself at Nashville. Next winter you must lay in a sett of plates at Philadelphia—at my Dr Mrs. Jacksons death our table was well furnished with those articles, but where there are no attention but servants, every thing gets destroyed. you my Dr Sarah, will have to lay in such things as is necessary,

and when you leave the House will have to see that all furniture for the table is locked up, but what may be necessary, for such company as may be passing, and for the overseer—& make a memorandum of that left out.

The increase of the negroes is evidence of their health & good treatment—and I am happy to hear of it, as it will add to your wealth and that of your children, as I hope you will be blessed with many.

I am still unable to say whether I it will be able in my power to visit you at the Hermitage. Congress is still in session, the tariff & Bank bill yet to be acted on, & when it will adjourn the Lord only knows. I will, if I can, visit you, & bring *you* with me here in the fall. I will advise you as soon as I can *determine*.

I write in haste, have no time to correct, and am sure you will pass by any errors you may find in this scrall with my affectionate regards to you & Andrew, & all who enquire after me believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Ask Andrew why it is, he has not written me. I wish to know whether he has bought the land from his brothers. A. J.

ALS, THER (20-0788). *Nashville Banner*, January 21, 1911.

1. Samuel Jackson Hays's wife was Frances Pinckney Middleton Hays (1811–1865).

2. By mid-June the cholera was reported at Quebec and Montreal. It reached New York City before the end of the month. Mary McLemore's aunt was Emily T. Donelson. Mary's mother was Emily's sister, Elizabeth Donelson McLemore (1796–1836), and Mary's grandmother was Mary Purnell Donelson, sister-in-law of Rachel Jackson.

3. Harpeth Shoals is on the Cumberland River about thirty miles northwest of Nashville.

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 21. June 1832

My dear Sir,

I am just returned from my Tour North, in search of health, and am happy in being able to say that the object is attained; I think my health is now better than at any period within the last four years, and I hope it will bear me through the Negotiation that is to come, and which shall be entered upon the moment that the distracted situation of this country will permit any thing to be done. I find every thing here in the most wretched condition on my return: The Vice President and his ministers have quarrelled as it said; it is certain that they have all resigned, and the Executive is now without a single head of a Department and not a dollar in the Treasury—money attempted to be borrowed at 5 pr. Cent per month, but no lenders—nominations made of several individuals to supply the Vacancies in the different departments of the Government, but all have declined.¹

I waited on Mr. Alaman immediately upon my return, found him in bed and completely disgusted with politics as he tells me—determined to retire to his Estate in Guanajuato the moment he recovers: I must find means to prevent this if possible; for more can be done with Mr. A. and through him than with all Mexico besides. He must be the active Agent in the coming Negotiation and if possible I must have him *alone* as the plenipotentiary on the part of Mexico—I am confident we will not disagree eventually on this matter, for I think I hold the key to unlock his heart, and the means of enlightening his understanding in the way I desire it should be illuminated; we are perfectly cordial, and confidential, much more so than with any other man of Mark in or out of the Administration. I hope the Negotiation (if we can go into it) will be a very brief affair, and I feel great confidence in being able to bring home the Treaty in less than 3 months from the first protocol, provided Mr. Alaman is the Negotiator—lest however it may be more Tedious than I anticipate, let our Commissioners be instructed to insist on the ~~Eastern~~ Western branch of the Sabine Lake so as to prolong discussion, increase the difficulties of adjustment and give me time.

The communication from hence with Tampico and Vera Cruz still remains closed, consequently we receive neither letters nor Newspapers from abroad. I have not recd. a letter or Newspaper from the U. States since February, and know nothing of the state of politics at home: I hoped and expected on my return to receive letters from you and despatches from the Departmt. of State, but am disappointed in both: I have been informed that there are several packets for me in the hands of the Consul at Vera Cruz, but the want of a conveyance deprives me of knowing what they are.² The British and French ministers have authority for employing special couriers and do so, by which their newspapers, letters & despatches are received by the packets monthly; I am without any such power, and must remain dependant on accident to bring me my letters, or the opening of the regular communication.

Mr. Alaman tells me the Treaties have been ratified and the Ratifications exchanged. I heard such a report by the way of Matamoros whilst on my Journey, but shall be gratified to hear from you personally on the subject, and to tell me whether the Treaty is satisfactory to you.

I send this letter by the way of Matamoros the only port through which there is regular communication, and shall address an Official communication to the department of State, by a special courier that goes to Vera Cruz early in July—that communication may even reach you sooner than the present. Pray write me fully by the next Packet. I remain with great truth My dear Sir your very obedt. Servt.

A. Butler

ALS, DLC (40). AJ replied on September 4 (below).

1. On May 17 Bustamante announced the resignations of ministers José Antonio Facio, Lucas Alamán, and José Ignacio Espinosa. He offered the war ministry to José María

Calderón, the foreign ministry to Sebastián Camacho, and the ministry of justice and ecclesiastical affairs to José María Bocanegra. All three declined.

2. Livingston had sent Butler several communications, including one on February 27 that gave news of the commercial treaty's arrival and submission to the Senate and of AJ's approval of Butler's course (DNA-RG 59, M77-9).

To Ephraim Hubbard Foster

[The dateline, two final paragraphs, and signature of this draft are in Jackson's hand. The rest is in Andrew J. Donelson's, with insertions by Jackson shown here as underlined text.]

Washington June 22nd. 1832—

Dr. Sir,

I have recd. to day from the hands of Judge White of the Senate your letter of the 10th. inst apprising me that my name has been used & connected with the senatorial election shortly to be made by the Legislature of Tennessee without saying by whom; and asking me for an explanation which will remove all misapprehension of my views or wishes on the subject.

It is a matter of much surprise to me that any of my friends should suppose, whatever my personal relations may be to any candidate for the office in question, that I could so far lose sight of my official station as to wish to make it subservient to such relations. The charge of Executive influence or interference in any form with the purity and freedom of state elections is a most serious one, and one that I feel confident no act of mine can make imputable to this administration. So strongly was I impressed with the importance of conducting the operations of the Federal Government so as to steer clear of this charge, that I deemed it my duty to pledge my administration to the observance and practice of the principles which would effect it: and I trust if the pledge has not been entirely redeemed, in the estimation of any of my friends, there are none who would desire to make my own acts an example of its failure.

In reference to Mr. Grundy, not as a candidate or a competitor of your's for the office he now holds, but as a public man entitled to the measure of justice for the faithful performance of his duty, I have no doubt on ~~some~~ many occasions spoken in terms of satisfaction and pleasure with respect regard to his course here as a senator. In doing so, however, it must be obvious that I was but doing justice to his acts here as a senator and exercising the privilege of an individual; that privilege which is inseparable from the idea of a freeman and which in this country is the foundation of all public character because it is in its just exercise that the public servants find the highest rewards for their services. To suppose that my approbation of Mr. Grundy's general conduct as a Senator cannot be expressed without subjecting me to the charge of desiring to procure his reelection

or of being understood as having a ~~less favorable~~ an unfavorable opinion of the claims of those who may be his competitors, is affixing to my character and to those who are considered as within its influence a ~~stamp of unworthiness~~ want of elevation which I feel confident neither you nor any member of the Tennessee Legislature would countenance.

'you must ~~also~~ recollect, that very lately I have been charged with using my influence against judge Grundy to favour the election of those opposed to him. Each rumour is equally unfounded; I interfere not ~~with~~ in state elections leaving the people whose province it is freely to choose their own agents, whilst I confine myself solely to the performance of those constitutional duties ~~the partiality of the people has~~ conferred upon me by the partiality of the people.

With my kind salutations to your father & mother & their family your Lady & family, believe me to be very respectfully yr friend²

Andrew Jackson

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] copy of letter to E. H. Foster—june 22nd. 1832—

LS draft, DLC (40). Foster and John H. Eaton were aspirants to replace Felix Grundy at the expiration of his current Senate term on March 3, 1833. Balloting in the legislature in October 1832 produced no result between the three. Grundy was reelected at the next session in October 1833, before the new Twenty-third Congress convened in December. AJ had written to several friends in 1831 of his desire to see Eaton elected, both for his aid in the Senate and as a sign of triumph and vindication against his and AJ's enemies.

1. From here to the end, the text is in AJ's hand.

2. Foster's parents were Robert Coleman Foster (1769–1844) and Ann Slaughter Hubbard Foster (1770–1850). His wife was Jane Mebane Lytle Foster (1792–1847).

To Wilson Lumpkin

(Copy)

Washington
June 22d. 1832

Dr. Sir,

Your letter written last winter to me relative to our affairs with the Cherokee Indians was duly recd: but it was not acknowledged in consequence of the great pressure of business at the time, and because I thought an official answer unnecessary to one so much in my confidence and so well acquainted with my views on the Indian question, as you were. I had spoken to Govr. Troup and other members from your state in relation to the course which appeared to me the most proper to be adopted in regard to the survey and disposition of the land lying within the Cherokee boundary. My great desire was that you should do no act which would give the Federal court a legal jurisdiction over a case that might arise with

the cherokees; and having explained myself fully to your delegation I did not doubt that you were fully apprised by them of my feelings and wishes.

Surrounded as I now am with business I address you this hasty note only to assure you of my continued confidence and respect; which I trust you will never question on account of the rumours and statements which the malice of our common enemies may circulate for the purpose of separating us. With great respect I remain yr. friend

signed Andrew Jackson

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] copy to Govr. Lumpkins june 22nd. 1832.

LS copy in AJ Donelson's hand, DLC (40). ALS draft, DLC (41); Bassett, 4:450–51. Lumpkin had written AJ on January 2 (above). He replied to this letter on July 12 (below).

From James Buchanan

St. Petersburg 22 June 1832.

Dear General,

You will 'ere this reaches you have heard of my arrival in this Capital through the Department of State.¹ Certainly it is not the place I should select for my residence, though it may be justly termed a City of palaces. The climate is healthy but very cold. Indeed it can scarcely be said that summer has yet commenced. Their winter continues about seven months. At this season there is literally no night. I feel confident I could read common print at 12 P.M. I use no candles.

The Americans & English here say they suffer more from the heat than the cold during winter. All the houses have double casements, double windows & very thick walls, & they are heated by stoves to a ~~very~~ high degree of temperature. The Russians still wear their cloaks in the Streets.

The great objection which an American must feel to a residence in this Country does not arise from the climate, though that is bad enough. It is because here there is no freedom of the Press, no public opinion & but little political conversation & that very much guarded. In short we live in the calm of despotism. And what makes this situation much more unpleasant to me is, that from some cause or other, I know not yet what, this Mission seldom receives any letters or newspapers from the United States. I beg that you would take up this subject yourself & then it will be attended to. But this by the way.

It must be admitted however, if we can believe the concurrent opinion of all the foreigners resident here with whom I have conversed that the Emperor Nicholas is one of the best of Despots. As a man of excellent private character, as a husband, a father, a brother & a friend his life presents a fit example for all his subjects. *But still he is a Despot.*

But little occurred on my presentation to his Majesty worthy of repetition except what is contained in the Despatch. He told me he had one American in his service as his Aid—that was Mr. Monroe: that he was not then in Petersburg having gone on board one of the ships in the fleet for the purpose of making a campaign (for exercise & instruction I presume), & that he intended to be transferred from the military to the naval service.²

The Empress talked very freely. She spoke on several subjects & with great rapidity. Amongst other things she observed we were wise in America not to involve ourselves in the foolish troubles of Europe; but she added that we had troubles enough among ourselves at home & alluded to our difficulties with some of the Southern States. I endeavored in a few words to explain this subject to her; but she still persisted in expressing the same opinion & of course I would not argue the point. The truth is that the people of Europe, & more especially those of this Country cannot be made to understand the operations of our Government. Upon hearing of any severe conflicts of opinion in the United States, they believe what they wish, that a revolution may be the consequence. God forbid! that the Union should be in any danger. If unfortunate events should occur tending to destroy the influence of our example, constitutional liberty, throughout the rest of the world would receive a blow from which it ~~could not~~ might never recover. In making these remarks I do not mean to state that the Russian Government are unfriendly to the people of the United States. On the contrary I believe they prefer us decidedly either to the English or French; but yet they must attribute to our example the existence of those liberal principles in Europe which give them so much trouble. Upon the whole my interview with the Empress was quite agreeable.

There are three Ambassadors at this Court: Lord Haytesbury the English, The Marshal Duke of Treviso (Mortier) the French, & Count Figlemont the Austrian, & a number of Ministers Plenipotentiary of my own grade.³ In point of rank I am at the tail of the list, & I should be very sorry to suppose I would ever reach the head. The rule upon this subject, however, is wholly unexceptionable. The minister who has been longest here ranks the highest in his own grade.

The Diplomatic Corps have received me very kindly. This I may attribute to the high character my country is every where acquiring. Your foreign policy has had no small influence on public opinion throughout Europe.

It is supposed Marshal Mortier is not very agreeable to this Government. He is the officer who blew up the Kremlin.⁴

I have taken a comfortable & well furnished house in a beautiful situation fronting on the Neva to which I expect to remove next week. My family will consist of Mr. J. Randolph Clay, whom I have invited to live with me, Lieutenant Barry & myself. My expenses will be great but I shall endeavor to keep them within my outfit & salary.

From an examination of the correspondence between Mr. Clay & the Department I fear I shall have difficulties in the settlement of my accounts. It was not possible for him with the most rigid economy to exist as *chargé des affaires* upon his salary had he even received all to which he was entitled, & yet he has ~~been allowed~~ received but about \$1880 per annum. So far as I can understand the subject the difficulty has arisen solely from the circumstance that here we are authorised to draw on Amsterdam & not on London. Surely this circumstance cannot change the amount of salary to which a minister is entitled by law, nor ought Mr. Clay to receive less at a more expensive Court than Mr. Vail receives in England. Mr. Livingston told me it would make no difference to me whether I drew on Amsterdam or London & this may eventually be the case but I am very anxious to avoid the difficulty of having a troublesome account to settle with the Department. I should esteem it therefore a particular favor, if it be just, that you would authorise me to draw on London. Every difficulty on this subject would be removed if we were allowed 5 rubles here for a dollar, which is the manner in which our Consul settles his accounts; & I should suppose from a communication received by Mr. Clay from my friend Mr. Pleasonton that he now believes this to be correct. Pardon me for thus troubling you with my own affairs.⁵

I am not without hope of succeeding in the negotiation, though I can say nothing upon the subject with the least degree of certainty. I entertain this hope chiefly because I am now fully convinced it is their interest to enter into a Treaty of Commerce with us. In a casual conversation the other day with Baron Krudener I explained my views of the great advantages Russia derived from our commerce with St. Petersburg, & how much in my opinion the agriculture & the general prosperity of the colonies on the Black Sea would be promoted by encouraging American Navigation in that quarter. Yesterday I had another conversation with the Baron from which it was evident he had been conversing with Count Nesselrode upon the subject; & the impression which I have received from him is rather favorable. Still it is of a character so vague, that I place but little reliance upon it. I shall see Count Nesselrode at 1 O'Clock to day, & will keep this letter open until after our interview.⁶

½ past 3.

I have just returned from Count Nesselrodes & from our interview I entertain a hope—I may say a good hope that I shall be able to conclude both Treaties with this Government. I am sorry I shall not have time to prepare a despatch for Mr. Livingston upon this subject to be sent by Captain Ramsay. He shall hear from me however by the *first safe* opportunity.⁷

There is one subject to which I desire briefly to direct your attention. I should write to the Department about it, but my views are not yet sufficiently distinct to place them there upon record, & besides there is not now time.

In case a Treaty should be made with this Government on the subject of Maritime rights, its provisions ought to be framed with great care, because it will probably be a model for similar Treaties with other nations. In looking over the projet in my possession, I find one provision which it strikes me the Cabinet ought to re-examine. It is the proviso to the first Article. This proviso was not introduced into our earlier Treaties. It first found a place in that with Spain, & has since been copied into our Treaties with Colombia, Central America & Brazil.⁸

Why should this limitation exist? I shall allude to my views by presenting a supposed case, for I have not time to do more.

Suppose Great Britain, which does not recognize the principle that “free Ships make free goods,” & Russia to be engaged in war after the Treaty, the United States being neutral.

1. Would it not be greatly for our interest (more particularly as from our character we shall generally be a neutral nation) if our ships could carry the goods of Englishmen to Russia & all over the world, without these goods being subjected to capture, by the armed vessels of Russia?

2. Would not great embarrassments arise, if Russian vessels of war, after ascertaining that a vessel belonged to a citizen of the United States, which is all they could do under the general principle, should then under the proviso be permitted to inquire into the ownership of the Cargo, & if they suspected it belonged to in whole or in part to English subjects to seize & take it before a Prize Court

3. This proviso could only have been introduced to force England into the adoption of the rule that “the flag covers the cargo”; but how can it produce that effect? It will render the property of an Englishman as insecure on board an American as a British vessel; ~~they~~ it being equally liable to seizure in either. But let the rule be general, let our flag protect the Cargo, no matter who may be the owner, & then English merchants will have the strongest inducement to employ our navigation.

4. Would not the proviso make the Treaty itself a *felo de se*, whenever Russia shall be at war with a nation which does not recognize the general rule?⁹

5. If England should at any time be neutral & we at war, the general rule adopted between us & Russia will not prevent us from capturing our enemies’ goods on board ~~her~~ British vessels.

6. These suggestions become of much more importance when we consider that we may have similar Treaties with many nations

These crude remarks are merely intended to direct your attention to the subject. I consider ~~the subject~~ it very important & I should like to hear from the department in relation to it as soon as possible. We shall first take up the Treaty of Commerce I presume; indeed Count Nesselrode has asked for my views in writing on that subject.¹⁰

It might be of consequence to me to have a copy of our Treaty with Turkey.¹¹ In haste I am with the greatest respect your friend

James Buchanan

P.S. Please to remember me to the members of your Cabinet & also your family.

P.P.S. Capt. Ramsey, for whom I had obtained a Courier's passport could not go to day; but I have fortunately just heard of a vessel about sailing for Boston by which I shall send this

ALS, DLC (40). Copy, PHI (20-0793). *Works of James Buchanan*, 2:198–203.

1. Buchanan had written Livingston on June 3, announcing his arrival the previous day (DNA-RG 59, M35-12; *Works of James Buchanan*, 2:193).

2. Buchanan was presented to Nicholas I on June 11 and described the ceremony to Livingston on June 12 (*Works of James Buchanan*, 2:193–98). Thomas Munroe (c1798–1834), son of former Washington postmaster Thomas Munroe, had gone to Russia in 1822 and entered the army, becoming aide-de-camp to the Emperor with the rank of colonel.

3. The three ambassadors were William A'Court, Baron Heytesbury (1779–1860), Adolphe Édouard Casimir Joseph Mortier, Duke of Treviso (1768–1835), and Karl Ludwig von Ficquelmont (1777–1857).

4. Mortier had been a marshal under Napoleon. As the French occupying commander in Moscow, he had partially carried out Napoleon's order to destroy the Kremlin before evacuating the city in October 1812.

5. Before Buchanan's arrival, John Randolph Clay had complained repeatedly to the State Department of having to bear the duties and expenses of a chargé on the \$2,000 salary of a secretary of legation. On November 10, Livingston authorized Buchanan and Clay to draw on the government's bankers in London instead of Amsterdam (DNA-RG 59, M77-8). The Appropriation Act of March 2, 1833, awarded Clay \$7,200 in salary and outfit for nineteen months' service as chargé between John Randolph's departure and Buchanan's arrival. The U.S. consul at St. Petersburg was Abraham Priest Gibson (1791–1852).

6. Paul Baron de Krudener (1784–1858) was the Russian minister to the U.S., now home on leave. Buchanan wrote Livingston on June 29 detailing his conversations with Krudener and interview with Nesselrode (DNA-RG 59, M35-12; *Works of James Buchanan*, 2:210–16).

7. William W. Ramsay (d. 1866) was a Navy lieutenant on furlough, who in 1831 had delivered the American-built corvette *Kensington* to the Russian Emperor.

8. Buchanan's general instructions of March 31, 1832, reiterated John Randolph's of June 18, 1830, which included a draft treaty governing maritime rights in wartime. Article I stipulated that on the high seas a neutral flag should protect the persons and property (contraband excepted) on board, no matter their ownership or nationality, from belligerent seizure, provided however that this "shall be understood as applying to those Powers, only, who recognise this principle; but if either of the Contracting Parties shall be at war with a third power, and the other neutral, the flag of the neutral shall cover the property of enemies whose Governments acknowledge this principle, and not of others" (DNA-RG 59, M77-8). Similar language had appeared in American treaties with Spain in 1819, Colombia in 1824, Central America in 1825, and Brazil in 1828 (*Treaties*, 3:15, 171, 219, 461). Livingston replied to Buchanan on November 22 that AJ had consulted the Cabinet and that he was now instructed to omit the proviso, reverting to the principle that "free ships shall make free goods, as between the parties, without any condition," but that Buchanan was to "yield the

point” if necessary to conclude a treaty (DNA-RG 59, M77-8; *HRExdoc* 111, 33d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 63–64, Serial 726). Buchanan concluded a commercial treaty in December, but no treaty with Russia on maritime rights was concluded during AJ’s administration.

9. A *felo-de-se* is a self-destruction or suicide.

10. Buchanan tendered a written proposal to Nesselrode on June 26 and enclosed a copy to Livingston on June 29 (DNA-RG 59, M35-12; *Works of James Buchanan*, 2:205–10).

11. A commercial treaty with Turkey had been concluded in 1830 and ratified in 1831.

Note on Religion

To be answered. I am & I hope always have been a supporter of religion. Virtue is the basis of all republics—it is the sure foundation of temperance & charity which must be possessed by all who are really christians—and I only lament that there are too many professors, who if judged by their fruit, do not possess it. When temperance and charity prevale, religion must flourish. A. J.

ANS, DLC (40). AJ wrote this note on an envelope addressed to him from an unknown sender, marked “Three Forges Pa. 22 June 1832.” Three Forges is the present East Freedom in central Pennsylvania.

Memorandum on the Northeast Boundary

The opinion of the Cabinet (Mr L. absent) that the proceedings of the Senate has set aside the award of the King of the Netherlands North ~~western~~ Eastern boundary—

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Cabinet on the resolutions of the Senate North E. boundary

AN (at 1833), DLC (43). AJ had submitted King William’s arbitration award on the Northeast boundary to the Senate for its advice and consent on December 7, 1831. On March 21, 1832, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Littleton Tazewell reported a resolution recommending the award’s acceptance. Between June 12 and 23, the Senate considered and declined that resolution, along with others explicitly rejecting the award or declaring it void on grounds that the arbiter had exceeded his charge. On June 23 the Senate instead passed, by 23 to 22, a resolution not mentioning the award, but advising the president to open a new negotiation with Britain over the boundary (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:226–30, 255–64). Livingston accordingly wrote British chargé Charles Bankhead on July 21, 1832, explaining the Senate’s action and proposing a new negotiation. He held out hope that the pending arrangement for Maine to relinquish its claim to the disputed territory to the U.S. would remove “constitutional difficulties” that had hitherto impeded an agreement. The British replied in April 1833 (*SDoc* 414, 24th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 3–7, Serial 284).

From Mary Ann Eastin Polk

Wills Grove, June 24th 1832

My dear Uncle

I have deferred writing to you until I could inform you of our safe arrival at *home*, tho' we are not yet at our final destination, (the house not being sufficiently finished for our reception), we have taken up our residence here for the present. I find it a very pleasant situation, a comfortable house & altogether I am very much delighted with it. I have spent two weeks with my Grandmother & one in Nashville¹ We were to see Sarah & dined with her her & Emma both appear very much pleased with Tennessee & particularly with the Hermitage. We spent a very pleasant day there. I think the comfort of the house is very much improved, though the appearance, not so much as I expected.

Every body is very anxious to know whether you are coming out this summer I hope you will be able to do so, for it will be such a gratification to your friends as well as to your self. Our friends were very glad to see us in Nashville, that is if we judge by the attention bestowed upon us. Uncle McLemore has quite recovered from his illness & starts for the Western District in a few days, & will go north immediately on his return.

We have met with a most distressing & melancholly loss in our family within a few days past in the death of Uncle Lemuel after a very short & not severe illness, his family are in great distress Aunt is in very bad health and looks as if she might not live long. Grand Mother is with her, she is in excellent health.²

My sister Eliza is spending the vacation with me, she is very much grown and is a great deal of company for me. Grand Ma would not part from Rachel yet.³

Give my love to Aunt & Uncle Andrew kiss the dear children. I shall write to Aunt in a few days. Mr P joins me in love to *[all]* friends & in the hope of seeing you this summer Believe us yours Truly, & Sincerely attached.

M A Polk

If you should not visit Tennessee this summer, I hope you will not forget My dear Uncle that I shall always be so delighted to hear from you.

[Endorsed by A:] Mary Polk—24th. of June 1832—recd. 6th july—A.J.

ALS, DLC (40).

1. Wills Grove and the Polks' new home, Hamilton Place, were both in Maury County. Mary's grandmother was Mary Purnell Donelson.

2. Lemuel Donelson (1789–1832), the brother of Mary Ann's late mother Rachel, of John C. McLemore's wife Elizabeth, and of Emily T. Donelson, had died on June 21. His wife Eliza Whyte Donelson (1802–1832) died on December 5.

3. Mary's sisters were Elizabeth Donelson Eastin (1817–1839) and Rachel Jackson Eastin (1822–1865).

From Abner Lacock

Freedom. Beaver County, Pennsylvania
25 June 1832.

Sir—

Some days since, through the Medium of a Mutual friend, I received your letter enclosing a number of interrogatories, that I am requested to answer, in relation to the knowledge I have of the course pursued by John C Calhoun, Vice P. U. States, & his conduct towards you, in regard to your conduct in the seminola war.¹

By the same mail I recd. a line from Mr Calhoun, in which he states, that he had received a list of interrogatories, and that he had declined putting any questions to me, or what he terms “joining issue” but had no objection I should answer whatever questions you should put—requesting however as a matter of justice, to be furnish’d with a copy of my answers; to a compliance with this request I could see no valid objection and have accordingly furnish’d him with a copy.²

Interrogatories put by Andrew Jackson, president of the U. States, to Abner Lacock of Penna.

1 “Did Mr John C Calhoun at any time during the session of Congress in the winter of 1818–19 or at any other time, Mention to you my confidential letter, to Mr Monroe dated 6 of Jan’y 1818, relative to Florida & the seminola war; shew you that letter, a copy thereof, or speak of its contents, did he ever tell you that letter had been answered? if nay, did he give any reasons why an answer was not given? and what: what did you understand to be Mr Calhoun’s object in speaking to you of that letter?”

Answer. Mr Calhoun never did at any time or upon any occasion, communicate to me, either verbally or in writing, his knowledge of the existence of such a letter, although at the time alluded to, I had a knowledge of the contents of the letter, I did not derive that knowledge from Mr. Calhoun; nor have I ever made a suggestion, to any person that would justify such a belief—

2 “Did Mr Calhoun at any time, & when, communicate to you the views express’d or the course pursued by him in Mr Monroe’s cabinet, in relation to my conduct in the Seminola war? if yea—what were those views & that course?—what opinion, if any, did Mr Calhoun express to you, as at the time of your conversation, entertained by him relative to my orders & the manner in which I had executed them?”

Answer. Some time in January 1819, I think towards the latter end of the month, Mr Calhoun calld upon me in the Senate Chamber, & askd me into a committee room, and when there said he wishd to converse with me in regard to your operations in Florida, as that subject was before a committee, of which he understood I was chairman. He then stated the subject had embarrass’d the administration, and presented many difficulties at first, but a course had been finally agreed upon, that he had flat-

tered himself would have been generally acquiesced in, or approved, and he was sorry to find himself mistaken, or words to this effect. We then went compare opinions, & discuss the subject. Among other things I stated expressly, that from the facts disclosed, it was my opinion, you had in the prosecution of the seminola war, exercised cruel and unprecedented severity, in putting to death captive Indians and British traders—That by the forceable seizure of the Spanish posts you had transcended your orders, and usurped the power of Congress, & consequently violated the Constitution of the U States. Mr Calhoun replied that he agreed with me that capturing the spanish posts was unauthorised & illegal, and he said when the subject was first presented by the President, he had been for taking pretty strong, & instituting an inquiry into your conduct, but after Mature consideration the Cabinet had made a different decision, and he had acquies'd and he observed he had yielded his opinion with less reluctance, finding the President strongly inclined to adopt a different course. and he added that while he was a member of the cabinet, he should consider it his duty to sustain the measures of the President if it could be done with any propriety. To a suggestion by me that we only differed in opinion, as to whether you were or were not reprehensible for your conduct: he repli'd to decide this question regard must be had to your motives. Those he believed had been pure and patriotic, that from Mistaken zeal in the service of your country, you had exceeded the powers given you, or any the president had a right to bestow. at the same time he observed, that spain deserved from us the treatment she had received, and a surrender of the posts was all she had a right to look for, that whether you were culpable or not was a concern of our own, and not hers. He spoke of the acquisition of Florida, then a subject of negotiation with the Spanish Minister Don Onis and the prospect of a favourable result, that he was apprehensive might be defeated or endangered by a vote of censure or the disapproval of your conduct.³ I told Mr Calhoun in reply, that his views on the subject, or those of a similar nature had been previously presented to me by the President but he had faild to convince me that there were either consistancy or safety in the course adopted by the administration. That if the seizure of the spanish post by you, was lawful, constitutional & in obedience to orders given, they should not have been surrendered, and on the other hand if their capture was illegal unconstitutional & in violation of your orders, you were highly reprehensible, and to pass over such conduct without censure or animadversion, was to sanction it, and acting upon, & fortified, by this precedent every land or naval officer in our service might in future involve the nation in war at their discretion or caprice. such I told him were my views, and having been charged by the senate with the investigation, I should not shrink from the responsibility of faithfully discharging my duty. Mr Calhoun then said he would not wish to be understood as objecting to the enquiry, it was rather the spirit with which it was carried on that had given him surprize, he had

understood that Governor Mitchel of Georgia who had just arrived in the City had been sent for to give evidence. That his testimony should be received with allowance, as he was the personal enemy of Genl Gaines, & he believed equally so of Genl Jackson. That Mitchel was an Indian agent, and charges had been or would be preferred against him as he understood, that would, if established, seriously affect his character, and he wished to put me on my guard. I assured him Governor Mitchel had not been sent for by order of the committee, nor to my knowledge by any member of it. That after his arrival I was told by Mr Forsyth that he, Mitchel, was in possession of many facts connected with the Seminola war, and this I had mentioned to the committee and by their orders he was subpoena'd.⁴

In repeating the above conversation between Mr Calhoun and myself I do not pretend that I have used the precise words spoken by us, but I am certain I have not been mistaken in their general import & meaning.

This conversation was not considered by me as confidential, nor was it enjoined upon me as such.

3 "Was your object in consulting Mr Calhoun to procure information to aid you in forming your report upon my conduct in the Seminola war, made to the senate on the ____ day of Feb'y 1819? did Mr Calhoun understand that to be your object?"

Answer. I never did consult Mr Calhoun or any other member of Mr Monroe's cabinet with a view of obtaining information, or aid, in forming the report, unless the circumstances and facts, I am about to mention may be so considered.

Previous to Mr. Forsyth's appointment as Spanish Minister, and when he was a member of the committee, he had more than once, stated to me his belief, that you had after the close of the Seminola war, issued orders to Genl Gaines, directing him to capture St. Augustine the Capitol of East Florida, & that those orders had been countermanded by the President. But, as the documents furnished by the war department contained no evidence of the fact, we were left in the dark, until I was informed by Mr Eaton, one of the committee, long afterwards that orders to that effect had been issued by you, & that the place would have been taken, had not the orders been countermanded, and this he gave as an evidence of your firmness & decision, and the absence of those qualities in the administration. This information induced me soon afterwards to call upon Mr Calhoun at the war office, my colleague Mr Roberts was in company. Upon enquiry, Mr Calhoun told me that such orders had been issued by you, & were immediately countermanded. I enquired why this correspondence had not been furnished. He said it never had been called for. I replied that the call was in general terms, & comprehended all the information on the subject of the Seminola war, that it was safe & proper for the Executive to communicate, or words to this effect.⁵

Here Mr Calhoun in the most bland and conciliatory manner observed (I remember his words & manner distinctly) "Had you not better try

Genl Jackson for what he has done, and not for what he design'd to do"—I assured Mr Calhoun that I was not governed by personal hostility to you nor was any member of the committee, we wish'd to the country ourselves, & you strict justice, & for that purpose we wish'd all the information that could be rightfully obtained. If the correspondence was of a private or confidential nature, I did not ask it. If of a public nature we had a right to receive it. Mr Calhoun then said he would be glad I would consult the President, & if he had no objection he would send in the documents, if I would call for them as chairman of the committee. I immediately call'd on the President, & when inform'd of the object of my visit, he said he had not examined the seminola documents since their publication, nor did he know that the correspondence in question had been withheld, ~~but~~ if it or words to this purpose, but if it were so, he was perfectly satisfied it should be furnish'd. I gave this information to Mr Calhoun, & he soon afterwards sent to the committee a copy of the correspondence.⁶

4 "Did Mr Calhoun see your report or any part of it before it was made? did he before it was made or afterwards, in direct allusion to the report, or otherwise, express to you his concurrence in the views therein express'd? What other views or opinions or facts, if any, relative to my conduct or his, in the affair of the Seminola war, did Mr Calhoun communicate to you, at that or any other time?"

Answer. Mr Calhoun never did see the report, or any part of it before it was made, nor has he at any time before or since the report was made, express'd to me his concurrence in the views taken therein, other than what pass'd in the committee room, as stated already by me in my answer to the second interrogatory. nor has Mr Calhoun in any manner or upon any occasion since I call'd upon him, as stated above, in the war office, communicated to me his sentiments or opinions, on the subject of the seminola war or your conduct in Florida.⁷

5 "Has any thing pass'd between you & Mr Calhoun ~~and~~ since the Session of Congress in 1818.19, explanatory of his conduct or mine, in relation to the seminola war, & the incidents that grew out of it? if yea, what?"

Answer. After the unhappy dispute (I mean for the honour of the country) had taken place between you & Mr Calhoun and the publication of his pamphlet, he sent me one of them. With his name and compliments written on the title page. On reading the book, and finding my name gratuitously introduced, with the name of Mr Crawford, in a way not very honourable to either, I was at a loss to decide whether Mr Calhoun had sent the book, as an act of civility, to an old acquaintance (with whom all intercourse had been suspended for ten years) or an insult. and in this state of uncertainty I acknowledged the receipt of it, and in my letter, made some animadversions upon the impropriety of dragging me from retirement before the public. Endeavoured to repel the insinuation that I had acted under the influence of Mr Crawford in framing the report.

reminded Mr Calhoun of our conversation in the committee room, and his endeavours to justify your motives in the Florida operations. I recurd to your confidential or Johnny Rhea letter, & its new version as given in his pamphlet, as proof irreffragable of your having committed an unlawful act with a perfect conciousness of its being so. Inasmuch as you had proposed, confidentially, to the president, to take the Floridas, or make war upon Spain if the President would guarantee to you an indemnity by signifying his approbation to a confidential friend. Thus if successful securing the honour of a tryumph, and at all events escapeing with impunity, by shifting the responsibility & throwing it upon the President. In this view of the case I stated that your deliberate intentions, & the motives by which you had been governed could not be mistaken. I express'd likewise to Mr Calhoun my regret to find by his pamphlet facts disclosed & opinions express'd by him and others high in authority in relation to your conduct, that had been carefully suppress'd at the time of the investigation. That for his part he was about to receive his reward, and would fall a victim to his own policy, nor would he in my opinion although the first on the list, be the last victim.

The purport or substance of my letter to Mr Calhoun I have given you, my papers were so deranged & destroyd by the spring flood that I could not find the copy of course I have to write from recollection. This letter was not written in confidence, I did not request, nor did it require an answer, nor did I ever receive an answer from Mr Calhoun. I have only to repeat that other than what I have already stated, I have had no information from Mr Calhoun "relative to the Seminola war, and the incidents growing out of it."

Having closed my answers to your interrogatorries you will permit me to observe, that such of the foregoing questions, as by fair and necessary inference were calculated to make me the passive instrument in the hands of Mr Calhoun to criminate you, I should have refused to answer in a court of justice, and should have repeld, as an attempt to make me impugn my own character, & dishonour myself, and that too in the discharge of an important public duty. and notwithstanding you seem to consider me as the victim of Mr Calhoun's superior duplicity & skill. still your appeal to me, in a case where you suppose me concern'd in inflicting the injury, evinces such confidence in my sincerity & candour, on your part, that it has not faild to be duly appreciated, on mine, & hence it is I have answered all your questions, however objectionable, with unreserved ~~candour and frankness~~ candour and frankness.

Finding by your letters before me that you design my ~~testimony~~ statement "for future & historical use" and that, "*your object & sole object is the establishment of truth, and to do justice to all men*" permit me in conclusion to assure you that it will afford me sincere pleasure to learn, that I have contributed in any degree, to the accomplishment of an object so laudable, and should the information I have given be the means of

producing harmony, or restoring a good understanding, and amicable relations between the two first officers of the government, it will be to me a source of much additional pleasure, & cannot fail to be highly gratifying to every man who regards the reputation & honour of his country.⁸ I am sir, your obedient Humble servant

A Lacock

[*Endorsed by Amos Kendall:*] A. Lacock—knew the contents of Gen. Jackson's confidential letter to Mr. Monroe in 1819, but not from Mr. Calhoun. Mr. C. agreed with him as to illegality of Gen J's acts.

ALS, DLC (40). Copy in William B. Lewis's hand, DLC (40). ALS draft, PHI (20-0809). *US Telegraph*, September 20, 1832; *Niles*, September 29. *Calhoun Papers*, 11:596–602.

1. The mutual friend was Henry Baldwin.

2. Calhoun had written Lacock on May 31. He enclosed copies of AJ's May 28 letter and his May 31 reply, and requested a copy of Lacock's answer to AJ's queries (*Calhoun Papers*, 11:590–91).

3. Spain ceded Florida to the U.S. by a treaty signed at Washington by Secretary of State John Q. Adams and Spanish minister Luis de Onís y González Vara López y Gómez (1762–1827) on February 22, 1819. Lacock issued his committee report on February 24.

4. David Brydie Mitchell (1766–1837) was governor of Georgia before being appointed agent to the Creeks in 1817. He was accused of smuggling slaves and dismissed as agent in 1821. Brevet Major General Edmund Pendleton Gaines (1777–1849) had preceded AJ in command on the Florida frontier. While in Washington in February 1819, Mitchell was summoned by Lacock's committee and testified that Gaines's unprovoked destruction of the Georgia Creek village of Fowltown in November 1817 was "the immediate cause of the Seminole war" (*SDoc* 100, 15th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 34–38, Serial 15).

5. On August 7, 1818, AJ had ordered Gaines to seize and garrison St. Augustine on the grounds that the Spanish there were arming and inciting the Indians. AJ copied his order to Calhoun, who countermanded it on September 1. John Forsyth and John H. Eaton had been members of Lacock's select Senate committee, and Jonathan Roberts (1771–1854) had been Lacock's fellow senator from Pennsylvania. Monroe nominated Forsyth to be minister to Spain on February 11, 1819. On December 17, 1818, the Senate had called on Monroe for correspondence relating to several specific episodes of the Seminole campaign "or such parts thereof, as may be communicated with a view to public safety." Monroe transmitted the papers on December 28 (*Senate Journal*, 15th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 84, 105, Serial 13).

6. Lacock spoke with Monroe on February 7, 1819, and on February 10 Calhoun supplied Lacock with AJ's order to Gaines and his own countermanding it. Lacock's report printed both (*Calhoun Papers*, 3:556; *SDoc* 100, 15th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 15, 19–23, Serial 15).

7. Lacock's draft continues here with crossed-out text: "The obvious and necessary inference, to be drawn from the above interrogatory is; that you considered me, as the chairman of the committee, governed by the secret & insidious influence of Mr Calhoun, and the victim of his Management. By every feeling & principle of patriotism, & attachment to our government, I am bound to treat with respect, & becoming courtesy the President of the U States, whatever I ~~might~~ may think of the incumbent, otherwise, the above attempt to make me not only impune & disparage my own character but that of the committee, would have been met, repeld, & retorted, in a suitable manner. Restrained however by these considerations; and with the declaration before me from your own pen, that 'In asking my answers to the interrogatories, *your object & sole object is truth & to do justice to all men*' I have by a faithful narrative of what passd. between you me & Mr Calhoun, given you an oppertunity of doing so, and I take leave to ~~repeat~~ observe, that from his conduct & observations with

me, my impressions were, that he felt great solicitude, to have you exonerated from censure or blame, and I wish you it to be distinctly understood by you. ~~That there is not at~~ That if blame or censure is deservedly chargeable to any individual for what ever is set forth in the report alluded to, either as to matter or manner, ~~it is but fair;~~ it should be vested exclusively upon the individual now addressing, for there is not a man except him, now in existence, that had any hand in framing the report. ~~Finding by~~ In a former letter of yours now before me it appears that the report in question is still a subject of painful reflection to you, and that you consider great injustice ~~has been~~ done you by the views presented in that paper. I mean not to offer any apology for those views, but your appeal to me to do you justice, at this time, connected with as it is with a full knowledge of my former and present opposition, to your election. such an appeal to a political opponent, it seems ~~to me could not be disregarded.~~ ~~imposes an honorary obligation on me,~~ appears to me independent, of your written declarations to that effect, is evasive of the confidence in ~~my~~ you repose in my honour, & integrity. thus laying me under, an obligation, to meet you on this ground.

“By a letter of yours now before me I find, that the report in question is still a subject of painful ~~consideration~~ recollection to you; and however anomalous your appeal for Justice to the man supposed to have inflicted the injury, may be consider’d still the appeal itself, made to me, now as heretofore your political opponent, evinces an honorable reliance, upon my candour & sincerity, that has been on my part suitably appreciated. and hence it is I have without objection answerd questions, the object of which by fair inference, was to impune & disparage my own, as well as the committee to which I belongd—and in the same spirit of unreserved frankness, permit me to observe, that the knowledge I had of the contents of the Johnny Rhea letter, so called, contributed in no inconsiderable degree, to convince me that in the violent seizure of the Florida’s, you had not only violated your orders & the constitution but had done it with premeditation, & a consciousness of the illegality of the act. The proposition made to president Monroe was, that you would take the Florida’s, or in other words make war upon Spain, if he the President would, signify his approbation, (I think in writing) to a confidential friend say Johnny Rhea. This proposition”

8. The quotations are from AJ’s May 28 letters to Calhoun and Baldwin, above.

From John Randolph

Charlotte C. H. June 26. 1832

My dear Sir

Let me request you to read the enclosed letter & entreat you not only as a favor personal to myself, but as an act of sheer justice to redress the injury these poor people have received.

Dashiell was chief clerk in the Treasury office under my late venerable friend Dr. Tucker. He received & deserved his full confidence & I am free to say that his removal was an act of cruel injustice. I am obliged to stop from exhaustion. This is the tenth week of my confinement here within 12 miles of my own House unable to be removed thither. Ten days ago I had strong hopes of recovery but a relapse from taking cold puts an end to any such expectation.

I see the dirty game which certain of the friends of the Bank are playing in order to embarrass you. Be just & fear not. Nothing can injure you but *vacillation* & that is not in your character. Most sincerely yours

J. R. of Roanoke.

Poor Dashiell was a sincere friend to your election.

ALS, DLC (41). Thomas Tudor Tucker (1745–1828) was Treasurer of the United States from 1801 until his death in May 1828. Thomas Bennett Dashiell (1787–1859) had been a clerk in the Treasurer's office. He was chief clerk from the beginning of 1828 until he resigned on June 4, 1829.

From Graves W. Steele

Hermitage June 26th 1832

Der Sir

I in deavour this morning to Give you the necessarye in formation as respects the farm & crop stock & so forth. I did on 22th. of this month finish working my crop over the fourth time it is all per fectley clean and I am now preparing to make 100000 Brick for the purpose of buil ding Stable Carriage house & Coffee house &c &c—and a house at the winstone place If you wish it

the monument is not up as yet all thoe I think that it will be up by the last of July the Stone Cutter will commence raising it in the morning and it will take one month to compleet it. I have cut about half of my small grain the crop of Rye & oats ar good But the crop of wheeat ar in differant owIng to the drouth. we have not had one Drop of rain since the first of May the cotton ls about 6 inches high & corn in a common way about as high as a mans shoulders I can assure that the prospect for a crop is quit gloomey at the present time—you will find Genl that your contract and mine is out on the 18th of December I expect to continue the buisness that I now follow a few years longer this is about the ceason of year that I have allways bin in the habbit of making my Contracts If you wish me to continue longer than this year I wish you to let me know so soon as you reed this. I will not make aney contract with aney othier person untiaell I hear from you. If I continue at your farm I will not make a contract with aney won but your self and then their would have to be som allter ration in a new one and that of the oald wone. Mr Polk will give me \$500—provided I don't continue hear it is But few men that I will doe buisness for In this capasitey—the stock all lookes well and the familey ar all well with dew respect your most Humble Survant

G. W. Steele

ALS, DLC (41).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington June 27th. 1832—

My son,

I have this moment recd. your letter of 12th instant postmarked 14th. having recd. Mr Steels of the 16th instant on yesterday, in which he mentioned, your having concluded a settlement with him, and his falling in my debt one hundred & ten dollar & Eighty cents, which sum he had paid over to you. I am happy you have concluded a settlement with him, and when I look over the account and find charges for 14 ploughs, having a blacksmith of my own, I think with you, that it is time to make a change. The sum of one hundred and forty nine dollars and $\frac{18}{100}$ for plows in one year, is too extravagant & would, if permitted, ruin any employer. I have looked over the account, and have only to remark, look out for a good overseer engage him and then in due time I will notify him that at the close of the year we will separate—but this must be kept secrete from him or he will neglect every all business & leave every thing, crop & all, in as bad a state as he can—keep a good eye over him, keep your temper & encourage him to do well, but chide him when you see him do wrong—on no account let him bring strange horses on my farm, or yet his mules—if he has good young mules to sell & you want more on the farm, you can buy them of him, year olds well grown at twenty dollars & in proportion for older ones.

I have noted Mr Wards conduct in enticing your cousin Andrews overseer from his service—it is an act of baseness, that I sincerely regret any of our neighbours would be guilty of. You must not interfere until your cousin Andrew or his agent relinquishes all idea of retaining him. Then & then only, would I say any thing to him. To disappoint Mr Ward in this improper course, I would converse with your cousin William Donelson on the subject & let him talk with Major Donelsons overseer. If the overseer determins to leave the Major unless his wages are raised, and the Major will not give him more than he has already agreed upon, or as much as Mr. Ward offers then, if he is really a good overseer, honest industrious & capable, ~~then~~ let your cousin William, say to him, that he will ensure him twenty five dollars more than Ward has offered, that will be \$425. It is only on the overseer being freed from his engagement with Andrew and to punish the improper interference of Ward that you are to get your cousin William to make the offer keeping it entirely secrete from Steel, until it is proper to disclose it: and if you begin to bid, make Ward pay him five hundred dollars, if he gets him but I have no doubt \$425 or \$450 will get him. Make arrangements with the one recommended by Mr. Polk, or with this one, as suggested, in due time to notify Mr. Steel. Have receipts passed by Steel & all letters delivered on a final settlement with him—do this before he has any intimation of being removed; It is time for a change.¹

As to the loss of the mare, when all precaution has been taken, I never repine, it is only when loss is sustained by carelessness, or mismanagement that we ought to repine, & even then only to remember it, as a beacon to by which to shun a repetition of mismanagement or carelessness, because we cannot by repining change the event which has passed.

I must here close, time will not permit me to say more at present I do not yet know when congress will adjourn, and whether I can visit you this summer. I have just received the account of sales of my last lot of cotton from Col Maunsel White. he says “he has remitted the amount of sales to Mr Josiah Nichol Nashville by check on U. States Bank. Mr. Nichol has not yet advised me of its receipt.”²

Present me to yr Dr Sarah affectionately to Emma Hutchings & Thomas and all enquiring friends—all here is well Mary McLamore with us, & all join in a tender of affectionate regards to you & Sarah Emma & all friends, & believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. let me know the amount of crop growing each kind seperately, and the appearance *now* of the oscar fillys colt by Citizen. Citizen is a much better bred horse than Crusader A.J

ALS, One of a Kind Collectibles Auctions, November 13, 2013, sale (mAJs).

1. Edward Ward (d. 1837) was AJ’s neighbor. The overseer was Burnard W. Holtzclaw.

2. Nichol had written AJ on June 21 of his receipt of White’s check (DLC-40).

From Roger Brooke Taney

[An Act of Congress in 1816 incorporated the second Bank of the United States for a period ending March 3, 1836. It set the Bank’s capital stock at \$35 million, of which \$7 million was to be subscribed by the government and the rest by “individuals, companies, or corporations.” The Bank was authorized to establish branch offices wherever it chose and was required to transport and disburse government funds without charge. The Act designated the Bank and its branches as preferred federal depositories, made its notes legal tender, and pledged “the faith of the United States” to establish no other bank outside the District of Columbia during the charter’s duration. In “consideration of the exclusive privileges and benefits conferred by this act,” the Bank was required to make a payment to the United States, commonly called a ‘bonus,’ of \$1.5 million in three installments (Statutes, 3:266–77).

On June 11, 1832, the Senate passed, by 28 to 20, a bill to extend the Bank’s charter, with some modifications, for another fifteen years. In return for its continued “exclusive benefits and privileges,” the Bank

was to pay the government a \$200,000 bonus yearly (Senate Journal, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 451–53, Serial 211).]

Annapolis June 27. 1832.

Sir,

Having learned that the Bill to renew the charter of the Bank of the U. States which has already passed the Senate may probably also pass the House of Representatives & be presented for your signature before I return to Washington, I deem it to be my duty in anticipation of such an event to convey to you my opinion upon this much agitated & interesting subject. And after having given to it the most deliberate consideration, I respectfully advise you not to approve the Bill, and proceed to state briefly the reasons which induce me to offer this advice.

1. The creation of a Bank with the capital & the powers & privileges proposed to be conferred by the charter in question is not justified by the Constitution of the U. States.

2. If no constitutional objection existed, yet it is inexpedient to create such a corporation with such powers & privileges.

3. If the incorporation of such a Bank with the capital and the powers & privileges proposed to be given to it, be justified by the constitution of the U. States, & if the public interest renders it expedient to create a corporation with such powers & privileges, yet they ought not to be continued to the present Bank of the U. States but rather conferred on a new and distinct corporation.

The constitution does not give to Congress, among its enumerated powers, the right to establish a Bank. And it is admitted on all hands that although such an institution may be an useful and convenient one to the public, yet it cannot be established unless it is a necessary and proper instrument to carry into execution some one of the enumerated powers of the General Government. It is not one of the substantive *ends* which the government of the United States is authorized to attain for the general welfare, and if it can constitutionally be established, it must be on the ground that it is among the *means* which Congress are permitted to use in executing the powers specially conferred by the constitution.

The power to make all laws which shall be “necessary and proper” for carrying into execution the powers vested in the government of the U. States is expressly given.¹ It is needless to enquire whether this article of the constitution restricts or enlarges the implied power which Congress would have possessed to select and use the appropriate means to execute the duties assigned to the government of the U. States. The clause in question defines the character of the means to be employed. It cannot be disregarded & rejected in interpreting the constitution. And whatever might have been the power of Congress in the absence of any provision on the subject, a greater power over the “means” than that expressly given by the constitution cannot be implied by any sound rule of construction. And

Congress therefore can use those means only that the constitution has in express terms authorized—that is—the means necessary and proper to attain the end.

It was impossible from the nature of government that the framers of the constitution could define all the means which Congress should be permitted to use to accomplish the various objects ~~& great interests~~ committed to the care of the general government. The means which on one occasion & under one set of circumstances might be effectual and wise, in a different state of things might be futile & mischievous. All therefore that could be done in a constitution was to give the rule by which Congress should be governed, in the selection of the means. It does give the rule—and has declared that the means used shall be “necessary and proper.”

I do not say that the means used must be absolutely necessary & that only the smallest possible exercise of power is permitted. A discretion must always be exercised in their selection and extent; & it is impossible to draw a precise line in a matter of this sort, between what is necessary and what is unnecessary. Yet it is obvious that means may be used so far beyond the limits of those which are necessary and proper for the occasion, that there is no difficulty in declaring that they are not required for the purpose. And of such means it may be safely said that they are not warranted by the constitution. The end to be accomplished must be authorized by the constitution—it must be kept distinctly in view in providing the means to attain it—and the means used must tend immediately & directly and not remotely & by inference to accomplish the object & must moreover be necessary and proper for that purpose. Such I understand to be the rule given by the constitution & by which Congress is bound to test any means proposed to be used. I do not speak of a strict moral or physical necessity. They ought to be sufficient to accomplish the object conveniently & effectually. But they cannot be enlarged beyond these limits in order to enable the government while it is executing a power given to it by the constitution to exercise at the same time powers not confided to it, but reserved to the States or to the people. A different interpretation would make the government of the U. States one of unlimited power in every case where its dominion is not expressly and particularly restricted by the constitution.

It has been said that the rule I am endeavoring to maintain, would destroy the power of the general government & render void many of its laws. And the acts of Congress inflicting *death* for certain offences against the Post office establishment have been instanced, where it is highly probable that a milder punishment would accomplish the object.² The punishment inflicted in these cases is not an enlargement of the means used by the Government to attain the end. They are imposed in order to preserve the means which Congress have selected. The power to create carries with it the power to preserve—and when Congress have provided the means necessary and proper for the end, there is no restriction on

the conservative power except the prohibition in the constitution against cruel & unusual punishments. The constitutional means selected may be fenced around with *every* security that Congress in its discretion may deem proper for their protection & preservation. But these measures of protection must be strictly conservative in their character & object— & tend only to the preservation & protection of the necessary & proper means which Congress had determined to select.

And if Congress even exceeded the means necessary & proper to accomplish the object, it does not follow that the law would be inoperative & void. In questions of this kind there must always be some tribunal whose decision is final. What tribunal could declare a law of Congress void upon that ground? From the nature of all government the Legislative power is the only one that can decide what means are necessary & proper to attain any particular Legislative end. The Legislature therefore must decide on the means they are authorized to use for that purpose under the constitution & their decision is unavoidably conclusive until reversed by a subsequent Legislature. ¶ But if they use means beyond what the rule given in the Constitution will warrant, it is usurpation on their part. And it needs no argument to prove that the exercise of usurped power is not the exercise of constitutional power.

There are also other principles applicable to the main question before me which it may be proper to state, before I examine more particularly the proposed charter to the Bank.

The constitution has conferred on Congress certain Legislative powers for the public good. The powers thus conferred must be continually possessed by every Congress in succession. Congress cannot delegate its powers of Legislation nor suspend them nor extinguish them. Each Congress may exercise any power conferred by the constitution & one Congress cannot restrict the Legislative powers of its successors, either directly or indirectly. For example one Congress cannot by directing a certain office to be held for a term of years or for life, render that office private property, so as to deprive future Legislative bodies of the power of abolishing it or of new modelling its duties. The offices and instruments of the Government created as the means of executing its powers, must always be subject to the control of the Legislative body for the time being. If the present Congress should by law declare that the Secretary of the Treasury should hold his office for fifteen years & during that time have certain privileges and receive certain profits, it is quite clear that the same Congress at its next session or any future Congress might repeal the law & abolish the office or change its duties or reduce the compensation. In other words they would have the same power over the subject that belonged to the Congress which enacted the law. And so of any other officer or agent or instrument selected by Congress as a means of executing any of its powers. There is a memorable example of the exercise of this

power in relation to the judicial act passed in the last year of the administration of the elder Mr. Adams and repealed under the administration of Mr. Jefferson. And in the animated and able debate which took place on that subject nobody questioned the right to repeal the law and abolish the office in every other case but that of a judicial officer.³

Nor would this right of repeal and entire dominion of Congress over the means used in the execution of its powers be diminished by the circumstance that the officer or agent had paid the public a consideration in money or otherwise for the privilege of enjoying the office and its emoluments for a certain time. Congress have not the power to make a contract on such a subject. They can neither give away nor sell any of the legislative powers vested in them by the constitution. They are not the subject matters of contract. Nor can the offices or other means used by Congress to execute its powers be converted into private property & be thereby placed beyond the reach of succeeding Legislative bodies. Any attempt to do so would evidently be a violation of the constitution. The entire Legislative power vested in Congress, must exist in every Congress while the Constitution exists and can neither be delegated nor suspended nor extinguished without an alteration in the constitution itself.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to notice an objection which has been taken to the principle here stated. But it has been said that the Government parts with its rights when it makes a grant of property, and binds its successors when it borrows money or enters into a contract to build a fort, and hence it is inferred that it may therefore bind its successors in all other cases. It is true the government may extinguish its right in those things which are the subjects of private property by granting them to individuals. Or it may bind itself by contract in matters about which it is authorized to enter into a contract. But in these cases it exercises its power—it does not suspend or extinguish it. It may for example borrow money and bind itself to pay it—but it cannot in consideration of the loan disable a succeeding Congress from borrowing another sum or ~~from~~ borrowing from another person if the exigencies of the public should afterwards require it. So it may contract for the building of a fort—but it cannot in consideration of the work to be done or the sale of the land on which it is situated stipulate that no other fort should be erected for the defence of the Country—or none within a certain distance. The distinction between a contract made in the legitimate exercise of a power given—and a contract which proposes to extinguish or suspend or delegate a Legislative power which the Constitution declares that Congress shall always possess, is so obvious & striking that it is useless to multiply words on the subject. In the former case the same power of making contracts of that description remains in succeeding Legislatures—in the latter Congress proposes to take from their successors the powers which the constitution declares they shall have. The one is the exercise of a power given by the constitution—the

other is an attempt to alter the constitution by diminishing the legislative powers of Congress. And the argument which attempts to confound things so entirely dissimilar is so palpably unsound that it can deceive nobody & hardly rises even to the dignity of sophistry.

Congress have the power to establish post offices & post roads. They may employ the means necessary & proper to execute this power. They may therefore authorize contracts to be made for carrying the mail on different routes & may from time to time regulate by law the manner in which the contracts shall be made on the part of the Government—and such contracts are binding on the public. They are made in execution of a power.

But can Congress charter a company & give it the exclusive right of carrying the mail for fifteen years, so as to deprive succeeding legislatures during that time of the power to new model or interfere with the system thus established. Can the right of Congress to determine on the means necessary and proper to execute the power to establish post offices & post roads be suspended by the act of a single Congress for fifteen years? If it can, then it may be extinguished forever by giving to such a corporation, the power in perpetuity.

Again—Could Congress in consideration of a bonus to be paid by such a corporation and of the facilities it would afford for transmitting the money received at the different post offices from place to place, give to it the usual banking privileges during the time for which it was chartered? Could they give to such a corporation during the continuance of its charter the power of selecting the proper post roads & of determining in what places post offices should be established? Could the Legislative power vested in Congress by the constitution over this subject be suspended or extinguished by such a contract authorized by a single act of Congress? No one I presume will gravely contend that such things can constitutionally be done. And if they cannot it will be difficult to maintain that Congress may by contract suspend or extinguish its power for fifteen years over its fiscal agents created as the means of executing its power of collecting its revenue & transmitting it from place to place as the exigencies of the government may require. It will be difficult to maintain that Congress may delegate to a corporation for that period of time the exclusive right of determining where such fiscal agents are to be placed in the different states. If it may not by act of Congress & by contract divest itself of the constitutional powers given to it in relation to the “post roads & post offices” & commit them to the care of a corporation, why can it be done in relation to the more important constitutional powers given to them to raise a revenue and to employ it for the purposes authorized by the constitution? The principle is precisely the same in both cases. And the question in each case is can Congress by contract divest itself of the Legislative powers committed to it by the constitution of the United States.

Taking the principles above insisted on for our guide, I proceed to apply them more particularly to the charter proposed to be granted to the Bank of the U. States.

The power of the General Government to create a corporation for any purpose has been questioned by high authority. But I think this objection cannot be maintained & that it has been put forward without sufficiently considering the difference between public & private corporations. The Government of the United States is certainly sovereign within its sphere of action, although that action is a prescribed and limited one. And it may like any other sovereign power create a corporation whenever it shall be necessary & proper to do so, for the more convenient attainment of legitimate ends. It may employ a corporation or an individual as the agent of the Government—or it may employ individuals not incorporated who are to act jointly or be governed by a majority. And in either case the Government may confer on the agent the powers & privileges necessary & proper for the convenient and effectual discharge of the duty assigned. But it can confer no greater powers & privileges on a corporation than it could lawfully confer on a single individual or on several individuals who were to act together in discharging the same public duty. It cannot by selecting a corporation as its agent disarm itself of the Legislative powers given to it by the constitution for the public good, so as to tie up the hands of future Legislative bodies and prevent them either for a limited time or forever from making such alterations and improvements in our laws & in the mode of executing the powers of the Government, as experience may point out and the public interest may demand. And still less can it delegate to a corporation the powers which the constitution has conferred upon Congress. The representatives of the people and of the States are made periodically responsible to their constituents & may be changed at short and stated terms. But this power would be useless in the hands of the people, if at a single session the powers of Congress could be legislated away & conferred on a corporation independent of the people. And if Congress may lawfully divest itself of any one even the smallest of its Legislative powers, it may on the same principle divest itself of all. For it then would be a mere question of expediency and not of right, & they might give to a corporation for a limited time or forever any of the powers conferred by the constitution upon Congress.

The objection to the creation of a corporation by the General Government seems to be founded on the notion that a corporation must necessarily for a time be independent of the government or must have more power conferred on it than could be given to an individual. But this is obviously a mistake. A corporation created for public purposes is always under the control of the sovereignty which creates it, and its charter may be altered & its powers enlarged or circumscribed from time to time as the public interest may require. This is admitted by the Supreme

Court in the case of the Dartmouth College & the power is continually exercised over the ordinary municipal corporations of Towns & Cities in the different States.⁴

It is admitted on all hands that Congress can create a corporation only for the purpose of executing more conveniently some of its delegated powers. It can be created only because it is needed as a public agent. It can therefore be created for public purposes only & to perform public duties & consequently ought to be and must be a public & not a private corporation. And if Congress under the power to create a public corporation, attempts to create a private one & thereby to deprive the succeeding Legislative bodies of the U. States of that control over the agents of government which the Constitution designed they should always possess, it would be a manifest usurpation of power. There is an essential & wide difference between public & private corporations in their character & rights & privileges. In the one the Franchise is private property which cannot be touched by the Government unless it is abused—in the other it is a mere power derived from the government which may be resumed at pleasure. The power of Congress therefore to create a corporation for public purposes does not carry with it by any means the power to create a private corporation.

The same reasoning applies with equal force to a corporation for public purposes, with private rights indissolubly connected with it so as to make its franchise private property & thereby place it beyond the reach of the Government. When created merely for public purposes, it is a public officer. It stands in the place of an individual. It is selected as a public agent in preference to an individual because it can more conveniently discharge the duty to the public. The Government have no more right to give such an agent as a corporation a right of property in its office than it would have to give it to an individual to whom the like duties were assigned. Yet no one has supposed that Congress could grant to any one the collection of the revenues in New York or Philadelphia for fifteen years so as to make the office his private property while he was engaged in the public service. And no one will pretend that Congress have the power to declare by law that such offices as that of surveyor or naval officer or any other office shall exist for fifteen years so as to take away from future Legislatures the power of repealing the law & changing and new modelling the whole system of collecting the revenue if they should think proper.

The objection therefore in my judgment is not to the creation of a corporation, but to the powers & rights proposed to be conferred on it. A corporation may be created as a fiscal agent or an agent for any other public purpose for which it is deemed suitable provided the object to be accomplished is within the constitutional powers of Congress. But no greater powers or privileges can be conferred on it, than could constitutionally be conferred on an individual employed to perform the like services and the question on the constitutionality of the Bank does not depend on the

power of Congress to create a corporation, but on the powers privileges & immunities which it may lawfully confer on a public agent.

The case of *McCulloch vs. The State of Maryland* is often quoted as having settled by judicial decision that the charter granted to the Bank of the United States with all its powers & privileges was a constitutional exercise of power by Congress. I do not so understand it. It is true, that, in the opinion delivered, the Court say that it is the unanimous & decided opinion of the Court “that the act to incorporate the Bank of the U. States is a law made in pursuance of the constitution, & is a part of the supreme law of the land”—and taking this passage by itself it would seem that the Court intended to decide that the entire charter was a legitimate and proper exercise of power. But when it is taken in connection with the whole opinion and reasoning of the Court, it will be found not to warrant this interpretation.⁵

The Court have said that the power of raising a revenue and applying it to national purposes implies the power of conveying money from place to place as the exigencies of the nation may require, & of employing the usual means of conveyance. That the government which has the power to do the act and has imposed on it the duty of performing that act must be allowed to select the means—that any means “necessary and proper” for that object and not forbidden by the constitution are within the power of Congress—and as a corporation is an appropriate means to carry into execution the powers of the government, no reason can be assigned for excluding the use of a Bank, if required for its fiscal operations. That a Bank is an appropriate measure for such a purpose—and if it is, the degree of its necessity must be discussed by the Legislature and not by the Judiciary. That where the law is not prohibited & is “really calculated to effect any of the objects entrusted to the Government, to undertake in a judicial tribunal to inquire into the degree of its necessity would be to pass the line which circumscribes the judicial Department and to tread on Legislative ground”—and the Court disclaimed all pretensions to such a power.⁶ Such is a brief summary of the reasoning by which the Court came to the conclusion that the charter to the Bank was a constitutional exercise of power.

The opinion of the Court then appears to be nothing more than this. That the Government has a right to establish proper agents for the collection & application of its revenue—that they may employ a corporation or individuals for this purpose & clothe whichever they select with the necessary powers—that the powers which are necessary in order to enable the agents of the government to perform effectually their duty is a matter of Legislative and not judicial enquiry. And if Congress should create a Bank for that purpose when one is not necessary—or confer on it peculiar powers & privileges to be used for individual emolument beyond what its duty as a fiscal agent required, yet a judicial tribunal could not on that ground pronounce the act to be unconstitutional, because it is not within the

province of judicial power to enter into such investigations. And whether a Bank is necessary or not for the convenient collection & distribution of the revenue & what powers & privileges are necessary to enable it to perform the duty for which it is created, are said, by the Court, to be questions for Legislative judgment, which cannot, from the nature of judicial power, be reviewed in a judicial proceeding.

Yet the Court admit that the Legislature can constitutionally use those means only that are “necessary and proper” to attain the end. Suppose therefore that the Legislature should establish a Bank and confer on it powers & privileges far more extensive than are required to collect the revenue & apply it for national purposes? and while they make it an institution “appropriate” for the collection of the revenue or the conveyance of it from place to place for public purposes, they at the same time, give it a capital and clothe it with powers & privileges which are not necessary to enable it to discharge its duty as a public agent, & which render it altogether independent of the public will, & enable a great monied aristocracy to combine together & by concentrating their power to exercise a baneful & corrupt influence in all the Departments of the Government. The creation of such an institution by Congress would not be justified by the Constitution & would manifestly be a gross violation of its principles. It would be an usurpation of power not intended to be delegated. And whether it be called the abuse of a power granted, or the exercise of a power not granted, it would in either case be a violation of the Constitution. Yet the Supreme Court say that if the means be appropriate to the collection and conveyance of the revenue from place to place for public purposes, the degree of its necessity cannot be discussed in a judicial proceeding. Consequently in the case above supposed the Court could not undertake to decide that more capital was given or greater & more extensive powers & privileges than were necessary for the efficient performance of its duty as a fiscal agent. So too in the case above supposed of a corporation created in execution of the power to establish post offices & post roads. As the use of such means is not prohibited & they are really calculated to effect an object entrusted to the government, the Court could not enquire into the degree of necessity & could not therefore pronounce such a measure unconstitutional. Here then would be manifest usurpations of power beyond the reach of judicial correction.

The result of the whole opinion therefore is that Congress have constitutionally the power to establish a Bank and to confer on it the power & privileges necessary for the convenient & effectual discharge of the duty assigned to it as an agent of the government for the collection & disbursement of the revenue. But if the powers & privileges conferred on it far transcend those which are necessary to accomplish the object for which it is created, the judicial power cannot correct such a violation of the constitution, because the extent of the power necessary to be given to the agent to enable it to perform its duty conveniently & effectually, is a subject

of Legislative discretion, & not one for judicial decision. The degree of necessity the Court say must be discussed elsewhere—that is—by those to whom the power of Legislation is confided by the Constitution.

It follows from this decision that when the proposed charter comes before you in your Legislative character, you are called on to consider whether a Bank with the powers & privileges contemplated by the charter is necessary for the purposes above mentioned. And it is proper that the degree of its necessity should be the more severely scrutinized by the Legislative branch of the Government, since we know, from the decision of the highest judicial tribunal, that an error upon this point cannot be corrected elsewhere, unless it be by the people themselves.

Resting upon these principles announced by the Supreme Court, I proceed to examine the question by the rule they have given, & I think that the charter proposed to be granted is not justified by the constitution, because it confers powers & privileges which are not necessary for the purpose of carrying into execution the power of the government to raise a revenue & apply it to national purposes—and because it surrenders for fifteen years a portion of the Legislative power conferred by the Constitution of which Congress cannot divest itself.

1. A Bank with thirty five millions of Capital cannot be necessary to convey from place to place a public revenue which is now proposed to be reduced to about 16 millions—and if a Bank be necessary for such a purpose, one of much smaller capital would answer the end. The excess of capital given, being unnecessary, is an excess of power beyond what is required for constitutional purposes, & therefore not justified by the power conferred by that instrument on the general government.

2. If the creation of such a Bank be a constitutional exercise of power, it cannot be necessary that the Government should for fifteen years deprive itself of the right to create another Bank as an additional agent for conveying the revenue from place to place if it should be found that the public interest required it. There can be no necessity for tying up the hands of the Government in this respect—and subjecting the people of this country to the evils & abuses which great monied monopolies have always occasioned. Nor can the present Congress restrict in this respect the Legislative power of their successors & deprive them of the right to use from time the means that may be found necessary and proper in the exigencies of the country; to execute the powers confided to Congress.

3. It cannot be necessary nor have Congress the power to allow the Bank to establish branches in every state either with or without the consent of the States. The authority to create the corporation is derived by the Supreme Court from the power vested in the Government to select suitable agents to convey the revenue from place to place where it may be needed for the public service. It is the province of the Government to point out the residence of these agents; so that one of them may be fixed wherever the Government requires its services, & no where else. But by

surrendering this power to the corporation that body is enabled to establish branches merely for the purpose of obtaining political influence or of making gainful speculations for private profit, in places not required by the duties of their agency for the public. The constitution does not give to Congress the power of establishing a Bank to obtain political influence or to favor individual speculations, and they cannot therefore delegate such a power to a corporation and place it at the same time for fifteen years out of the control of the people for whose benefit it is professedly brought into existence.

4. It cannot be necessary to give the great Banking powers conferred on this corporation in order to enable it to execute the duties of a fiscal agent. The circumstance that the Corporation agrees to pay a large bonus for its charter proves that it has privileges which are to be used for individual & private interests. And assuming, according to the decision in the case of *McCulloch vs. The State of Maryland*, that the establishment of the Bank is to be maintained on the ground that it is a convenient agent for conveying the revenue from place to place, it is contrary to the spirit of the constitution to sell such an office for money. It ought to have such certain reward measured out to it by law or such means of making profit, as would be a fair compensation for its services to the public—but peculiar privileges to be used for private profit cannot be sold by the General Government without violating the principles of our institutions. No such power is given by any article of the constitution.

5. If Congress could even sell such privileges to individuals, where the whole community have an equal opportunity to become purchasers, yet it is an abuse of power & a violation of the principles of equality upon which all of our institutions have been framed, to select by name, or other certain description, a favored body of individuals out of the whole community, & confer on them, high & valuable privileges from which all other citizens of the U. States are by law to be excluded. And if Congress may, upon the ground that the Bank is a convenient & necessary Fiscal Agent, confer on the present stockholders for fifteen years more the great powers, privileges & immunities now proposed to be given in the renewed charter, they may if they think proper constitute an individual instead of a corporation the public agent, and give him, for the same time, all the powers & exclusive privileges now conferred on the Bank. Whatever they may grant to a few specified & chosen individuals, they may give to a single individual. But if instead of granting the renewed charter, Congress had proposed to give to Nicholas Biddle the President of the Bank his executors, administrators & assigns for fifteen years all the powers, privileges & immunities now intended to be conferred on the individuals who happen to be the stockholders in the existing Bank, every one would be startled at such a flagrant usurpation of power. No intelligent individual in the U. States would suppose that Congress, in order to induce Mr. Biddle to become the agent of the Government for the purpose of conveying the revenue from

place to place, could constitutionally adopt him as their only partner in a great Banking speculation, in which thirty five millions of capital was to be employed, twenty eight to be furnished by him and seven by the U. States—the capital to be used at his pleasure for fifteen years in any state where he thought proper—and during that time to be protected from taxation by the States or the general government, and the profits to be divided between him & the U. States in proportion to the capital furnished. Such a scheme would I presume find no advocate even among those who contend for the most unrestrained construction of the constitution. But if Congress cannot do this in favor of Nicholas Biddle or any other single individual, how can it be done in behalf of a half-dozen individuals whom Congress might wish to favor? And if they may not do this for a small number of persons, neither can it be done for any five hundred or one thousand individuals whom they may chuse to select by name from the rest of the community. They cannot give or sell to any particular individuals for their private emolument, the monopoly of certain privileges & rights to the exclusion of the rest of the community, & thus erect among us a privileged class of citizens who are allowed to monopolize advantages which are denied to all other citizens of the U. States. Yet this is what Congress now propose to do. They might as well name in the law the present stockholders, & confer on them, by name, & their assigns, the exclusive right to the vast powers which the charter gives. The renewed charter describes them as certainly as if every one of the present stockholders were named in the law & pointed out as the peculiar object of public favor. Every other citizen is expressly excluded unless he can buy from some one of the fortunate individuals to whom the Government grants these valuable privileges. All competition upon equal terms is excluded. Can a Government like that of the U. States, established for specified purposes only, & with limited powers, grant to particular individuals, for their private emolument, exclusive privileges which are denied to the rest of our citizens? If they may grant them to the present stockholders they may grant them to any half dozen or dozen individuals by name—or to a single individual. And if they may do it for fifteen years they may do it for an hundred, and indeed in perpetuity, & make it descend, as real estate, to his heirs forever, & binding upon all future generations of the American People. I cannot believe that the people of the several States ever intended to confer such a power upon Congress. Nor can any article of or clause or principle be found in the constitution to justify it.

If it should be said that these privileges are given for the public interest, & to enable the Corporation to accomplish the public objects for which it is created—the answer is obvious & conclusive. Why are the Stockholders required to pay a bonus, as it is called, & why do they agree to pay it? What is the *bonus*? It is the price paid by the stockholders for the privileges which are given to them to be used for their private and individual emolument. It is the price demanded & the price paid for the means of

private gain which the charter conveys to the individuals who now hold the stock, & which they are to use for private & individual profit. It cannot be supposed that the stockholders pay this bonus from public spirited and patriotic motives. Why then is it paid? What is the consideration which the public give for it? It is paid for the exclusive private advantages which they agree to buy & which the Government agrees to sell. It is therefore evident that whatever may be the public ~~benefits~~ objects, certain private privileges are superadded and well understood to be given for the purposes of private gain. More is therefore granted than the public service requires and it is sold by the Government & bought by the individuals, whose names are given in the list of stockholders, & none others are allowed to become competitors for the purchase.

If therefore an original charter where all the citizens had a right to enter into the competition could be lawfully granted, it is still not within the constitutional power of Congress, by the renewal of this charter to select certain favored individuals & erect them into a privileged class & clothe them with particular rights & immunities to the exclusion of all the other citizens of the U. States. What is called renewing this charter is in fact & in law nothing more nor less than granting a new charter to certain favored & designated persons instead of leaving the privileges it confers equally open to the competition of all & giving to every citizen an equal opportunity of sharing in the advantages which the Government is about to sell.

In examining the constitutional question, it will be seen that I have followed throughout the rule which I understand to be given by the Supreme Court in the case of *McCulloh vs The State of Maryland*. Congress may use the means necessary to attain the end, but the grant of powers & privileges beyond the means necessary for the convenient and effectual accomplishment of the object in view, is an excess & abuse of power, and cannot be justified by the power given.

I am aware that other expressions in the constitution have been resorted to, in order to justify the immense power & great privileges given to the Bank of the U. States, far transcending every thing that can be supposed necessary for the convenient & useful discharge of its duty as an agent of the government to convey the revenue from place to place as the public exigencies may require. But in the opinion given by the Supreme Court, they do not suggest that any other ground but the one I have mentioned is a safe foundation on which to rest the constitutionality of the charter. And in a case of such high importance, which was so fully argued and so deliberately considered & decided, the silence of the Court in this particular, ~~appears~~ is the strongest evidence that the ground taken by them was in their opinion, the only one that could be defended. And I rely upon this opinion as a sufficient answer to the arguments which have elsewhere been drawn from other expressions used in the constitution. Indeed if the clauses referred to in relation to coining money &c. and providing for

the “general welfare” can be tortured into a power to create this Bank, then paper constitutions are a mere delusion & the Government of the U. States may, by the same process of reasoning, be proved to be constitutionally authorized to do whatever in its good pleasure it may deem to be expedient. Upon an occasion like this I do not feel that I am called upon to answer arguments which manifestly lead to such conclusions.⁷

Attempts have been made to justify the charter to the Bank upon the ground of “necessity” & the state of the currency during the late war has been referred to in order to shew the necessity of a national Bank. Those who have brought forward this argument do not distinctly point out the kind of necessity on which they rely and they use the word in an equivocal sense. Do they mean that necessity which is created by a sudden emergency, which calls for immediate action & cannot wait for legal sanctions? It can hardly be intended to apply this principle to the Legislative action of Congress so as to justify the assumption of powers not given by the constitution. It never has and never can be so applied without overturning all the principles of ~~the constitution~~ our Government. If Congress needs more power, the people can give it—and they are the only judges of competent to decide whether it is proper to be given.

Do they mean that it is necessary to promote the “General welfare”? Nobody now pretends that the power to provide for the “general welfare” confers any new power on Congress—or enlarges any before given.

If those who rely on “*necessity*” as a justification for chartering this Bank do not derive it from either of the sources above mentioned, then the argument means nothing more than that it is a necessary & proper instrument for executing some power specifically conferred. And if it is in this sense that they speak of its necessity, they are bound to shew the specific power which this Bank is a necessary & proper means for carrying into execution. And it is in truth nothing more than the old argument put forward in a new & equivocal form. And the state of the paper currency during the late war can have no connection with it & cannot alter the construction of the constitution nor enlarge the powers of Congress.

But if the powers, privileges and immunities before mentioned could be constitutionally granted, yet it is inexpedient to grant them. They are so vast & overwhelming, so liable to abuse & so intimately connected with the prosperity & welfare of every portion of the U. States & indeed of every citizen that they ought never to be entrusted to an irresponsible corporation, to be used as their private interests may dictate, regardless of the injury they may do to others. The immense amount of its capital together with its power of branching into every State, gives it absolute dominion over the circulating medium of the country. It can make money plenty or scarce at its pleasure throughout the U. States, or in any particular portion of the country. In times of commercial pressure it can throw the whole weight of it upon any particular section of the country it may chuse—and can exempt, from its fair share of the general calamity, any particular

place which the directors of the mother Bank may desire to favor. It can bring ruin on any commercial city in the U. States, if such should be the pleasure or the interest of the Directors of the mother Bank. We know this from the highest authority. For the President of the Bank, in his well known answers to the questions put to him by Genl. Smith admitted that there were few State Banks which the U. States Bank might not have broken if it had been disposed to do so, and it is easy to imagine the dismay and ruin that would follow such an exercise of power upon the Banks of any particular city. All Banks act in secret, and as the Branches of the U. States Bank are all subject to the control of the mother Bank, a mandate issued from the Directors' room in Philadelphia, may be felt at the same moment in every part of the U. States, & the blow it inflicts be too sudden & unexpected to be resisted or counteracted.⁸

In addition to the power which it may thus exercise over the fortunes of individuals and communities, its immense capital, its great patronage arising from the number of officers and agents in its pay or employment, its means of acquiring a corrupt influence in the councils of the States & the U. States give to it a formidable political power and may enable it to exercise a dangerous & corrupting influence in all the operations of the Government. It concentrates & gives combined action to a great monied interest which through the press and by other means which an unlimited command of money always gives to its possessor may enable it to exercise a decided & injurious influence over the servants of the public—an influence the more dangerous because it is concealed from the community. And thus gives to a portion of the monied aristocracy as a separate class & a separate body, a power in the Government which is adverse to the first principles of on which our institutions are founded. They are able to act and do act as a body through their representatives the President & Directors of the mother Bank. Can it be seriously doubted that the Bank possesses this political power & feel that they possess it, and are now acting on it? Why have they pressed for a renewal of their charter at this session of Congress, four years before the present one expires, and before the people of the U. States have had an opportunity of expressing a judgment on the subject. It is said in their defence that it is important to know whether their charter is to be renewed, in order that they may prepare to wind up the concerns of the Bank if the renewal is not granted. Does any one believe that if they are defeated at this session, they mean to consider the decision as final, and prepare to wind up its concerns? Do we not all know that the struggle will be maintained by the Bank for the four years it has yet to live, & the two years more to which it is afterwards entitled to settle its concerns, unless it can in the meantime accomplish its object? We cannot mistake the true object of the application made at this time and so perseveringly pressed. We are upon the eve of an election for President, & the Directors of the Bank, feeling their great political power and influence, have brought forward their application in the hope

that the President would yield up the opinions heretofore expressed by him in order to secure his election. And if his well known firmness & independence should disappoint their wishes, they hope, by combining with the other elements of opposition, to defeat his re-election & secure a President of the U. States who is favorable to their views. When a great monied institution attempts to overawe the President in the discharge of his high constitutional duties, it is conclusive evidence that it is conscious of possessing vast political power, which it supposes the President can be made to feel. And any institution clothed with such power will always be ready to use it, and is dangerous to the liberties of the Country and ought not to be continued.

But even if the evidence of their attempt to excite the apprehension of the President and his friends was less cogent, still it must always in the nature of things be inexpedient & impolitic unnecessarily to combine such a vast amount of separate individual interest in any of the fiscal operations of the government. If there could have been any doubts heretofore upon this point the events of the present session of Congress ought to have removed them. The question so far as the public is concerned is whether this Bank is a necessary & the most convenient agent that could be devised by the Government to convey its revenue from place to place. It is obvious that such a question as this would be decided without heat & excitement if the public alone were concerned and individual interests had not been created & connected with the existence of this corporation. But the simple question of selecting the most appropriate agent for conveying the public revenue from place to place has excited as much heat & passion as even the great question of the Tariff, which in some shape or other affects immediately the interest of almost every citizen of the U. States. And we find here, at Washington, the President of the Bank representing these individual interests, & pressing them on the councils of the nation, & resisting any change in the policy of the Government by every means in the power of the corporation, whose interests he is here to represent.⁹

It is quite clear that the stock holders have enjoyed & will enjoy under their present charter all the privileges which the Government agreed to grant. They have therefore no more claim on the U. States to have new privileges and immunities granted to them than any other citizens of the Country. And yet when the question comes up whether another agent as useful and less dangerous cannot be selected to convey the public revenue from place to place, we find that so many individual interests & to such an amount, are combined in the Bank, that this simple & unexciting question of public policy cannot be discussed with ordinary calmness & sobriety. There are it seems private interests enough involved in it to create an excitement which is felt every where, & to produce a degree of heat and passion which always arises when individual interests are at stake—but which a question of this sort regarded upon mere public grounds could never have created. It can never be good policy to associate so much

individual interest in a mere fiscal operation of the Government—as it will always be found afterwards to ~~impede~~ embarrass the deliberations and impede the movements of the ~~Government~~ public servants. And as we have now witnessed their tendency & effects in the recent discussion, the sooner the policy is changed the better. A renewal of the charter would enhance the mischief and give to this influence such a power that the Government could not hereafter in any event change its policy. In another fifteen years the President of the Bank elected by a few of the great capitalists of the Country would have more influence in the councils of the nation & in directing the measures of the Government than the President of the U. States elected by the people. Congress would not govern the secret conclave in the Directors' room, but would be in danger of being governed by it.

There is one remaining topic under the head of expediency to which I beg leave to ask your attention & which in my judgment ought to be of itself sufficient to prevent the renewal of this charter. It is proposed that certain annual sums are to be paid by the Bank and they are to be exempted during the continuance of their charter from any other taxation, either by the U. States or the States. Now although the sum proposed to be paid may, according to our present scale of taxation on other property, be a fair share of the public burthen upon the private capital employed in the Bank, yet the situation of this country may be greatly changed in the course of nineteen years yet to come. We may be involved in a war. It may be necessary to lay heavy burthens on property of every description in order to maintain the interest & honor of the nation and to defend it against its enemies. It may as in the late war become necessary to add sorely to the burthens now borne by the State Banks for the purpose of raising the necessary revenue. Can it be just or expedient while the property of individuals in the State Banks are subjected to new & heavy impositions to exempt from all share in the general calamity, the private property vested in the Bank of the U. States? Why should not the 28 millions of private property vested in the stock of that Bank bear its share of the public burthen in times of war & distress? The land-holder be his possessions small or large—the stock-holders in the State Banks who are generally men in moderate circumstances, are subject to the weight of unlimited war taxation whenever the public exigency may require it—why should the stock in the Bank of the U. States, which is generally held by the most opulent monied men, many of them wealthy foreigners, be entirely free from the additional taxation which war or any other calamity may bring upon the rest of the community? The property thus vested in the U. States Bank enjoys the protection and indeed the peculiar favor of the Government. Why should this property & these privileges be defended at the expense of others less able to bear it? The money of the citizen employed in the State Banks is to be diminished in value by new burthens whenever the wants of the Country require it. While the money of the

opulent citizen & of the wealthy foreigner, employed in the same manner, in gainful business in the U. States is not to be allowed to feel the pressure which bears on the rest of the community when engaged in defending & protecting the interests of all. And the only private property in all the U. States which will not feel the weight of war taxation is the privileged 28 millions, invested in the stock of the U. States Bank.

Upon the subject of taxation the Bank has sometimes been compared in its operations to the Post Office or the customs houses. It has been said to be a public agent and therefore not properly liable to taxation. The property which the public may have in those establishments, without doubt, is not the subject of taxation. It would be absurd for the Government to lay a tax on its own property, which it would have itself to pay. Neither can a State be permitted to tax the operations of any public agent of the U. States. But the property of individuals vested in the Bank is not public, but is private property—& the principles of justice & sound policy require that this private property like any other private property, should at all times and on all occasions be liable for its fair share of the public burthens.

The remaining ground of objection may be disposed of in a few words.

I have said that if the incorporation of such a Bank with the capital & the powers & privileges proposed to be given to it, be justified by the constitution of the U. States, & if the public interest renders it expedient to create a corporation with the powers & privileges proposed to be given in the new charter, they ought not to be continued to the present Bank of the U. States, but conferred rather on a new & distinct corporation.

Some of the views which lead me to this conclusion have been already incidentally stated in discussing the objections to the constitutionality and expediency of such a corporation. 1st. That the grant to the present stockholders of valuable privileges to be used for private emolument, is unjust to our other citizens who ought to be allowed an equal opportunity of obtaining these advantages if they are to be conferred by the Government.

2dly. The determination to bring on the question of renewing the charter four years before it expires, upon the eve of the Presidential election, manifests too plainly to be mistaken that the design is to influence the public servants in a great question of public concern, by exciting their fears of the political influence of this mighty engine of power. And any monied corporation which interferes in any way as a body in political concerns ought to receive the marked reprobation of the constituted authorities

But what to my mind is decisive upon this branch of the enquiry is the perfect conviction that the funds of the Bank have been freely used for the purpose of obtaining political influence & power. The facts disclosed by the recent investigations of the Committee leave, in my judgment, no doubt on this point. And to grant new favors to a corporation which is thus proved to have misbehaved itself, is to sanction its conduct, and to

put the seal of public approbation upon efforts made to obtain power by corrupt means. Putting every other consideration aside, I regard this, of itself, to be an insuperable objection to the renewal of the charter.

I am sensible that the general currency of the notes of the U. States Bank is a public convenience & it is supposed by many that this advantage cannot be obtained without a Bank possessed of the power to fix its branches in every part of the Union. If this were true, it could not affect the constitutional question, because it never can be admitted that a measure of expediency & convenience would justify Congress in the usurpation of power not delegated by the constitution. But it is not true that this public convenience arises from the character or conduct of the Bank. It is the pledge of Congress to receive its notes and those of its branches every where in payment of public dues, that gives to them their universal currency, and if the same pledge were given in favor of the notes of the most obscure State Bank its notes would immediately become equally current in every part of the U. States. And if it should be deemed necessary that a Bank or Banks should be created by the U. States to convey the revenue from place to place, the object might be accomplished by independent Banks, each with a moderate capital, established at suitable places. And a like pledge that the notes of each of them should be receivable every where in payment of public dues, would give a currency equally sound and general with that now afforded by the existing Bank. Such Banks would not have the means of exercising that dangerous and corrupt political influence with which the present mammoth monopoly is able to pervade the U. States. They would moreover operate as checks upon one another & prevent that sudden & extravagant increase of discounts & issues of paper, which the unchecked power of the present institution enables it to do not only with impunity, but with profit to itself; and which in the end unavoidably brings pressure and even embarrasses the operations of the Government and thwarts its views; as was recently the case in relation to the payment of the national debt.¹⁰

But I am convinced that neither a corporation nor corporations, with all the powers of Brokerage & Banking given in the proposed Charter, are necessary for the conveyance of the public revenue from place to place & that the object may be conveniently attained by institutions possessing far less power and banking privilege. And if this can be done, then there is no warrant in the constitution for giving more.

Upon the whole I respectfully advise that the proposed bill be not approved. And as the frank and decided course which has marked your conduct through your whole life, is, I have no doubt, not only the right one in morals but the wisest in public affairs I think the proposed charter ought to be met on every ground on which you may deem it liable to objection. I am Sir with the Highest respect your Obt. St.

R. B. Taney

LS, DLC (41).

1. Article 1, Section 8 of the constitution authorizes Congress to “make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution” its expressly stated powers.

2. The postal law of 1825 prescribed death as the penalty for a second offense of robbing the mail, or for a first offense of robbing the mail by “the use of dangerous weapons” (*Statutes*, 4:108–9).

3. In 1801 an outgoing Congress under President John Adams (1735–1826) passed a Judiciary Act that increased the number of federal courts and expanded their jurisdiction. The next Congress under President Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) repealed the Act in 1802, abolishing the new judgeships and court offices.

4. In *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* in 1819, the Supreme Court held that Dartmouth’s charter constituted a private contract which the state was constitutionally debarred from altering or rescinding. The Court acknowledged a legislature’s right to amend charters of public corporations such as municipalities (17 U.S. Reports 518).

5. In *McCulloch v. Maryland* in 1819, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States and struck down a Maryland law taxing its Baltimore branch. Chief Justice Marshall’s opinion reasoned that while incorporating a bank was not an enumerated congressional power, it was a legitimate “necessary and proper” means to execute such explicit powers as regulating commerce and collecting taxes. The passage Taney quoted is at 17 U.S. Reports 424.

6. *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 17 U.S. Reports 423.

7. Article 1, Section 8 of the constitution gives Congress power to coin money and to “lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States.”

8. In 1830, in the course of preparing a report on the currency, the Senate Finance Committee, chaired by Samuel Smith of Maryland, had directed written questions to Biddle. One query was: “Has the bank at any time oppressed any of the State banks?” Biddle answered: “Never. There are very few banks which might not have been destroyed by an exertion of the power of the bank. None have ever been injured. Many have been saved” (*SDoc* 104, 21st Cong., 2d sess., p. 6, Serial 193).

9. Biddle had been in Washington since May 20. He remained until July 4.

10. In March, Biddle had proposed to the Treasury to put off for a few months a planned redemption on July 1 of about \$6.5 million of federal debt from funds on deposit with the Bank. Biddle said that the abrupt withdrawal of that sum, much of it owing to creditors in Europe, would abridge the Bank’s ability to accommodate commercial debtors, especially those owing the government for customs duties, and thus impair collection of the revenue. The redemption was postponed to October (*HRRep* 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 25–27, 282–83, Serial 227; *HRRep* 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 89–90, Serial 236).

To William Berkeley Lewis

Major Lewis

Say in your letter to Mr. Kendall, I mean to give to my opponants a full view of my opinion on the constitutional power of congress to create corporations, as well as the inpolicy & inexpediency of the measure, as well as its corrupting influence on the morales of the nation, and the absurdity of the power to create corporations, & the government to become a partner, in “a brokers shop” on large scale yrs

A. Jackson

read & destroy this

ANS, NNPM (19-0519). Copy, NN (19-0521). Lewis later endorsed this undated note “1833.” But a more likely period is June 1832. Kendall left Washington on May 30 and was away through June. John Quincy Adams said a bank was “a broker upon a large scale” in a House committee report on May 14 (*HRRep* 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 390, Serial 227), and AJ then quoted the phrase in a draft of his July 10 Bank veto message (below).

To the United States Congress (not sent)

[On June 28 the Senate passed, on a roll-call vote of 30 to 13, a resolution offered the day before by Henry Clay: “That a joint committee of both Houses wait on the President of the United States, and request that he recommend a day, to be designated by him, of public humiliation, prayer, and fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnity, and with fervent supplications to Almighty God that he will be graciously pleased to continue his blessings upon our country; and that he will avert from it the Asiatic scourge which has reached our borders; or, if in the dispensations of his providence, we are not to be exempted from the calamity, that through his bountiful mercy, its severity may be mitigated, and its duration shortened” (Senate Journal, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 373–74, Serial 211). The resolution was communicated to the House of Representatives, which advanced it to a third reading on June 30 by a vote of 99 to 62. It was subsequently committed, reported, debated, amended, and finally tabled on July 14, the next to last day of the session (House Journal, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1020, 1031–34, 1094–97, 1110–13, 1117, 1151–52, 1182, Serial 215). Presumably within that two-week period, Jackson had the following drafts of a message prepared—the first by Andrew J. Donelson, the second by Louis McLane. The resolution not passing the House, it was never delivered to Jackson and no message was sent in reply.]

Draft by Andrew J. Donelson

To the Senate & House of Representatives

I have received from the committee of the two Houses of congress the joint resolution which they have adopted requesting the President of the United States to _____

Altho solemnly impressed with a sense of our dependance both as a nation and as individuals upon the merciful Providence of God, and devoutly anxious that this dependance may so influence our disposition as to make us a holy people, I am not satisfied that in complying with the request expressed in the resolution of Congress on this occasion I should be promoting this sacred object.

Our institutions have attained their present growth without the exercise of power of a political nature which affected in any manner the religious

or spiritual concerns of the people. ~~The exercise of such a power would be a violation of the spirit of the federal constitution, and is believed to be repugnant to the genius if not to the practice of nearly all the state constitutions.~~ In the Federal constitution the principle which has regulated the practice of the Government in this respect is too obvious ever to be ~~mistaken~~ overlooked; and if we have not required the favors and blessings which have been bestowed upon us, under its influence, with that degree of gratitude and love for the Divine being which shall continue to exempt us from the ravages which other portions of the Earth have witnessed, it appears to me that we ought to seek this alleviation in those sources of repentance and holiness which have been revealed to us not as a Government but as a people.

We have in our short carer as a Nation already excited the admiration of the world by the simplicity of the means which we employ in Government. This characteristic is not less remarkable than the progress we have made in the improvements of social as well as the securities of political life. If therefore we are at liberty from our own experience to anticipate that conduct which will be likely to secure to us the continuance of the favor of Providence, it would seem to be that, in reference to the Government, which would restrain it to the simple objects of its institutions, and in reference to the people that which will secure them the greatest freedom in their spiritual associations and the most extended use of the temporal means which under the guidance of their own judgments, enlightened by the sacred influence of christianity, they may regard as most conducive to their safety, welfare, and happiness.

I am aware that a mere recommendation may be said to carry with it no legal obligation and in this point of view does not involve any question of constitutional power. This circumstance, however, does not obviate the objection which I entertain to such a recommendation. It is that the object to be attained by it is beyond the sphere of the Federal Government, and one which it is the design of all our institutions to keep altogether free from its operations. The object is to awaken the religious sentiments of the people that they may supplicate with more confidence the throne of God for relief from the pestilences with which he in his mercy has afflicted other portions of the earth and may afflict this. An appeal of this solemn character should come from influences ambassadors of christ that are trained to the discipline of the church and sanctified by the practice of those divine rules which are prescribed for the salvation of man. Such influences the Government of this union was not designed to act upon, because it cannot without becoming in some degree responsible for the steps which they take in the forms of worship and in other ways for the accomplishment of their objects.

Entertaining these general views on the subject of the resolution, I deem it my duty, with the greatest respect for the opinions of congress, to

decline the designation of the day ~~of fasting and prayer~~, which they have recommend should be set apart for the purposes of fasting and prayer.

For similar reasons it must have been perceived that I declined a ~~similar~~ request to the same effect made of me by the general synod of the reformed Dutch church of New York.

AD, DLC (73).

Draft by Louis McLane

I have duly considered the joint resolution of the S. & H. of R. which you did me the honor to present to me, and will not withhold my gratification ~~of~~ at the acknowledgement it conveys of the blessings which the ~~admin.~~ our wise form of govt. under the guidance of Providence ~~your wise form of govt.~~ has conferred upon the Country. I pray you gentlemen to be assured that no one feels more devoutly or with greater humility than I do my daily dependance upon divine aid; & none will offer up more fervant supplications for a continuance of those blessings which the ~~mercy~~ bounty of heaven has conferred upon us.

Notwithstanding this, however, and the respect ~~due to~~ I entertain for the ~~members of the~~ Senate & the H. of R. I find myself constrained upon the present occasion to decline complying with their wishes.

On the ____ of ____ I received a letter from the pious & respectable Dutch Synod of N Y. &c. making a similar request, ~~and~~ which from a sense of public duty I felt bound to decline. My answer containing the motives which influenced me on that occasion was dated the ____ of ____ and ~~was published in the papers of N. Y. received in this city before~~ it is presumed was publicly known before the resolution you have presented me was acted upon by the two houses of congress.¹

It is certainly true as the resolution itself imports that the issuing of the proclamation now requested is no part of the duties confided to the Executive by the constitution of the U. S. ~~It~~ and would be in its character recommendatory merely; & in no respect obligatory upon those to whom it would be directed; ~~and would be intended only on the request of Congress to~~ It could do no more than recommend to the P. of the U. S. to comply with the wishes of the two houses of congress as expressed in their joint resolution.

The voluntary ~~& unofficial~~ annunciation of these wishes by an unofficial Executive proclamation could not ~~add to their~~ it is presumed give them greater solemnity or effect, ~~which might be as appropriately recommended by a~~ than the promulgation in ~~another form~~ of the resolution itself; And it is with me at least a ground of regret that declining that course the two Houses of Congress should have preferred requesting me to do that it would have been desirable that the two houses of congress should have pursued that course, preferring that course should have saved

me the embarrassment of disappointing their wishes or of doing an act which from my letter to the Dutch Synod it ~~was~~ must be obvious ~~was~~ is incompatible with my sense of duty under the constitution.

Under these circumstances it does not appear to me that there exists any sufficient reason why I should depart from the ground I felt it my duty to occupy in my answer to the Dutch Synod.

While declining a compliance with the resolution I beg leave to repeat my acknowledgment of the dependance of all human means upon the aid of the divine will; and also my firm reliance upon the efficacy of prayer in all times, not less in the day of prosperity than in the hour of visitation & calamity.

In the spirit and structure of our institutions, however, we have carefully separated sacred from secular concerns, and that interference which would be appropriate in governments in which there is a union of church & state would be both unsafe & unbecoming in this.

I deem it my duty to preserve this separation and to abstain from any act which may tend to ~~their~~ an amalgamation perilous to both; or which may interfere with the duties of those to whom these subjects are appropriately committed. I have the honor to be, gentlemen, with high respect & consideration your ob. Servt.

My dear Sir,

I send you the foregoing—which I have no time to prune or improve—as the crude *form* of an answer. The phraseology is imperfect and you had better take it as a *form* merely, & vary its whole structure for the sake both of brevity & taste.

AD, DLC-Van Buren Papers (20-0831). The appended note may have been intended for either AJ or Van Buren.

1. AJ's June 12 letter to John F. Schermerhorn (above) was first published in an Albany religious paper on June 23. It was reprinted in New York City on June 27, the day Clay introduced his resolution, and in Washington on June 30, where it was read on the House floor before the vote on the resolution's third reading. By the session's close the House was considering an amended version of the resolution, proposed by John Bell of Tennessee, that named a date of observance directly rather than requesting the president to designate one.

Memorandum on Henry Marie Brackenridge

I have read the within, and as to the mandacity & scurrility of the writer & his man friday, are too diminutive to be noticed by me—the charges against Brackenride, were sufficient to withhold me from nominating—one was that he was in the habit of leaving the bench, without his hat, the Jury in their box, in the midst of a cause, and not returning to adjourn the court this, without many others were, sufficient. A. J.

ANS, DLC (59; 19-0512). Henry Marie Brackenridge (1786–1871) had served AJ as private secretary and translator when AJ was Florida territorial governor in 1821. He was appointed West Florida district judge by James Monroe in 1822 and reappointed by Monroe and Adams in 1824 and 1828. In February 1832 AJ nominated James G. Bryce to replace him when his commission expired in May. On April 17 Brackenridge published a letter in the *US Telegraph* branding his non-reappointment a personal betrayal, a defiance of popular wishes, and an exercise of “tyrannical caprice.” A second letter on May 9 charged AJ with a “narrow, illiterate mind” and a “violent, arbitrary, and tyrannical temper.” In June a pamphlet, *Judge Brackenridge’s Letters*, reprinted both letters, along with statements of support for Brackenridge from Florida congressional delegate Joseph M. White.

July



From Edward Philip Livingston

Albany 2d July 1832

Respected Sir—

I have the honor to enclose you an application of Mrs. Broom on a subject highly interesting to her, to an amiable family, and a large circle of relatives and friends. The course now pursued has been recommended by several of our most esteemed citizens, who would gladly unite in addressing you should it be deemed necessary or adviseable. The interest I take in this matter, arises not only from a conviction that a young man of very respectable connections has by unfortunately associating with unworthy persons exposed himself to a criminal prosecution, but has deeply wounded the peace of a widowed mother, and most affectionate sister. To that sister since I had the pleasure of receiving your kind hospitality, I have been united in marriage; previous to that event, the circumstances detailed in the memorial of Mrs. Broom were mentioned to me, and I have witnessed the anguish they have caused.

There is a consolation however in knowing that this offence has been followed by sincere contrition and repentance, and it is this which induces me to believe that if restored to his country and friends, his future life will atone for the errors and follies of youth.

Permit me then to recommend the petition of Mrs. Broom to your favorable notice, and to assure you that I am confident the ends of justice have sufficiently been answered by the exile of the offender and the remorse he has experienced.

Allow me to add that whilst your granting the pardon asked for, can not increase my esteem and respect, it will fill my bosom, as well as that of my affectionate partner and her aged mother with the sincerest gratitude. Your reply as soon as it may suit your convenience addressed to me at Clermont N.Y will greatly oblige me, and I remain with sentiments of the greatest respect your very obedt

Edwd. P. Livingston

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] The petition cannot be considered without the record of conviction, and united to the memorialists, the atto. who prosecuted, and the judges before whom he was tried. A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0873). Edward Philip Livingston (1779–1843), a cousin of Edward Livingston, was the lieutenant governor of New York. On June 13 he had married Mary Crooke Broom (1804–1877), daughter of Ann Crooke Barber Broom (1765–1856). Livingston enclosed a June 30 appeal from Ann to AJ to pardon her son Charles Crooke Broom (b. 1807). At age 20, Charles had embezzled around \$1,100 while clerking at the BUS branch in New York City. The money was repaid, but in October 1829 Charles was indicted in federal court. He failed to appear and instead fled to Europe, where he now remained, according to Ann, “deeply afflicted and penitent” (DNA-RG 59, 20-0841). Daniel Brent wrote Edward P. Livingston on July 23 that AJ would need to see the trial record and recommendations from the judge and prosecutor before he could consider the plea (DNA-RG 59, M40-23). Broom was not pardoned. He later returned to the U.S.

From John Randolph

Private

Charlotte C. H. July 5. 1832. Thursday

My dear Sir,

Your kind & considerate letter of the 30th. of last month was received the day before yesterday, too late to answer it by return of mail: and yesterday just as I was about to answer it, at the hour when your receiving rooms begin to overflow with visitors, (2. P.M) I was, after much previous anxiety & distress, seized with the gout in both feet. It is a very sharp attack. The pain I could endure with a degree of patience that would not disgrace my manhood—but there is an affection of the stomach & of the head & neck that is almost too much for my fortitude. I had intended to set out for Washington on the 6th. or 7th. so as to get there before Congress should have dispersed—(I wish I could say disbanded—) but of this there is now no hope. My object was to demand redress of a wrong which I have sustained from the Treasury Department & I submit my case to you, Sir, entreating that you will grant it by giving orders to Mr. Auditor Kendall to strike my name as a publick debtor from his books. The circumstances of the case will be explained by my correspondence with Mr. Secretary Branch. Briefly, the matter stands thus. When the Concord was fitted out at Portsmouth N.H. the navy agent there put on board of her a quantity of furniture & utensils for my use. Of the existence of this fact I was ignorant until we had been ten days or more at Sea. I then caused the bed & furniture, china ware &c: &c: to be packed up & requested Capt: Perry to transmit them to the U.S. substituting a *cot* as a more appropriate fixture in an American Man of War than a bedstead & curtains. Capt. P. said he would deliver them to the navy agent at Port Mahon on account of the U.S. He might have left them with Mr. Hunter at Cowes, when he touched there on his return home.¹ Be that as it may—these things were thrust upon me without my knowledge or approbation, & against my consent I am made a debtor to the Publick for property which seems to have been purchased by way of *Job*. I sent Mr. Secretary Branch the inventory. What may have been broken by the carelessness, or embezzled by the

dishonesty of the Captain's Steward I cannot tell. I am myself personally responsible for two chamber utensils broken in my service.

This conduct on the part of the officers of the U.S. would in private transactions between man & man be deemed highly discreditable, to say no worse. What right has government to force upon me their trumpery goods & make me a debtor & report me as a defaulter against my consent, or without my knowledge? The thing calls for amendment.

In the course of our "intercommunication" (as Mr. Jefferson would say) I have expressed myself with a freedom & frankness, that became us both—& if I have occasionally put your forbearance to the test it was because I felt the most intense interest in your fame & the success of your administration. My friend Mr. Mark Alexander has informed me of the dilemma to which certain persons in the H. of R. think they have placed you by the passage of the Bank Bill. He adds—"our hopes rest upon the President & I have no doubt he will prove himself equal to the occasion"—neither have I.² This is the sort of man, my dear Sir, to whom you should look for the sentiments of Virginia. The rival Coxcombs who are intriguing to obtain the mission to England have not a feather's weight even in their respective districts—& if I wished to disgust Virginia & disgrace ourselves at St. James's I would send one of them thither. I think I can see the countenance of the Foreign Secretary & of the persons who compose the good society of London at the vulgarity ignorance & impudence of the one, & or the pedantic arrogance of the other, equally ignorant of all that it behoves him to know. No; Spain, Portugal, or some of these barbarous sister Republics of ours are the only Theatres where such actors could be tolerated. one of them, to my knowledge, was any thing but your friend & the other never had an attachment except to himself.³

I had no suspicion of Dashiell's being intemperate. The propensity, if not formed has developed itself since Dr. T's death; & I presume his successor could not have observed it. I own it surprises me that the objection should come from the⁴ present incumbent, whom I saw in a most disgraceful paroxysm of drunkenness at Stafford Court House on the day preceding your inauguration.⁵ It had been of some days standing & in that condition he was tumbled into the mail cart—telling every body that he was going to Washington to get an office. I had never seen him but once before & if he had not addressed me by name as I entered the *Publick Room* of the Inn, I should have set him down for some of the *natives* & made no enquiry as to who he was. But I asked Alexander the Innkeeper & he told me that he was a counsellor of Virginia on his way to Washington to procure an office, but that his heels had been tripped up by liquor & he had been detained there two days. In the afternoon he caused himself to be lifted into the mail cart & in that disgraceful condition he was carried towards the Seat of Government.

Let me express my grateful sense of the kind interest you take in my health. I shall struggle hard to get to England this Autumn. If I fail I

have no expectation of surviving the winter. Believing you to be of all the persons who have been or are in the publick eye the most devoted to the welfare of our Country & the most ready to make personal sacrifices to her interests & placing the utmost reliance on the fearless Integrity of your character, I shall support you with my warmest & best efforts; & shall continue to feel towards you the liveliest affection & respect.

John Randolph of Roanoke

July 5th. 1832

I fear that our friend P. P. B. will do himself no service by permitting his name to be used by the coalition, of which I now consider mr Calhoun to be a regularly installed member.⁶ I would greatly prefer any one that has been named to him, knowing him to the very core as I do.

To day I heard from my uterine brother Mr. H. S. G. Tucker. He is at Lewisburg holding his court—probably now at the White Sulphur Springs where his letter was dated. I leave others to sound his praises as one of our profoundest Lawyers endowed with a peculiar facility of despatching business & content myself with saying *that he keeps the faith*, most steadfastly.

[Endorsed by AJ Donelson:] John Randolph Ansd. on the 17th. July 1832

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Master Commandant Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794–1858) had commanded the *Concord* when it took Randolph to Russia in 1830. Robert Robertson Hunter was the U.S. consul at Cowes, on the Isle of Wight.

2. Mark Alexander (1792–1883) was a Virginia congressman.

3. Virginia congressman William Segar Archer (1789–1855) and House speaker Andrew Stevenson had been reported as leading aspirants for the ministry to Britain.

4. The text is blotted here. Randolph wrote in the margin: “The blot was accidentally made after I had finished my letter.”

5. Dr. T. was Thomas Tudor Tucker, Treasurer of the U.S. until his death in 1828, and the present incumbent was John Campbell of Virginia, appointed by AJ in May 1829 and previously a member of the Virginia Council of State.

6. P. P. B. was Philip Pendleton Barbour.

From Graves W. Steele

Hermitage—July 6th 1832

Dr Sir

I take this opportunity to give you the Necessary information as it respects the health of the family—Crop Stock & farm generley the

family ar all in good health and has kep up much Better than I antisi-
pated on during the Season—

the prospect for a crop is much better at present than it was a few days
parst we had a good rain on 27 Last month and it has bin quiet season-
able since then My Corn in the cahney field and in the field adjoining
the church is good all so a parte of the Winson farm and a few Spots in
the Mosley field but there Is som spots inn both of them farms that is not
so good¹ My cotton is growing verrey fast and is a parte of it about
the heighth of the knee and a parte again that is not moore than 8 or 10
inches I had Blooms on the 27 June and last year I had them on the 14th
of June My cotton Is well branched out from the ground the onley fear
Is that I shall have to push it two fast from this time forward to give it
cize the crop of small grain has bin good except the Crop of wheat that is
Bad. It did not produce twice the quantitey that was Sown I am hard
working My corn the last time over for this Season. My worke horses ar
all in good worke orrdrre the Stock of Catle hogs & Sheepe ar all in good
plait. their has aney deaths taken place In this kneighbour hood during
this Season except Mr Richard Wadkins who died on the 30 June[.]² I am
with dew respect your Most obt Sur vant

G W Steele

ALS, DLC (41).

1. In 1830 and 1831, AJ had purchased tracts of land abutting the Hermitage from Peter
Guerrant Moseley (1776–1858).

2. Richard Watkins (1768–1832) had resided in Wilson County.

To Martin Van Buren

Washington July 7th. 1832

My Dr. Sir,

I congratulate you on your safe return to your country & friends. I
have this moment read it in the Newyork Courier, and have sent for the
Major to order him to you.¹ I am so engaged in my *veto* to the Bank bill
that I can only send you by the Major a reiteration of my wishes for your
presence here.

Col Hamilton will have delivered you some letters containing some
papers for you.² Attend to my suggestions therein & all is well. They
enemies have attempted to assail you on your ultra Tariff opinions. I have
said you were for a fair protection to plaice our productive labour on a
fair competition with that of Europe &c &c I salute thee with the congratu-
lations of all my household expecting to hear from you first & then see you
soon I remain respectfully yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (20-0903).

1. The July 6 *Courier and Enquirer* had reported Van Buren's arrival at New York. The Major was Abraham Van Buren.

2. AJ had written Van Buren via James A. Hamilton on June 14 (above).

Bank of the United States Veto Message

[A bill "to modify and continue the act entitled 'An act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States'" passed the Senate on June 11 by 28 to 20 and the House of Representatives on July 3 by 107 to 85. It continued the charter for another fifteen years beyond its present expiration on March 3, 1836, requiring from the Bank an annual bonus payment to the U.S. of \$200,000 "in consideration of the exclusive benefits and privileges continued by this act." Jackson received the bill on July 4 and returned it to the Senate with his veto on July 10. A Senate motion on July 13 to repass the bill garnered 22 yeas to 19 nays, short of the two-thirds necessary to override the veto (Senate Journal, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 451–53, 463–64, Serial 211).]

The Library of Congress holds multiple drafts of Jackson's July 10 veto message. Early versions written by Jackson, Andrew Jackson Jr., and Jackson's secretary George Breathitt were apparently composed during the bill's progress through Congress in anticipation of its passage. A major draft by Amos Kendall, composed after the bill's passage, furnished the structure and most of the language of the veto in final form. Subsequent drafts by Andrew J. Donelson copied and amended Kendall's text. The final signed version delivered to the Senate is in multiple hands (DS, DNA-RG 46, 20-0916; Senate Journal, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 433–46, Serial 211; SDoc 180, 22d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 214; Richardson, 2:576–91). Printed here, in probable sequential order, are all the drafts through Kendall's, and a page from Donelson's with added text by Jackson.]

Memorandum book draft

[This draft in Jackson's private memorandum book begins as a continuation and repetition of arguments against the Bank that Jackson had earlier entered in the book in 1830 and 1831 (Jackson Papers, 8:601–5). It is partially in Andrew Jackson Jr.'s hand and was probably composed sometime between the submission to Congress of the Bank's memorial for recharter in January and Andrew Jr.'s departure for Tennessee in April.]

⑨⑥ Again the U.S. Bank is unconstitutional and impolitic.¹

Unconstitutional. Because

1rst. Congress has no power to legislate upon any subject, unless such power is *expressly* given in some part of the constitution, or is *necessary* and *proper* for the attainment of some object for the attainment of which there is an express grant.

Before the formation of the Federal constitution each state was sovereign, and independent, within its own limits, and no state is deprived by the constitution of any it once possessed, unless in the exercise of its own sovereign powers it has made an express surrender to the Federal Government.

Who can point his finger to the paragraph in the constitution by which this power is conferred? I answer—no person. Had it been intended to confer so important a power by the framers of ~~the constitution~~ that instrument, the grant would have been clear and explicit—now all ought to admit if such power exists it is doubtful from what paragraph it is to be inferred—some of its advocates deduce it from one passage—some from another, and the very circumstance of their disagreement, is a strong argument that it cannot be, legitimately, deduced from any of the grants of power which have been made. It has been very appropriately termed a “vagrant power crawling over the constitution, feeling for a *soft place* in the instrument, where it can make a settlement.”²

It cannot as, I think, be fairly contended that a Bank owned by *individuals* in whole, or in part, is necessary to enable congress to exercise³ the power granted “to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare.”⁴

The taxes, duties, imposts and excises may, and must be laid without the aid of a Bank, and they may very conveniently, be collected, without the aid of a such Bank created by Congress. In like manner the monies thus collected may be paid out through the agency of either individuals, or of Banks created by state authorities. To answer any of those purposes it appears the Bank is not necessary.

A strong objection to infer a power to create the Bank from this clause is, that if the Bank were created it would not answer the purposes of either collecting or paying out the taxes &c, unless you also vest in such Bank the power to establish Branches at such places in the respective states as the Bank may choose without the consent of the states. This cannot be done without inferring a power, from, an inferred power, which would violate the sovereign rights of the states, and in many instances ~~sacraficing~~ their interest, likewise—⁵

From the granted power “to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures,” it appears very unfair to *infer* that Congress has a power to incorporate a Banking company.⁶ This confer’s a power only to *coin metals* into money and fix its value as well as the value of foreign coin. In this there is no hint given by which we can suppose notes or paper money was intended to be used as a standard of value, the money is to be coined, its value fixed—that of foreign coins settled and the weights regulated—all clearly pointing to a metallic currency. Could any man seriously urge that from this clause Congress has a power to regulate the value of foreign Bank Notes. A power to regulate the value of foreign coin gives no power to regulate

the value of Notes upon a Bank in England or France, but simply to fix the value of metallic coins of those and other foreign states when used and circulated in the United States—And yet; if from the words to coin money, a power is deduced to create a Bank to issue paper money, the same course of reasoning must confer a power to fix the value of foreign Notes from the words, “to regulate the value of foreign coin,” which it is not believed any person will seriously contend for.

Other considerations I think satisfactorily shew the framers of the Constitution never intended to give Congress the power claimed. Each state has a Republican form of Government granted by this same constitution. This form was intended to secure substantial benefits—among these it is essential that each state should have the power if she chooses to exercise it to impose for purposes taxes upon the person’s and property within her limits. Yield to the states respectively this power, as one reserved, and you put it in the power of the states to prevent a Federal Bank from being established or remaining within their limits.

The federal sovreign might in one way, and the state sovreignty the other in relation to the same matter at the same time. These inconsistent powers cannot exist, and to me it is inconcievable that the states ever intended to part with so essential a power as that of taxation; and yet we must believe they have done so, if we admit that Congress has the power to incorporate the Bank. But suppose we admit that Congress from the power to coin money &c. Congress has the power to regulate the currency both *metallic* and *paper*, still it has no power to create the Bank; because if that power is infered for such purpose, we must allow Congress power to transfer to a few individuals, Directors or Stockholders the powers of a *Sovereign* upon a subject of vital importance to the well being of the whole society. This cannot have been the intention of the framers of the constitution. Whatever sovreign powers are conferred upon Congress must be exercised by Congress and cannot be transfered to any other body, to be created by itself. But if Congress had a general power to create a corporation for purposes of Banking, it cannot have the power to create a corporation composed *partly* of Individuals and *partly* of the Government itself. A portion of the funds constituting the Capital of the Bank belongs to the Federal Government—exclusive privileges are granted for twenty years, the money of the Government is intermixed with that of individuals and a monopoly guarantied during the existence of the charter. In principle and in fact a partnership is formed between the Government and a few of the citizens, by virtue of which those individuals have privileges and interests supported, aided and sanctioned, separate and distinct from the rest of the community, whereas the intention of the Federal Government was to keep up equality, and not to create separate interests. A Separate order of men, patronized, privileged and sustained by the powers and influence of the United States and aided by their funds may thus be established, and perpetuated, which in time may constitute a monied aristocracy, more

odious and more dangerous to liberty, than an established order of nobility. So cautious were the framers of the constitution as to provide that “Congress might exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over ~~such each~~ such district, not “exceeding ten miles square, as may by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress become the seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of Forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards and other needful buildings”⁷—thereby holding out the idea, by implication, in the strongest manner that Congress should not have the power to become the purchaser and proprietor without the consent of the states, of landed estates within their limits; yet if the power conferred by this charter is yielded the government may by creating a corporation, itself a member, purchases houses lands and other real estate within the limits of the respective states, not only without, but against, their consent, to any amount the corporation may choose, have them occupied, cultivated and improved with their own capital or ~~loaned~~ leased out to tenants, or leave them unoccupied as they may judge best, and the time is not distant when they may claim if they have not already done so that these lands houses &c. are beyond the taxing power of the States. A power of this kind is so decisively destructive of the Sovereignty and vital interests of the States, that I cannot suppose it was ever granted by the States to the Federal Government. It has been sometimes urged that this question of power to charter the Bank has been settled by legislative judicial and Executive determinations. I answer no—It is one of the cases, in which precedent ought not readily to conclude us. A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is essential to the preservation of liberty”—This is one of the cases in which that maxim should have its full influence, for if this power is once yielded and it is distinctly understood that it is not again to be questioned, I firmly believe a monopoly is created, a privileged order established that will eventually change the fundamental principles of our Government.⁸

Impolitic—

But if we yield to the Federal Government this power, it is one which ought not to be exercised. Because 1st. It puts the community at large and their property at the mercy of a corporation which will in the end pursue its own interest. It will have millions of Capital. The deposits of the Government, averaging probably about six millions more, as well as the deposits of Individuals to a much larger amount. With these means and backed by the name and influence of the United States, it is to have the power to establish as many Branches in the respective states as it chooses, and these states are to have no power to impose or collect any tax.⁹ When it is the interest of the Bank to give an artificial value to property they will accomodate freely, increase *beyond the interest of society* the amount of the circulating medium and thus give a high nominal value to property, and whenever it suits their purposes, they can curtail their

accommodations call upon many debtors at the same time, lessen the circulating medium to any amount they choose and thus depress the price of property and become the purchasers of it for trifling considerations. They will likewise have the power of settling the rates of exchange both foreign and domestic at such rates as may best promote their own interests—making them low when they wish to purchase, Bills, and high whenever it may best suit them to sell. These are powers so vast, and the temptations to use them so great, that no man who loves his Country and wishes society protected against avarice, and injustice, ought willingly to see them conferred, upon any set of men whatever.

2nd. The charter prohibits the Bank from loaning to the Government without a law; but there is nothing to compel them to make a loan in case a law should authorise it, no matter how urgent or pressing the wants of the Government may be.¹⁰ Thus the Government may be placed at the mercy of the Bank in times of public calamity and distress.

3d. The Directors of the Bank through Donations from its extensive funds and other uses of them may operate upon public opinion injuriously in political or party struggles.

4th. Foreigners now are, and may here after be to much greater extent, owners of Stock and by the monied connexion thus formed between them the Government and citizen Stockholders an avenue is opened for the corrupting influence of foreign governments in the political concerns of the American people, which it is to be feared will prove ultimately destructive of our best interests.

5th. It has failed in time past, and will do so in future, if it be its interest, to accomplish the objects for which it was chartered. It does not furnish a paper currency signed by the officers of the principal Bank, with the genuineness of which, society can readily inform themselves, and which can be conveniently converted into Specie: but on the contrary has substituted for notes of five, and ten, dollars, drafts, or orders signed by the Presidents of the respective Branches, addressed to the Cashier of the Principal Bank in Philadelphia, and payable there—thus multiplying signatures contrary to the intention of the Charter, and to an extent which puts it out of the power of society to distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit, and if they could do so, fixes the place of payment so distant from the places of the issues, as to preclude the probability of a call for specie at the place of payment.

6th. When such Bank shall have been a short time in operation and its Branches planted in the respective States it can and probably will control the elections, and through them the politics of the Country. It will always be governed by a view of its own interest, supporting those who will forward its interest, and opposing those who may have independence enough to resist, or object to its unjust pretentions. The time of the application for a renewal of the Charter is a practical proof of this position. The present Charter does not expire till the Spring 1836. Yet the application is

made and pressed at the present Session for a renewal as the Presidential Election will take place before another Session of Congress, from a belief that the Chief Magistrate will not dare to provoke their opposition to his *reelection* by freely exercising his constitutional power should a Bill be now presented for his signature. Should this bold attempt be yielded to, the charter will be made perpetual by the same means, no matter how injuriously, it may be operating on society at large.

7th. If we admit that the Federal Government has the power to incorporate individuals to enable them to carry on a Banking business and that the interest of the Government as well as of society requires an exercise of power still I deny that another Charter ought to be granted to the stockholders of the existing Bank. They have had the exclusive privilege for twenty years, why not make a new charter letting all others of our own citizens have an equal opportunity to become and thus partake of the benefits. Equality and fairness would require this—shall it be allowed that the old stockholders many of them foreigners shall have this privilege to the exclusion of every other citizen? Surely this is unreasonable and unjust, more especially when others are not only willing but anxious to obtain this privilege upon terms, more favorable to the Government and more respectful to the sovereignty of the states. Until the affairs of the present Bank shall have been wound up, and its transactions, fully investigated, branches &c &c who can tell whether its business has been profitable or the reverse.¹¹ We have no information who the debtors or Indorsers are. How many are insolvent or the reverse. We see that in a few months specie has sunk about five millions of dollars, while the notes in circulation have increased about the like sum—thus while their liabilities to pay are increasing, their capacity to pay is decreasing.¹² Most mercantile establishments which do a large business, especially upon credit, in the course of every few years find it their interest voluntarily to close their concerns, by paying all they owe, and collecting what is due—and this for the purpose of ascertaining certainly their situation. Is it not vastly more important the Bank shall be compelled to do so. It will then be ascertained, and never till then, what uses have been made of their money, whether it has been legally or illegally employed—whether their debtors are solvent or the reverse. In short in closing the concern a flood of light will be shed upon the operations of such institutions, from which the public can determine whether they ought to be tolerated in society, or discarded as unfriendly to the interests of the community and dangerous to our free institutions. By rechartering the existing Bank you smother up and conceal all improprieties illegalities and abuses for another twenty years, and this in favor of those who have less claim than any other citizens. By a new Charter you obtain new benefits, and secure every facility for the operations of Government and acquire a practical knowledge from which a correct judgement whether when the new Charter expires another ought ever to be granted, and if so upon what terms.

AD by AJ and AJ Jr., DLC (64; 20-0980).

1. A previous passage in the memorandum book, written in 1830 or 1831 and copied from a January 4, 1830, letter from James A. Hamilton to AJ proposing a substitute for the Bank, concludes with “This continued in Page marked 96” (*Jackson Papers*, 8:12–16, 601–4).

2. In a February 1811 Senate speech opposing a recharter of the original Bank of the United States, Henry Clay observed that “this vagrant power to erect a bank” had “wandered throughout the whole constitution in quest of some congenial spot whereupon to fasten” (*Clay Papers*, 1:530). His remark was often repeated with variants in wording.

3. To this point, the text precisely replicates a previous passage, written in 1830 or 1831, that immediately follows the copied text from James A. Hamilton in AJ’s memorandum book (*Jackson Papers*, 8:604–5).

4. Article 1, Section 8.

5. The text to this point is in AJ’s hand, and from here forward in AJ Jr.’s.

6. Article 1, Section 8.

7. Article 1, Section 8.

8. The 1776 Virginia Declaration of Rights stated “that no free government, or the blessings of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.” Some early state constitutions replicated the phrase.

9. The 1816 law chartering the BUS placed no limit on the number of branches it could establish. The 1832 recharter bill as reported to the Senate on March 13 confined the BUS to two branches per state, and to only one in states where a second was not already established. As passed in final form, the bill limited branches to two per state, except where more were already established.

10. The 1816 charter prohibited the BUS from lending the U.S. more than \$500,000 unless authorized by law.

11. The phrase “and its transactions, fully investigated, branches &c &c” is a marginal insertion by AJ.

12. On January 12, Treasury secretary McLane had transmitted the monthly BUS account statements for 1831 to the Senate. They showed a \$5 million decline in specie holdings and an increase of \$5 million in note issues from May 2 to the end of the year (*SDoc* 27, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 25, 73, Serial 212). Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, who had moved the call for the statements, invoked these figures to censure the Bank’s operations in a Senate speech on February 8 (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 330).

Draft by Andrew Jackson

[*This draft was written sometime after John Quincy Adams’s May 14 House minority report on the Bank, to which it refers.*]

The great point to be steadily kept in view is the establishment of the general Govt. and the sovereign powers granted to wit by the people & the states—1st, all sovereign power was in the people & the states—2nd. where sovereignty is vested it cannot be divested but by express grant, therefore as the general Government is based upon the confederation of Sovereign states, you must look into the constitution for the grants of sovereignty made by the people inhabiting those sovereign states to find what portion of sovereign power has been granted to the general government for no sovereign power not expressly granted can be exercised, by it implication. Is the sovereign power to grant corporations expressly given to the general Government to be found in the constitution, I answer no.

Therefore as all powers granted are general & national, not local, or for local objects, and all powers not ~~expressly granted~~ not delegated &c are retained to the states & to the people, a corporation or monopoly cannot be granted by congress beyond the limits of the ten miles square¹—and it is fair to advert to the journals of the convention to prove that the power to grant corporations in various ways was attempted to be introduced in the constitution and was rejected in every form presented by the convention who formed it; It is therefore worse than idle to contend that congress can have this sovereign power by implication when it was rejected in the convention, and when sovereign power can only be conveyed from one power to another by express grant. If it be true that necessity gives the power to create Banks and corporations. It is true necessity creates its own law, but it must be a ~~sheer~~ positive necessity not a fained one. The powers of the Government are general & national, not local—it must follow then that if necessity creates the power, that the Bank must be exclusively national having no concern with corporations—it must be an appendage of the Treasury, a Bank merely of deposit & exchange. Within the 10 miles square, Congress has the sole sovereign power, can therein grant a corporation, & exercise all the Legislative powers as a state can—but neither state or general Government can create or grant a monopoly It is inconsistent with any of the powers granted that our Govt. should form a corporation and become a member of it. The framers were too well aware of the corrupting influence of a great monied monopoly upon government to legalise such a corrupting monster by any grant either express or implied in the constitution. Bank corporations says Mr A. is brokers on a large scale, ~~then if the nation is to become~~ and could it be really urged that the framers of the constitution intended that ~~the government~~ ~~we~~ our Govt. should become ~~a nation~~ a government of brokers? if so, then the profits of this national brokers shop must anure to the benefit of the whole & not to a few privileged monied capitalist, to the utter rejection of the many—²

But it is said (by Mr Root in debate) that there is as much power vested in congress to establish a Bank, by the constitution as to establish a custom House or a post office—could either of these be established by creating a corporation—admit his doctrine & it clearly shews the unconstitutionality of the present bank charter—for if it is for the safe deposit of the Revenue it must appertain like the custom Houses to the Treasury Dept. all its profits if any accrue to the nation as the Taxes collected do, its only power to deposit & the power of exchange by which it can transmit the funds of the Govt. to any place wanted, and as part of the Dept. its whole transaction exposed to the congress & the nation annually³

A Bank might be established in the District and by the consent of the states & in compact with it might be branched into the states—but the Genl Government cannot consistent with any power granted, become a member of any corporation congress may create—

AD, DLC (38; 19-0529).

1. Article 1, Section 8, of the constitution gives Congress exclusive power to legislate over the district, not to exceed ten square miles, containing the national capital.

2. In his May 14 House minority report on the BUS, John Quincy Adams observed that brokers dealing in large sums “are, to all essential purposes, bankers themselves, as a bank, in the plentitude of its power and operations, is but a broker upon a large scale” (*HRRep* 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 390, Serial 227).

3. Erastus Root (1773–1846) of New York had spoken on the Bank in the House of Representatives on January 9 and again on March 7 and 8, though not to this precise effect (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1511–12, 2036–42, 2069–75). The comparison between the power to incorporate a bank and the power to establish a custom house or post office had been raised repeatedly in congressional debate.

Draft by Andrew Jackson

[The second part of this text, beginning with “Note,” closely follows John Spear Smith’s June 14 letter to Samuel Smith, which Samuel enclosed to Jackson on June 17 (above).]

It has been often inquired, would I approve no Bank Charter. I have always answered, that I would approve no Bank charter that violated the constitution, but I would approve any Bank charter that was presented where none of its provisions violated the principles of the organic law. I have always viewed that the powers granted by the constitution to our Federal Government were for general purposes—~~not local~~; for national not local objects—these powers are delegated & precisely marked that those to whom they are intrusted may not exercise any power but in strict conformity with the limits of their trust. under this rule the Bank must be national, not for a few stockholders, and the charter securing to this few exclusive priviledges, from which all the rest of the community are excluded—to be constitutional its benefits must be, & enure to the whole nation as the taxes do, that are levied & collected by Congress—no exclusive priviledges, agrable to the true reading of the constitution, can be granted to a few that is not common to all, except for meritorious services performed. It has been asked—then, what kind of a Bank I would believe constitution & would approve I have answered—A Bank of deposit and Exchange, purely national, without Stock holders. I say now to congress, that before it usurps any power not expressly granted & before creating a Bank with stockholders and the United States becomes a member of that corporation, which grants exclusive priviledges to a few stockholders—let them submit to the people by way of amendment of the constitution, and ask them (in the true spirit of the sages who formed it) whether you will grant this power. If they say nay, then I say to congress, now, & then “touch not, handle not, this accursed thing.”—I therefore recommend such amendment of the constitution to be submitted to the people.

Note—

The amendment offered to reduce the interest to 5 percent rejected. This would save annually, to the (borrowers) people between four & five millions.

It passage at present is inexpedient

1. That three millions of people, under the present census are unrepresented in the present Congress who ought to be heard, and that the people might deliberate, ~~upon this subject~~, and at the next election for representatives might select those who would truly represent their wishes on this important subject, I in my last message I used the following language—(here insert it)¹

2nd. No inconvenience can result from my veto. There is four years of the charter yet to run—in the mean time an amendment to the constitution can be submitted to the people to give Congress the power to establish a national Bank or Banks, if the people think proper to grant the power ~~under~~ with proper restrictions, then with a full representation under the new census, coming directly from the people, & instructed by the people, under its new attitude of exemption from debt and diminished Revenue—much light will be afforded &c &c &c &c

AD, DLC (41).

1. AJ's third annual message to Congress in December 1831 referred to "the opinions heretofore expressed" on the Bank in his first and second annual messages. Having thus "seasonably directed" public attention to the subject, he left it "for the present to the investigation of an enlightened people and their representatives" (Richardson, 2:558).

Draft in George Breathitt's hand

The "Bill to modify and continue the charter of the Bank of the United States" involves questions of ~~such~~ high import touching the liberties and prosperity of the Country, ~~that~~ and ought therefore to be calmly and patiently considered, under the influence of the most patriotic feelings, with an eye steadily persueing the lights of reason in search of truth, and a fixed determination faithfully to perform one's duty to his God and Country. The public servant should, as far as possible, forget *self*, and look to the interests and happiness of those whom he represents. In a Country like ours, governed by a *written* constitution, it is not only proper but necessary that frequent recurrence should be had to that instrument, and the *circumstances* which attended its adoption.

When constitutional questions of a doubtfull character are considered, the judgement is often enlightened by consulting the *incidents* which occurred at the formation of the constitution. The framers of that instrument were men of wisdom acquired in the school of experience, which taught them the great difficulties attending the exercise of the *same* power by the General and State Governments. The collisions which existed under the confederation, which recognised the exercise of such power, by

between the states and General government; and the jealousies, as also the extensive evils, which followed the enactment of laws by the states which solely appertained to the sovereignty of the nation; but which they, because of their concurrent powers with the general government, had the right to pass, were fresh and vivid in the recollection of those, who composed the convention that adopted our constitution. It seems to be a reasonable presumption then that the conventionists, deeply feeling, as they did, the evils partially alluded to, would not have provided for the continuance of difficulties by authorizing the exercise of such concurrent powers, ~~between~~ in the General & state Governments, as would again bring them into collision. But it is difficult to determine that they did refuse the grant of such powers, and conclude that the general government have the right of incorporating a Bank of the kind proposed, unless the power (~~that~~ which was exercised in 1787, when our constitution was formed) to incorporate Banks is denied to the States. ~~There are scarcely but few questions~~ The Patriots, who formed the constitution, must have known that there are but few questions which so easily excite "collisions" as those pertaining to matters of money, and, it is presumed, would not therefore have been content to vest the General and state Governments with concurrent powers in respect to a subject so exciting, and fraught with such deep interest to the Country. It should be the ambition, as it is the duty, of every citizen of the United States to preserve the harmony which was consequent on the deliniation of our rights contained in the constitution, and avoid the "collisions" which its adoption was designed to prevent. Though it be admitted that Congress possess the power, either by the exclusion of that of the states, or concurrently with them, to establish a Bank, yet it does not follow that they, in the exercise of this power, have the right to create *Monopolies*.

To determine the existence of such a right, it must be supposed, what could not be the case, that the framers of the Constitution were ignorant of the oppressions, which monopolies so extensively caused in Europe as to demand in England the passage of a law an act declaring them "to be contrary to law and void," with the exception of patents for new & usefull inventions which could not extend beyond a fixed period.¹ The constitution *specially* authorizes Congress to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for a limited times, to authors, and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries."² If the right to grant monopolies had been or was generally conferred on Congress, the framers of the constitution would not have been so unmeaning and inserted as to insert this special clause. And the insertion of this clause affords strong evidence that it was never intended to allow Congress to grant "exclusive," monopolizing privilidges in any save the cases enumerated. If the congress have the power, it is not in consonance with our boasted equality of rights to exercise it, & continue in particular individuals the "exclusive right" of exercising certain advantageous privi-

lidges, and it is therefore not believed that the worthies, who formed our Bill of Rights, ever intended, if the granting, ~~the~~ such continuance of them in the hands of our own citizens, much less those of Foreigners. It is not perceived, if such privilidges are to be conferred, why they are not confined to the citizens of our own Country, who feel an interest in its prosperity and perpetuity, and each of them afforded an opportunity of participating in the profits arising from the enjoyment of such “exclusive right.” It is estimated that independent of the great advantages already enjoyed, the stockholders in the Bank ~~would~~ will, if it be re-chartered, realize on their stock a clear profit of 50 pr ct, about _____ Millions of Dollars. There does not exist any necessity for permitting Foreigners thus to speculate on our country, and continue to take from its citizens the interest on about three times their amount of capital actually invested, and, in conjunction with their present associates, monopolise the Banking system.

Independent of the surrender made of the pecuniary interest of our own Citizens, when the extensive and dangerous influence which this Bank could exercise over the destiny of our country is considered, cogent reasons are perceived why we should withhold the grant of this “exclusive right” to those, whose disposition and interest might conspire to accomplish the destruction of our free institutions, which were established at such great sacrifices by the Patriots of the Revolution. The Bill, under consideration, proposes to give all these advantages to the present corporation (composed greatly of Foreigners) ~~the largest stockholder among whom is now one of the Minister’s of the King of England~~³ “for fifteen years” from the day on which the present charter expires, and thus, for that period, establishes an influence that might be successfully wielded, if not to the annihilation of our liberties, to the lasting prejudice of the country. This baneful influence which the Bank may exert is not confined solely to the Union, in its corporate capacity, ~~but~~ as the proposed charter vests the corporation with authority to send Branches into whatever state or territory it may think proper, and thus enables it even to defeat state legislation by establishing Banks, within their limits, in opposition to their express enactments, and thereby exercise the most important and highest functions of legislators. The Bank may not only contravene the operations of a state, when it has positively determined against the establishment of a Bank within its limits, but ~~may~~ can also, according to the admissions of its principal officer, if it chooses, destroy ~~th~~ such Banks as a state may or shall establish. It also claims exemption from the taxation to which state Banks are subjected, and thus sets at defiance the taxation laws. No sufficient reason is discovered why this Bank should be free from taxation when other Banks, having ~~sp~~ only *special*, not *exclusive* privilidges of banking, are held subject to it. If, as is recently stated by a distinguished advocate of the institution, “a Bank, in the plenitude of its power, and operations, is but a Broker on a large scale,” why should it be exempt from the laws, to which other Brokers shops are held amenable.⁴ It cannot

be in consequence of its enjoying an “exclusive right” that the Bank of ~~whi~~ proposed to be rechartered is entitled to this exemption, because such priviledge of monopoly increases its capacity to pay a tax, and consequently the propriety of requiring it. But the admission quoted naturally induces the enquiry how far it is proper for the government, and consistent with an elevated national character, and the purity of ~~character~~ our free institutions to establish Brokers shops, or become a partner in them, with individuals, if established. This enquiry, it is perceived, has been anticipated; but it will ~~hereafter~~ still receive some further ~~notice~~ attention. It may be safely asserted that we not only relieve our consciences; but render the most permanent good to our Country by strictly observing the Constitution, although, in doing so, we may occasionally have to forego the attainment of present apparent benefits.

In every Country that is governed by *written* regulations, it becomes the duty of every citizen to understand and observe them. If a deviation from them be tolerated in one instance, slighter causes will justify a repetition of ~~them~~ such aberations untill, it is feared, our posterity shall find the constitution of the Country virtually abrogated by the *customs and precedents* of their predecessors, and thus be deprived of those blessings, to the attainment of which our noble Fathers pledged *their lives, their fortune, and their sacred honor*. It is believed that in order to preserve the constitution in its pristine purity, and that the ancient doctrine of construing an instrument most strongly against those making it should not obtain, the constitution expressly stipulates that “the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states, respectively, or to the people.”⁵ And there is no rule of construction considered better than that which determines the meaning of an instrument by rendering all its parts effective, and consequently the terms “common defence and general welfare” must relate to powers granted, inasmuch as, if otherwise understood, and regarded as conferring general powers, there exists no necessity for the specification of them, which we find in the constitution.⁶ When general and unlimited powers are granted, it is more than superfluous to descend to specifications.

It now becomes necessary to consider those clauses in the constitution which, it is mainly insisted, grant Congress the power of establishing a Bank as proposed in the Bill. ~~We~~ I will first notice that which gives Congress the right “to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the states and with the Indian tribes,” and, in doing so, must aver that the continuation of this Bank cannot “regulate commerce with foreign nations,” although it may afford commercial facilities.⁷ And it is clear that Congress has not the right to invade the limits of a state to “regulate commerce” among its citizens, can only make regulations affecting the *external* commerce between the states, and therefore the power to establish the proposed corporation cannot be derived from this clause, as its influence would alike be felt in the internal and external commerce of a state. The

clause of the constitution authorizing Congress “to lay and collect taxes” cannot be relied on in support of this Bill, inasmuch as it emanated from the Senate, and, “all Bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of Representatives.”⁸ The word “collect” in the clause just quoted is regarded as only giving, or intending to give to Congress the power to pass laws *enforcing* the payment of “Taxes” which Congress may “lay,” and not as conferring, as has been contended, the right to establish the corporation proposed. But it is also contended that this Bank is “necessary and proper for carrying into effect the foregoing” power “to lay and collect taxes.” This position is not regarded tenable. But, if admitted to be a correct one, Congress is still not authorized by it to establish Banks *ad libitum*, or to any extent beyond those which are actually “necessary and proper” for the collection of the revenue. It will not be pretended that a Bank is “necessary” for the purposes of the collecting of revenue at places where none is collected, and therefore the establishment of Banks at such places, as the charter authorizes, cannot be sanctioned by this implication.

It is also argued that to effectuate the right “to borrow “money” it is necessary to make such arrangements as will aid the loans, and that the creation of the Bank is thus incidental to the power given Congress “to borrow Money,” & consequently constitutional.⁹ There is with me great difficulty in determining that in the right “to borrow” is ~~also~~ included the right to create the ability to lend money. There is also as much necessity to create the obligation as the ability to lend money, for the latter may be ~~useless~~ rendered useless by a refusal to lend, unless there was a clause, that is not now, ~~a clause~~ in the charter requiring the Bank to loan money to the government in the event of an emergency occurring. It is ~~also~~ further asserted that in the power given Congress “to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin” is conferred that of chartering a Bank, with the powers proposed.¹⁰ This position is attempted to be maintained, by making the terms “coin” and “currency” synonymous, and the deduction drawn therefrom that Congress have the right to regulate the circulating medium of the Country, which is represented to consist of Bank notes, as the representatives of the precious metals. This clause of the constitution is regarded as having more direct reference to the precious metals than the argument alluded to would admit. And that such has been, until lately, the general understanding of it appears from the fact that Congress in the pursuance of the power vested in the clause mentioned have established a national mint to “coin money” and regulated the value thereof. The reasoning of the advocates of the Bank, in respect to this clause, is not then considered correct; and, if it be, yet it is not shewn that Congress have the right to delegate this delegated power for 15 years. If Congress can delegate one of its legislative powers to a corporation, it may another until all are transferred.

The collision of opinion on the subject of a Bank, possessed of the extensive powers and “exclusive priviledges” proposed, has elicited much

of the talent of the Country in search after the power to establish it; and, from the great uncertainty and want of agreement that has always prevailed, among its advocates, as to the part or parts of the consitution granting the power, it is strongly inferential that no such power exists. This inference makes a near approach to certainty, when we consider the following statement of Mr. Jefferson on the subject: "It is known that the very power now proposed as a *means*, was rejected *as an end* by the convention which formed the constitution: a proposition was made to them to authorize Congress to open canals, and an amendatory one to empower them to incorporate, but the whole was rejected, and one of the reasons urged in debate was, that then they would have power to erect a Bank, which would render the great cities, where there were prejudices or jealousies on this subject, adverse to the reception of the constitution."¹¹

It is not regarded improper, in matters of doubtfull powers, where they are not clearly "delegated to the United States by the constitution," to indulge an inclination in favour of "the States or the people," and is considered of the highest importance that such powers, on important questions, should be settled before they are freely exercised.

In allusion to the exercise of doubtfull powers, in my message to the House of Representatives on 27 May 1830, I remarked, and now repeat that "in no government are appeals to the source of power, in cases of real doubt, more suitable than in ours. No good motive can be assigned for the exercise of power by the constituted authorities, while those, for whose benefit it is to be exercised, have not conferred it, and may not be willing to confer it. It would seem to me that an honest application of the conceded powers of the general government to the advancement of the comon weal, present a sufficient scope to satisfy a reasonable ambition. The difficulty and supposed impracticability of obtaining an amendment of the constitution in this respect, is, I firmly believe, in a great degree, unfounded. The time has never yet been, when the patriotism and intelligence of the American people were not fully equal to the greatest exigency, and it never will, when the subject calling for their interposition is plainly presented to them."¹² If the people of the United States desire the general government to incorporate companies, it is much desired that they would make it "the subject of constitutional regulation," defining to what extent, and in what manner they shall exercise the power, as it cannot otherwise be done without disturbing in some degree the harmony of the Country, and endangering its liberties.

[*Endorsed in pencil:*] The question of expediency as to time, &c &c. to be noticed.

[*Endorsed by A. J.:*] notes upon rechartering the Bank—A. J.

AD, DLC (43; 20-0996).

1. A Parliamentary Act of 1624 declared monopolies to be “altogether contrary to the Laws of this Realm” and thus “utterly void and of none Effect,” with various exceptions including fourteen-year patents for new inventions (*The Statutes at Large* [London, 1763], 3:91).

2. Article 1, Section 8.

3. The London banking firm of Baring Brothers & Co. was the largest foreign holder of BUS stock. Alexander Baring (1773–1848) had been a partner in the firm before retiring in 1830. During the crisis over the Reform Bill in May 1832, he had agreed to serve as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the abortive Wellington ministry.

4. The quotation is from John Quincy Adams’s May 14 House minority report on the BUS (*HRRep* 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 390, Serial 227). Nicholas Biddle had affirmed the Bank’s power over state banks in testimony to a Senate committee in 1830 (*SDoc* 104, 21st Cong., 2d sess., p. 6, Serial 193).

5. Tenth Amendment to the constitution.

6. From the Preamble to the constitution.

7. Article 1, Section 8.

8. Article 1, Sections 7 and 8.

9. Article 1, Section 8.

10. Article 1, Section 8.

11. From Thomas Jefferson’s February 15, 1791, opinion to President George Washington on the constitutionality of the bill establishing the first Bank of the United States (*The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series*, vol. 7 [Charlottesville, 1998], pp. 348–53).

12. From AJ’s Maysville Road veto message, May 27, 1830 (Richardson, 2:492).

Draft by Amos Kendall

~~Having considered~~ The act “to modify and continue the act entitled ‘an act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States’ ~~and come to the conclusion~~ was presented to me on the 4th of July instant. Having considered it with that solemn regard to the principles of the revolution which the day was calculated to inspire and come to the conclusion that it ought not to become a law, I herewith, in obedience to the constitution, return it to the Senate in which it originated with my objections.

A Bank of the United States is in many respects convenient for the government and useful to the people. Entertaining these opinions and deeply impressed with the belief that some of the powers and privileges possessed by the existing Bank, are, ~~in many respects~~, unauthorized by the constitution, subversive of the rights of the states, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, ~~and palpably unconstitutional, and of doubtful constitutionality~~, I felt it my duty, at an early period of my administration, to call the attention of Congress to the practicability of organizing an institution, combining all its advantages and obviating these objections.¹ I sincerely regret, that in the act before me I can perceive none of those modifications of the Bank charter which are necessary, in my opinion, to make it compatible with justice, with sound policy or with the constitution of my country.

The present corporate body denominated the President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States, will have existed, at the time this act is intended to take effect, twenty years. It enjoys an exclusive

privilege of banking under the authority of the general government, a monopoly of its favor and support, and as a necessary consequence, almost a monopoly of the foreign and domestic exchange. The powers, privileges and favors bestowed upon it by in the original charter by increasing the value of the property vested in it as stock, at least twenty five per cent the value of the stock far above its par value, operated as a gratuity of many millions to the stockholders. Every one hundred dollars paid in, became worth one hundred and twenty five; the twenty eight millions paid in by the private stockholders, became worth thirty five millions; and thus, by an act of Congress, was seven millions of dollars added to the property of a few speculators stock-jobbers and rich men.

An apology may be found for the gross injustice of thus legislating millions of dollars out of the whole community into the coffers of a few rich men individuals this result, in the consideration, that the certain effect of the original act of incorporation could not be foreseen certainly foreseen at the time of its passage. It could not have been known to the legislative power of this government at the time that charter was granted that the effect of their act would be to add at once seven millions of dollars to the property of a few individuals men already elevated in wealth far above the common level of their fellow-citizens. The act before me proposes, in effect, another donation gratuity to the holders of the same stock, and in many cases to the same men, of at least seven many millions more. This donation can not be made under the plea of ignorance finds no apology in any uncertainty as to the effect of the act. On all hands it is conceded, that the its passage of this act will instantly add increase twenty five per cent more to the market price of the stock, adding in a moment one fourth to its value the property now invested as stock in this institution at least twenty five or thirty per cent more, subject to the payment of the annuity of \$200.000 per year secured by the act, thus adding in a moment one fourth to the its par value. To the owner of one share, it is a donation of twenty five dollars; to the holders of ten shares it gives is a donation of two hundred and fifty dollars; to the holders of one hundred shares, it gives two thousand five hundred dollars, and to the holders of a thousand shares, twenty five thousand dollars.

The injustice impolicy of thus making the rich richer by an act of legislation at the expense of the whole American people, is too palpable to be directly defended. It is as gross in effect, as if equivalent, to the grant of seven millions of dollars out of the Treasury were, by act of Congress, given to these stockholders by name, assigning to each his hundreds, his thousands and his tens of thousands of the national gratuity. But In this case, we have not the satisfaction of reflecting, that It is not our own citizens only who are to receive the bounty of our government. About More than eight millions of the stock of this Bank are held by foreigners, mostly British nobles and statesmen. By this act, the American Republic proposes virtually to make them a present, at the expense of the our own people,

of two some millions of dollars. To Sir William Keppel, General in his Majesty's forces, Knight Grand Cross of the order of the Bath &c owning \$72,200 of stock, it proposes to give \$18,050; and to Baring, Brothers & Co. one of whom was lately selected as a member of an anti-reform cabinet owning \$791,500 of stock it proposes thousands to give at least \$197,875.²

It is certainly inexpedient to legislate the wealth of the community at this rate into a few hands, and more inexpedient still to make such enormous gratuities to foreign capitalists and noblemen, at the expense of the American our own people. For this instant increase of their property the act requires from the stockholders no equivalent whatever. If it were to become a law, it would instantly advance the stock would instantly advance more than twenty five per cent, subject to the annuity of \$200,000 required by the bill act under the name of a bonus. No deduction ought therefore to be made from the immense amount of the gratuity offered by this act, on account of the bonus. For these gratuities to some of our own rich citizens and to foreigners, the act secures no equivalent whatever. They are the certain gains of the present stockholders under the operation of this act, after making full allowance for the payment of the bonus.

Every monopoly and all exclusive privileges are granted at the expense of the people who ought to receive a fair equivalent. Wealth cannot be made out of nothing; and The many millions which this act proposes thus indirectly to bestow on the stockholders of the existing bank, must come, directly or indirectly, out of the earnings of the American people. It is due to them, therefore, that if their government sell monopolies and exclusive privileges, that they should at least exact for them as much as they will bring are worth in open market. The value of the monopoly in this case may be correctly easily ascertained by the aggregate market price of the stock above par upon the renewal of the charter, added to the whole amount of the bonus. That the stock would be at an advance of fifty per cent, is not doubted. The twenty eight millions of stock would probably be at an advance of fifty per cent and command in market at least forty two millions of dollars, subject to the payment of the bonus. The net market present value of the monopoly, therefore, is seventeen millions of dollars; and this the act proposes to sell for three millions payable in fifteen annual instalments of \$200,000 each. Do the people in the management of their own affairs make such bargains? Are we as their agents justified in selling their rights and privileges worth seventeen millions for the trifling sum of three millions?

It is not conceivable how the present stockholders can have any claim to the special favor of the government. One gratuity of seven millions of dollars certainly gives them no claim to another; and having enjoyed their monopoly during the period stipulated in the original contract, they ought now to pay for its renewal as much as would be given by other citizens for a new term for like privileges, or be content to see it them pass into other

hands. If a new corporation were created and secured for fifteen years in the monopoly, powers and privileges granted by this act to the existing bank, its stock would undoubtedly increase in market \$100 for \$100 paid in as soon as it went into operation. If we must have a monopoly such a corporation why should not the government sell out the whole stock itself and thus secure to the people its the full market value of the privileges granted? Why should not Congress create and sell thirty eight five millions of stock, incorporating the purchasers with all the powers and privileges secured in this act, and putting the premium upon the sales into the Treasury? It would scarcely sell for less than They would thus secure forty two millions, bringing into the securing to the people at once *fourteen millions* for the very rights and powers which this act sells for *three*, payable in fifteen annual instalments!

But this act does not permit competition in the purchase of this monopoly. It seems to be predicated on the erroneous idea, that the present stockholders have a prescriptive right, to not only to the *favor* but to the *bounty* of government. It appears, that there are in this Bank 4145 stockholders. Of these 466 are foreigners owning \$7,915,900 \$8,405,500 of the stock; 3679 are resident stockholders, being in proportion to the whole population of the Republic as one to 3533 or thereabouts. Of the resident stockholders, 814 individuals own \$15,482,200 of the stock, being on average about \$19,000 each, leaving less than five millions in the hands of the middling classes of our society. Chiefly for the benefit of these 466 foreigners and 814 rich residents more than a fourth part of the stock is held by foreigners and the residue is held by a few hundreds of our own citizens, chiefly of the richest class. For their benefit, does this act exclude the whole American people from competition in the purchase of this monopoly and sell it for *fourteen* many millions less than it is worth. This bargain with foreign noblemen and rich capitalists is not to be justified on the ground that none of our citizens offered to take the monopoly on better terms. This seems the less excusable because some of our citizens, not now stockholders, in this institution, petitioned that the door of competition might be opened, and offered to take a charter on terms much more favorable to the government and country. Petitions are presented to Congress from respectable and responsible citizens asking for this monopoly on the following conditions terms They asked an act of incorporation of the following description, or, to use their own words, on "such other reasonable conditions as may seem meet." The capital to consist of fifty millions of dollars. Any sum less than half the whole amount to be subscribed by the government. The subscription books to be open to all the citizens, and if more than the capital be subscribed, the stock to be apportioned equitably among the subscribers, by Commissioners appointed for that purpose" &c. They offered to pay into the Treasury a bonus of one per cent per annum on the whole amount of the stock and

a tax to the states of one per cent on the capital employed in them respectively, and in other respects to have on condition that they should have the same rights, powers and privileges and be subject to the same restraints and liabilities as the present bank.³

Here is a proposal by responsible men composed altogether of American citizens to purchase the monopoly on much better terms than are secured in this act. If the petition had been granted with a charter restricted to fifteen years and a private capital limited at to twenty eight millions of dollars, it would have brought into the Treasury \$280.000 per year or \$4.200.000 in fifteen years instead of the \$3.000.000 secured proposed by this act, and at the same time would have secured to They offer also to pay to the states a tax of one per cent more, or \$280.000 per year, making, when added to the bonus, the sum of \$9.600.000 proposed offered to be paid for the monopoly. That with these burdens, the stock would have been worth more than par in the market, every argument drawn from the value of money, the sagacity of the petitioners and the experience of the existing bank conclusively prove so that the purchase of the monopoly on these terms would have been a speculation by which they subscribers would have made realized four or five millions of dollars.

Yet But this proposition, opening the field of competition to all our citizens; so much more favorable to the government and although backed by the names of men whose aggregate wealth is believed to be equal to all the private stock in the existing bank, has been set aside for purpose of showering and the bounty of our government is proposed to be showered upon favored titled foreigners and the privileged few who of our own citizens, who have and the favor of the government is proposed to be again bestowed on the few who have been fortunate enough to secure the stock and at this moment wield the power of this formidable the existing institution. I cannot perceive the justice or policy of this course. If our government must sell monopolies, it would seem to be its duty to take nothing less than their value in open market. But if gratuities of millions upon millions must be made once in fifteen or twenty years, let them not be made to the titles and mitres of a foreign aristocracy bestowed on the subjects of other governments, nor yet upon the same set of rich men in our own country. The farmer, the mechanic and the laborer, from the smallness of their earnings and the necessity for constant industry to make themselves and families comfortable, are cut off from all participation in these splendid speculations. We hear of no acts of Congress to increase their little property twenty five per cent at the expense of the rich. It is but justice and good policy, as far as the nature of the case will admit, to let confine our favors to our own fellow citizens and let each in his turn profit by our bounty. The farmers, mechanics and laborers, from the smallness of their earnings and their constant industry and ignorance of stockjobbing wiles, are necessarily excluded from all participation in these splendid gratuities;

but it is possible and therefore politic and just, to diffuse them more widely among those who may have means and opportunity to profit by them. But if we must give make these donations to the rich, it is not right nor politic to confine them to the same men. One set should be let in after another, that the millions thus bestowed may be divided among as any as possible. Believing that it is unjust to the people to give millions to rich citizens and foreigners at their expense; that it is impolitic to make the rich richer by legislation, to bestow our bounty on a favored few and exclude competition in the sale of this monopoly, and moreover convinced that if it must be sold at all, it is due to the people that the best terms offered shall be accepted, I find In the bearings of the act before me upon these points I find ample reasons why it should not become a law.

It has been urged as an argument in favor of rechartering the present bank that the calling in of its loans will produce great embarrassment and distress. The time allowed to close its concerns is ample, and if its loans have been prudently made there will be no difficulty or distress in exacting their payment; and if it has been well managed its calls will be light, and heavy only in case its management has been bad. But if and if they have not been made to safe and able men that very fact is If, therefore, it shall produce pressure and distress, the fault will be its own, and it will furnish an argument against renewing a power which has been so obviously abused. But will there ever be a time when this argument will be less powerful? To ~~ackn~~ admit its acknowledge its force is to admit that the Bank ought to be perpetual. It is, therefore, Those only those who have come to that conclusion, will rely on upon the argument [*...*] for it or rely upon it rely upon it or use it.⁴

The modifications of the existing charter proposed by this act, are not such in my view as make it consistent with the rights of the states or the liberties of the people. The multiplication of officers authorized to sign notes, is calculated to make the legal currency of the Bank less safe than it now is. The qualification of the power right of the Bank to hold real estate, the limitation of its power to establish branches and the power reserved to Congress to forbid the circulation of small notes, are concessions of little value or importance. All the objectionable principles of the present existing corporation and most of its odious features, are retained without alleviation.⁵

The fourth section provides, "that the notes and or bills of the said corporation, although the same be, upon the faces thereof, respectively, made payable at one place only, shall, nevertheless, be received by the said corporation at the bank, or at any of the offices of discount and deposit thereof, if tendered in liquidation or payment of any balance or balances due to said corporation or to such office of discount and deposit *from any other incorporated bank.*" This provision secures to the state banks a legal privilege in the Bank of the United States which is withheld from

all private citizens. If a state bank in Philadelphia owe the Bank of the United States and have notes issued by the St Louis Branch, it can pay the debt with those notes; but if a merchant, mechanic or other private citizen be in like circumstances, he cannot by law pay his debt with those notes, but must sell them at a discount or send them to St Louis to be cashed. This ~~power~~ boon conceded to the state banks, though not unjust in itself, is most odious, because it does not measure out equal justice to the high and the low, the rich and the poor. ~~It is in the nature of a privilege granted by a monarch to his nobles which is withheld from the poor and untitled, whom he does not~~ it is not necessary to conciliate by favor because those whom he intends to govern by power he does not think it necessary to conciliate by favor. To the extent of its practical effect, this provision it is a bond of interest union among the banking aristocracies establishments of the nation, erecting them into an interest separate from that of the people; and its necessary tendency is to unite the Bank of the United States and the State Banks in any measure which may be thought conducive to their common interest ~~whether public or private, pecuniary or political.~~

The ninth section of the act recognizes principles of ~~more fatal~~ worse tendency than any provision of the present charter. It enacts, that "the Cashier of the Bank shall, annually, report to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of all stockholders who are not resident citizens of the United States; and, on the application of the Treasurer of any state, shall make out and transmit to such Treasurer, a list of stockholders *residing in or citizens, of such state*, with the amount of stock owned by each."

Although this provision, taken in connexion with a decision of the Supreme Court, surrenders by its silence the right of the states to tax the banking institutions created by this corporation under the name of branches throughout the Union, and leaves the question of their right to tax the stock open to litigation; yet, it is evidently intended to be ~~understood~~ construed as a concession of their right to tax that portion of the stock which may be held by their own citizens and residents. In this light, if the act becomes a law, it will be understood by the states, who will proceed to levy a tax equal to that paid upon the stock of banks incorporated by themselves. In some states, that tax is now one per cent, and that may be assumed as the amount which all citizen and resident stockholders will be taxed under the operation of this act. As it is only the stock *held* in the states, and not that *employed* within them, which would be subject to taxation, and as the names of foreign stockholders are not to be reported to the Treasurers of the states, it is obvious that they stock held by them will be exempt from this burden. Their annual profits, will, therefore, be one per cent more than those of the citizen stockholder; and as the annual dividends of the Bank may be safely estimated at seven per cent, the stock will be worth ten or fifteen per cent more to foreigners than to citizens of the United States.

To appreciate the effects which this state of things will produce, we must take a brief review of the operations and present condition of the Bank of the United States.

By documents submitted to Congress at the present session, it appears that on the 1st of January 1832, of the \$28.000.000 of private stock in this corporation, \$8.405.500 were held by foreigners, mostly in Great Britain. \$_____ in Maine; \$_____ in Vermont, \$_____ in New Hampshire, \$_____ in Massachusetts, \$_____ in Connecticut, \$_____ in New York, \$_____ in Rhode Island, \$_____ in New Jersey, \$_____ in Pennsylvania, \$_____ in Delaware, \$_____ in Maryland, \$_____ in the District of Columbia, \$_____ in Virginia, \$_____ in North Carolina, \$_____ in South Carolina, \$_____ in Georgia, \$_____ in Ohio, \$_____ in Kentucky, \$_____ in Tennessee, \$5000 in Indiana, \$16.700 in Illinois, \$_____ in Louisiana, \$4.200 in Arkansas, \$32.500 in transit and some in Missouri, Alabama and Mississippi.⁶ The amount held in the seven of the nine western states western and southwestern states is \$_____ in the four southern states \$_____ and in the middle and northern states \$_____ The amount due the bank in the nine western states is about \$_____ in the four southern states about \$_____ and in the eleven middle and northern states about \$_____ The profits of the bank in 1831 in the first section were about \$_____ in the second about \$_____ and in the third about \$_____ these details were The whole amount held by the citizens of the nine western and southwestern states is \$_____ and the whole held by citizens of the southern states beyond the Potomac is \$_____ while the amount held by citizens of the middle and eastern states is \$_____ The amount due at the branch banks in the western and whole debt due to the Bank of the United States is \$_____ Of this there is due at the branches in the nine western and southwestern states the sum of \$_____ and in the four southern states \$_____ The amount due to the Bank The profits of the Bank in 1831 are \$_____ Of this there is owed at the branches in the nine western states \$_____ in the four southern states \$_____ and \$_____ in the eleven middle and eastern states.

As little stock is held in the west or south, it is obvious, that the debt of the people to the Bank in ~~that~~ those sections, is a debt to the eastern and foreign stockholders; that the interest they pay upon it, is carried to the eastern states and to ~~England~~ Europe; and that it is a tax upon their industry and a drain of their currency which no country can bear without perpetual inconvenience and occasional distress. To meet this tax and equalize the exchange operations of the Bank, the amount of specie drawn from those states through its branches within the two last years, as shown by its own official reports, was ~~\$7.281.055 being more than~~ was about seven millions of dollars, or three and a half millions each year. A large portion More than half a million of this amount does not stop in the eastern states, but passes on to ~~Great Britain. The amount required to pay~~

the foreign stockholders their dividends is little short of \$600.000 per year Europe, to pay the dividends of the foreign stockholders.

In the principle of taxation recognized by this act, the southern and western states, instead of find no compensation for this perpetual tax on their industry and drain of their currency. At Mobile the business of banking has been found so profitable good, that the branch there made a net profit last year of \$552.812; drain of their currency. The branch bank at Mobile made last year a clear profit of \$552.812; yet, under the provisions of this bill act, the state of Alabama cannot can raise a dollar of no revenue of upon from these profitable operations, because not a share of the stock is held by any of her citizens.⁷ The money made within her borders and out of her citizens, instead of affording the least supply to her Treasury; all goes to enable citizens of the eastern states and the subjects of a foreign Monarch, to pay the exactions of the governments where they reside. Mississippi and Missouri are in the same condition in relation to the branches at Natchez and St Louis, and such, to in a greater or less degree, is the condition of every southern and western state. In regard to them no system of taxation can be equal or just, which does not tax the business; the discounts or the profits of the branches located within their borders.

The ultimate effect of the plan of taxation which this act proposes, will be to place the whole United States in the same relation to Great Britain foreign countries which the western states now bear to the eastern. When by a tax on resident stockholders the stock of this Bank is made worth ten or fifteen per cent more to foreigners than it is to residents, it will be the interest of every American stockholder to sell to foreigners it will inevitably leave the country The stock will flow into foreign hands as water seeks its level. Every man who deals in stock for gain, will immediately sell to foreigners all he holds in this Bank, importers of British goods will buy it up and transfer it to England as the most gainful mode of making remittances; the purchase of stock for the purpose of selling to foreigners; will become a business with brokers and stockjobbers, it will be hunted up in every corner of our country, bought and sent abroad; until scarcely enough will be left in the United States to qualify twenty five American citizens for President and Directors.

Thus will this provision in its practical effect, deprive the eastern as well as the southern and western states of the means of raising a revenue from the stupend extensive business and enormous great profits of this institution. It will make the American people debtors to the nobility and gentry of Great Britain aliens in nearly the whole amount due to this Bank, and send across the Atlantic from three to five two to four millions of specie every year to pay the Bank dividends. The tax upon tea was but an atom to the globe, compared with the tax which this system would impose upon the people of these states, not for the support of their own governments, not for the emolument of our own citizens, but for the

support and aggrandizement of the enemies of public liberty in the British Isles. By a system of stocks, the common people of that British Empire have been reduced to the lowest stage of poverty and wretchedness. To pay the stockholders of the government and numberless corporations, they are taxed directly and indirectly, upon their food and their clothing, their light and their fire, their books and their tools, their travelling and their resting; upon all their necessities, comforts and luxuries; until the pittance left out of the earnings of their labor is scarcely sufficient to afford them a miserable subsistence. That a paper Aristocracy, warned by the throes of its exhausted victims that it cannot much longer expect support by draining the lifeblood of the British nation, now casts its eyes upon the fresh features of young America, and is seeking to thrust its beak into the veins of our industry. This act not only tolerates but invites their cupidity. As if it were a kindness to favor to be permitted to p happiness to be their debtors and a public benefit to be drained of millions a year of our best currency, we offer them a premium of entire exemption from taxation to such of the the British nobility and gentry as an inducement to buy up the stock of this Bank. In seeming compassion for their approaching loss of power to tax and tythe to starvation their fellow subjects, we offer to make the American people their dependents and tributaries. We propose to make every note and obligation given to the Bank of the United States in all but their forms, notes and obligations to the nobles and gentry of the British Empire.

There is another view of this subject, if possible more appalling still to the lover of liberty and national independence. In another of its bearings this provision is fraught with dangers. Of the twenty five directors of this Bank, five are chosen by the government and twenty five by the citizen stockholders. From all voice in these elections the foreign stockholders are excluded by the charter.⁸ In proportion, therefore, as the stock is transferred to foreign holders, the extent of suffrage in the choice of Directors is curtailed. Already is almost a third of the stock in foreign hands and not represented in elections. The inducement held out by this act will send nearly the whole across the Atlantic. It will be the interest of every American to sell, unless he have other views than pecuniary emolument. The ease with which a few men may secure and wield the whole power of this formidable institution, will afford them an inducement to retain their stock. The Nearly the whole stock left in the United States, will be held by the President and Directors, who will elect themselves, and It is constantly passing out of the country and this act will accelerate its departure. The entire control of the institution would necessarily fall into the hands of the few remaining citizen stockholders, and the ease with which the object could be accomplished would be a temptation to designing men to secure that control in their own hands by monopolizing the remaining stock. There is danger that the a President and Directors would thus be able to elect themselves from year to year, that, and, without

responsibility or control, ~~they would~~ manage the whole concerns of the Bank during the existence of its charter. It is not to be supposed, that even ~~they will retain more stock than will be sufficient firmly to secure their power; and they would seek their chief emoluments in connexions with their British friends, the foreign stockholders. Thus In fine, the President and Directors of this Bank would become the mere self-constituted agents of the British Aristocracy to collect their revenues in America. Not in the shape excise men and tything men as in England, but under the name of Bank President, Directors, Cashiers and Clerks, will the nobility and gentry of England, disseminate their tax gatherers throughout our Republic; to collect their tribute and corrupt our people. It is easy to conceive, that great evils to our country and its institutions might flow from such a concentration of power in a few men irresponsible to the people.~~

Is there no danger to our liberty and independence in a Bank ~~so thoroughly British~~ which may become so thoroughly alien? The President of the Bank has told us, that most of the state banks exist by its forbearance. ~~By a poor~~ A trifling privilege is conceded to them in this act, ~~it propose~~ attempts the tendency of which is to bind them to its interest by favor as well as fear. Its power over men of business is not less than over the state banks. ~~By Through~~ Operating upon the fears of its debtors some and the hopes of those who are not, it silences some and makes excites others to speak, it makes its own will the will of thousands, and others, it pours its influence unseen through all society in unnumberable ~~unseen~~ streams. ~~When~~ Should all this power and influence becomes concentrated, ~~as it certainly will under~~ as it may under the operation of such an act as this, in the hands of a dozen British agents, ~~will there not~~ self elected Directory whose affections interests are identified with those of the foreign stockholders, will there not be cause to tremble for the purity of our elections in peace and the independence of our country in war? ~~In times of peace; When it they meets with no opposition;~~ when it can, once in fifteen or twenty years, it can promise from our liberal government a gratuity of six or eight millions of dollars, and make six or eight per cent per annum upon its capital, its power will not be felt, except in the feebleness of American industry and by the constant drain of its lifeblood to support a foreign aristocracy. But let any man or set of men oppose its exactions, and resist the periodical renewal of its monopoly, let any Congress, any President or any Statesman, seek to redeem his country from this new thralldom and excite her to a new Declaration of Independence, it is not to be imagined; that those British capitalists who ravaged the Car-antic and sought for gold in rivers of Indian blood, will relinquish their grasp upon the liberties of America without a fearful struggle. The dependent state banks will be ordered up to exert their power; debtors would will be warned that their safety depends on their active fidelity to the Bank; men of business would will learn that all their hopes of future favor depended on their zeal in the important crisis; the ambitious men of our Senate House would will

be reached through more channels than Philip of Macedon corrupted the Orators of Athens; the streams of public intelligence would be will be corrupted poisoned in their fountains; by secret gratuities and accommodations, the press would will be corrupted, and our the unsuspecting free-man, seeking for truth, would will hold in his hands a contaminated sheet. If, as now, an interest of many millions should be involved in the renewal of the monopoly, and the managers of the Bank become less scrupulous and our public men less pure, a hundred thousand dollars may be given for a vote and a million for the signature of a President. Could they obtain the passage of such an act as this by the distribution of five millions in direct and indirect corruption bribery, they would be, in dollars and cents, the immediate gainers of many millions more. And one triumph would will be a triumph forever. The United States would will be more effectually subjugated to British domination than were the colonies before the revolution. Our President and Congress, our Governors and Legislatures, would be will become the mere instruments creatures of the British agents who might be, may be, for the time being, in the management of this institution; and if an attempt were effort be ever made to redeem the country from this monied tyranny, it would will be the effort struggle of a desperate man whose vitals are consumed by consumption, feeble and short. Their power would be great whenever they might choose to exert it; but if their monopoly were regularly renewed every fifteen or twenty years on terms proposed by themselves, they might seldom in peace put forth the strength to ~~control~~ influence elections or control the affairs of the nation. But if any private citizen or public functionary should interpose to curtail its powers or prevent a renewal of its privileges, it cannot be doubted that he would made to feel its power.⁹

~~In war with Great Britain, with a Bank owned by British Generals, Admirals and Statesmen and managed by British Agents, what would be our condition? Experience has taught us, that in a war Should we unfortunately have war with the Should the stock of the Bank principally flow pass into the hands of British subjects and we should unfortunately become again involved in war with that kingdom, what would be our condition? Experience has taught us that in a war with that nation, some of our own capitalists are more likely to aid the enemy than our own government not too ready to sustain our own government with their capital. Had a Bank existed during the last war, with stock owned entirely by American capitalists, it may be well doubted, whether it would not have been used to cripple the government and compel it to make a disgraceful peace. Of the course which would be pursued by a Bank as thoroughly British as this must be under the operation of its this renewed charter, there can be no doubt almost wholly owned by the Generals, Admirals, nobility and gentry of a hostile kingdom and managed by men whose affections interests if not affections, would run in the same direction, there can be no doubt.~~

All its operations within would be in aid of the British army and fleets and armies enemy without. Controlling our currency, holding receiving our public moneys and holding thousands of our citizens in dependence, it would be more formidable and dangerous than all the naval and military power of the British Empire. It would be equivalent to an army of traitors, prepared to receive the public enemy and lead him in triumph through every section avenue of our betrayed country. To save itself from annihilation, our government would be compelled to make peace with the British and the Bank, on terms prescribed by themselves.

If we must have a Bank with private stockholders, every consideration of sound policy and every impulse of American feeling, admonishes that it should be *purely American*. Its stockholders should be composed exclusively of our own citizens, who, at least, ought to be friendly to our government and willing to support it in times of difficulty and danger. (We have no need to go abroad for capital to constitute a bank.) So abundant is domestic capital, that competition in subscribing for the stock of local bank, has recently led almost to riots. To a Bank exclusively of American stockholders, possessing the powers and privileges granted by this act, subscriptions for two hundred millions of dollars could be obtained in a day. In this state of things, what apology have we for throwing into foreign hands the stock of an institution on which our government must rely for the safekeeping of its money and sustaining its credit in times of emergency, for making our people tributary to a foreign aristocracy, for endangering the purity of our instit rulers elections and in time of for putting in jeopardy our national independence? As well might we put arms into the hands of known traitors, and place the money chest of our army in the keeping of a hostile chief. So far from granting exclusive privileges to the foreign holders and purchasers of this stock, all who wish to retain among ourselves in our own country the profits of our own business and industry, who desire to preserve individual liberty and national independence, ought to insist on a provision prohibiting under penalty of absolute forfeiture, the transfer of a single share of the stock, directly or indirectly, to a foreigner. We might then expect to have a Bank, which, whatever domestic evils it might bring upon our people and their institutions, would not, under any circumstances, have an interest in humbling our government at the foot of the British Throne. Instead of sending abroad the stock of the Bank in which the government must rely deposit its funds and on which it must rely to sustain its credit in times of emergency, it would rather seem to be expedient to prohibit its sale to aliens under penalty of absolute forfeiture.

In the power given to foreigners to purchase and hold stock, therefore, and especially in their exemption from state taxation to which all domestic stockholders are to be liable, I find conclusive reasons why this act should not become a law.

There are powers, privileges and exemptions conferred by this act on the Bank of the United States, which, in my opinion, are subversive of the rights of the states and palpably unconstitutional.

It is maintained by the advocates of the Bank that the its constitutionality of in all its features ought to be considered as settled by precedent and by the decision of the Supreme Court. To this conclusion I cannot assent.

Precedent is the most a dangerous usurper that ever grasped at forbidden power with unhallowed hands. It He has enslaved mankind and been the cause of bloody revolutions. It is tThrough the indolence of some and the ambition of others, that this tyrant he has been enabled to domineer over the human race. When a doubtful question is presented to some men in authority, instead of encountering the labor of investigating its bearings and deciding it upon principle, they merely ask what has been done before. If there be any thing in prior decision or former practice analogous to the power claimed, they make the concession, and in indolent security repose under the shade of a predecessor's authority. Others whose ambition leads them to grasp at power, upon each recurrence of the same principle, purposely enlarge its scope and finally silently sweep into the vortex of this insidious usurpation, the rights of the people and the just powers of coordinate public functionaries. It is thus by the indolence of some and the ambition of others, that Precedent creeps on, step by step, grasping this one power at the right and that on the left after another, until his usurpations and oppressions become intolerable. In despotic countries where the people have no voice in the selection of their rulers; they resort for relief to insurrection and revolution; in countries where public opinion makes the laws and controls the government, if sufficient virtue be left, they resort to amendments of their constitution or changes of their laws. Nothing but perpetual vigilance and inflexible principle can thwart this subtle enemy. He is never conquered nor conciliated. Baffled at one point, he resorts to another; detected and exposed, he puts on new disguises; always awake, when he is gently drawing his cords around mankind as they sleep; others sleep ever active and driven back with frowns; he returns with smiles ever active and never disconcerted, he is never held except only in maintaining a position from which he knows he cannot be easily expelled. To obviate these dangers of this silent enemy to liberty is one of the chief objects of our government. For this end, we have written constitutions, popular elections and frequent changes of rulers. Through these means, the power of Precedent is lessened and his encroachments may be repelled. One judge, one legislator or one Presid chief magistrate is not, in his official acts, bound by the opinions of another, but each is sworn to support the constitution as he understands it. I, therefore, in the consideration of this topic, reject altogether the authority of Precedent.

This ground is not assumed because Precedent is against me. I should be supported by it on grounds broader than I intend to assume. An argument against the Bank might be based on precedent. One Congress in

1791 decided in favor of a Bank ~~of the United States~~; another in 1811 decided against it. One Congress in 1815 decided against a Bank; another in 1816 decided in favor of it. Prior to the present Congress, therefore, the precedents drawn from that source, were equal. If we resort to the states, the expressions of legislative, judicial and executive opinions against the Bank, have been probably to those in its favor as four to one. There is nothing in precedent, therefore, which, if its authority were admitted, ought to weigh ~~a feather~~ in favor of the act before me.

If the opinion of the Supreme Court covered the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the coordinate authorities of this government. The Congress, the ~~President~~ Executive and the Court, must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the constitution. Each public officer who takes an oath to support the constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate and of the President to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the Supreme Court Judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the judges, and on that point the President is independent of both. ~~The member of Congress who votes for, and or the President who approves, an act or resolution which he firmly believes to be in violation of the constitution merely because the Supreme Court has decided it to be constitutional, violates his oath and is faithless to his trust.~~ The authority of the Supreme Court, therefore, must not be permitted to control the legislative or executive functionaries of the government, each of which is independent and must decide for himself Congress or the Executive, when acting in their legislative capacities.

But in the case relied upon, the Supreme Court have not decided that all the features of this corporation are compatible with the constitution. They have only decided that ~~the establishment of a bank is an appropriate means for carrying into effect the powers, delegated to Congress,~~ enumerated powers of the general government, and that, therefore, the law incorporating it, is in accordance with that provision of the constitution which ~~delegates~~ declares that ~~they~~ Congress shall have power “to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying those powers into execution” ~~the delegated powers powers delegated to them in that instrument.~~ Having satisfied themselves, that the word “*necessary*” in the constitution, means “*needful*,” “*requisite*,” “*essential*,” “*conducive to*,” and that a Bank “is a convenient, a useful and essential instrument in the prosecution of the government’s fiscal operations,” they conclude, that “to use one must be within the discretion of Congress,” and that “the act to incorporate the Bank of the United States is a law made in pursuance of the constitution.” “*But,*” say they, “*where the law is not prohibited and is really calculated to effect any of the objects entrusted to the government, to undertake here to*

*inquire into the degree of its necessity, would be to pass the line which circumscribes the judicial department, and to tread on legislative ground.”*¹⁰

The principle here affirmed is, that ‘*the degree of its necessity*,’ involving all the details of a banking institution, is a question exclusively for legislative consideration. A Bank is constitutional; but it is the province of the legislature to determine whether this or that particular power, privilege or exemption is “necessary and proper” to enable ~~the Bank~~ it to ~~fulfil~~ discharge its duties to the government, and from their decision there is no appeal to the Courts of Justice. ~~Under~~ According to the decision of the Supreme Court, therefore, it is the exclusive province of Congress and the President to decide whether the particular features of this act are “necessary and proper,” and therefore constitutional; or unnecessary or improper, and therefore unconstitutional. Without calling in question the general principle affirmed by the Supreme Court, let us examine the details of this act in accordance with the rule of legislative action which they have laid down.

The original act of incorporation, section 21, enacts “that no other bank shall be established by any future law of the United States during the continuance of ~~this~~ the corporation hereby created, for which the faith of the United States is hereby pledged. *Provided*, Congress may renew existing charters for banks within the district of Columbia, not increasing the capital thereof, and may also establish any other bank or banks in said district, with capitals not exceeding in ~~all~~ the whole, six millions of dollars, if they shall deem it expedient.”¹¹ This provision is continued in force by the act before me fifteen years from the 3d of March 1836.

If Congress possessed the power to establish one Bank, they had power to establish more than one, if, in their opinion, two or more banks had been ‘necessary’ to facilitate the execution of the powers delegated to them in the constitution. If they possessed the power to establish a second bank, it was a power ~~granted by~~ derived from the constitution, to be exercised from time to time and at any time ~~which~~ when the interests of the country or the emergencies of the government might make it ~~necess~~ expedient. It was possessed by one Congress as well as another, and by all Congresses alike, and alike at every session. But the Congress of 1816, have taken it away from their successors for twenty years, and the Congress of 1832 proposes to abolish it for fifteen years more. It cannot be ‘*necessary*’ *or* ‘*proper*’ for Congress to barter away or divest themselves of, any of the powers vested in them by the constitution to be exercised for the public good. It is not ‘*necessary*’ to the efficiency of the Bank, nor is it ‘*proper*’ in relation to themselves and their successors. They may *properly* use the discretion vested in them; but they may not limit the discretion of their successors. This restriction on themselves and grant of a monopoly to the Bank is, therefore, unconstitutional.

In another point of view it this provision is a ~~palpable~~ attempt to amend the constitution by an act of legislation. The constitution declares,

that “the Congress shall have power”—“to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever” over the District of Columbia.¹² Its constitutional power, therefore, to establish Banks in the District of Columbia and increase their capital at will, is unlimited and uncontrollable by any other power than that which gave authority to the constitution. Yet this act declares provides, that Congress shall *not* increase the capital of existing banks nor create other banks with capitals exceeding in the whole six millions of dollars. The constitution declares, that Congress *shall* have power to exercise exclusive legislation over this district ‘*in all cases whatsoever*,’ and this act declares they *shall not*. Which is ‘the supreme law of the land’? This provision cannot be ‘*necessary*,’ or ‘*proper*,’ ~~unless~~ or *constitutional*, unless the absurdity be admitted, that whenever it be ‘necessary and proper,’ in the opinion of Congress, they have a right to barter away a portion of the powers vested in them by the constitution as a means of executing the rest.

On two subjects only does the constitution recognize in Congress the power to grant exclusive privileges or monopolies. It declares, that “Congress shall have power to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.”¹³ Out of this express delegation of power, have grown our laws of Patents and Copy Rights. As the constitution expressly ~~grants~~ delegates to Congress the power to grant exclusive privileges in these cases as *the means of executing* the substantive power “to promote the progress of science and useful arts,” it is consistent with the fair rules of construction to conclude, that such a power was not intended to be granted as a means of accomplishing any other end. On every other subject which comes within the scope of Congressional power, there is an ever-living discretion in the use of proper means, which cannot be ~~limited~~ restricted or abolished without an amendment of the constitution. Every act of Congress, therefore, which attempts, by grants of monopolies or sale of exclusive privileges ‘for a limited time’ or a time without limit, to restrict or extinguish its own discretion in the choice of means to execute its delegated powers, is ~~unconst~~ equivalent to a legislative amendment of the constitution and palpably unconstitutional.

This act authorizes and encourages transfers of its stock to foreigners and grants them an exemption from all state and national taxation. So far from being “*necessary and proper*,” that the Bank should possess this power ~~to make~~ in making it a safe and efficient agent of the government in its fiscal concerns, it is calculated to convert the Bank of the United States into a ~~British Bank~~ an alien institution, to impoverish our people in time of peace, to disseminate a foreign influence through every section of the republic, and in war to endanger our independence. This, therefore, is an *unnecessary, improper* and *unconstitutional* grant of power.

The several states reserved the power at the formation of the constitution to regulate and control titles and transfers of ~~lands and other~~ real

property, and most if not all of them, have laws disqualifying foreigners aliens from acquiring or holding lands within their limits. But this act, in disregard of the undoubted right of the states to prescribe such disqualifications, gives to aliens, stockholders in this bank, an interest and title, as members of this corporation, to ~~land~~ all the real property it may acquire, within any of the states of this union. This privilege ~~so entirely subversive of the rights of the states granted to foreigners~~ aliens, is not 'necessary' to enable the Bank to perform its public duties, ~~and is not therefore~~ nor in any sense '*proper*,' because it is entirely subversive of the rights of the states, and is therefore *doubly unconstitutional*.

The government of the United States ~~have~~ has no ~~power~~ constitutional right to purchase lands within the states except "for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings," and even for those objects, only "by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be."¹⁴ By making themselves stockholders in the Bank and granting to the corporation the power to purchase lands for other purposes, they assume a power not granted in the constitution, and grant to others what they do not themselves possess. It is not '*necessary*' to the receiving, safe-keeping or transmission of the funds of the government, that the Bank should possess this power, and it is not '*proper*' that Congress should thus enlarge the powers delegated to them in the constitution. This feature of the act is, therefore, unconstitutional.

The old Bank of the United States possessed a capital of only eleven millions of dollars which was found fully ~~competent~~ sufficient to enable it, with despatch and safety, to perform all the functions required of it by the government. The capital of the present bank is thirty five millions of dollars, at least twenty four more than experience has proved to be '*necessary*' to enable it a bank to perform its public functions. ~~This addition of capital was, therefore, made for other than legitimate purposes, and is unconstitutional.~~ The public debt which existed during the period of the old bank and on the establishment of the new, has been nearly paid off, and our revenues will soon be reduced. This increase of capital, therefore, is not for public but for private purposes and unconstitutional.

The government is the only '*proper*' judge where its agents should reside and keep their offices, because it best knows where their presence will be '*necessary*.' It cannot, therefore, be '*necessary*' or '*proper*' to authorize the Bank to locate ~~branches where she pleases~~ wherever she pleases, branches to perform the public service, without consulting the government and contrary to its will. The principle laid down by the Supreme Court concedes, that Congress cannot establish a bank for purposes of private speculation and gain, but only as a means of executing the delegated powers of the general government. By the same principle, a branch bank cannot constitutionally be established for other than government purposes. The power which this act gives to establish two branches in any state, without the injunction or request of the government, and for other than public pur-

poses, is ~~un~~ not ‘*necessary*’ to the due execution of the powers delegated to Congress, and therefore unconstitutional.

The bonus which ~~the~~ is exacted from the Bank is a confession upon the face of the act, that the powers granted by it are greater than are ‘*necessary*’ to its character of a fiscal agent. The government does not tax its officers and agents for the privilege of serving it. The bonus of a million and a half required by the original charter and that of three millions proposed in this act, are not exacted for the privilege of giving “the necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place, within the United States or the territories thereof and for distributing the same in payment of the public creditors without charging commission or claiming allowance on account of the difference of exchange,” as required in the act of incorporation, but for something more beneficial to ~~themselves~~ the stockholders. The original ~~act~~ charter declares, that ~~the bonus is granted~~ it is to be paid “*in consideration of the exclusive privileges and benefits conferred by this act upon the said bank,*” and the act before me declares, that it to be “*in consideration of the exclusive benefits and privileges continued by this act to the said corporation for fifteen years as aforesaid.*”¹⁵ It is A bonus, therefore, ~~for~~ is required in consideration of ‘exclusive privileges and benefits’ conferred for *their own* use and emolument and not for the advantage of the government that a bonus is exacted. If These surplus powers for which the Bank is ~~willing~~ required to pay, cannot surely be ‘*necessary*’ to make it the fiscal agent of the Treasury. If they were, the exaction of a bonus for them would not be ‘*proper.*’ ~~All The powers and privileges conferred by this act are, evidently, therefore, to the extent of the value of this bonus, un not ‘necessary’ to the bank as an agent of the Treasury but conferred for the ‘exclusive benefit’ of the stockholders and are, therefore, and unconstitutional. In any point of view it cannot be necessary. The~~

If it be right to sell these “exclusive privileges and benefits,” it is not ‘*necessary*’ nor ‘*proper*’ to take less for them than they are worth, or to select the stockholders ~~foreigners and citizens~~ of the present bank, foreigners and citizens, and bestow it upon them, not only ~~to the exclusion of~~ excluding all the rest of the community from competition, but at exacting a less price than is offered by another set of men, all American citizens and equally competent to render the requisite services to the government.

It is not ‘*necessary*’ or ‘*proper*’ to bestow on these favored few, powers and privileges, not only to the value of the bonus which they pay, but so exceedingly beneficial as to enrich them at once, ~~seven or eight~~ many millions of dollars, ~~by the additional value they will give to their stock by in~~ the increased value of their stock.

[The text is marked at this point for an insertion. There are three versions of this insertion. The first is in Francis Preston Blair’s hand. The second, on the reverse of the same sheet, is by Kendall. The third, on

a different sheet, also by Kendall, is marked to insert in the main text. Printed here in order are all three versions.]

One of the principles upon which the power to establish the Bank is assumed by congress grows out of the construction which implies from the granted power to *coin money*, authority *to regulate the currency of the country*. In assuming this constructive power & transferring it to the Bank, the General Government ~~transfers to that~~ of the United States delegates to that of the ~~trust~~ Bank, a high trust which it is not to be supposed, ~~the nation would ever designed for which the constitution ever designed to should be delegated & which the nation would transferred—and which the nation would not willingly see its representatives resign to those representing the Stockholders of the Bank. But by~~ In giving this power trust to the Bank by an exclusive charter for 15 years, congress not only divests itself of the power it claims the constitutional right to exert, but robs itself of all authority to recall it for the term of the charter. ~~For~~ It is assumed that the charter cannot be repealed. However imperfectly then the high function confided to the Bank may be discharged, congress by the exclusive nature of this charter denies itself the means of redressing the mischief by employing other agents ~~or Instituted to discharge perform the duty it owes to the public~~ which under its own construction it owes to the public—

It is maintained by some that this Bank is a means of executing the constitutional power “to coin money and regulate the value thereof,” from which is inferred a power to regulate the currency. Congress has established a mint ‘to coin money’ and have passed laws to regulate the value thereof.” If they have other power to regulate the currency, and have delegated it to the Bank, they have, during its ~~corporate~~ existence, bartered away their legislative discretion and transferred their constitutional powers to this corporation. It is not perceived how this ~~provision transfer~~ can be ‘proper’ nor is it believed to be “*necessary*.’ This money so coined and so regulated, is the only currency known to the constitution. If they have other power to regulate it, and have delegated that power to the Bank, then have they parted with their own constitutional powers and made the Bank, ~~the~~ to that extent, the lawgiver of the nation. It cannot be ‘necessary,’ and certainly not ‘proper’ that Congress should barter away its constitutional powers and

It is maintained by some, that the Bank is a means of executing the constitutional power “to coin money and regulate the value thereof.” Congress have established a mint ‘to coin money’ and passed laws ‘to regulate the value thereof.’ The money so coined with its value so regulated, with such foreign coins as Congress may adopt, are the only currency known to the constitution. But if they have other power to regulate the currency, it was conferred to be exercised by themselves and not to be

transferred to a corporation. If the Bank be established for that purpose with a charter unalterable without its consent, Congress have ~~bartered away their power~~ parted with their power for a term of years, during which the constitution is a dead letter. It is neither 'necessary' nor 'proper' for Congress to ~~give its powers to a corporation~~ transfer its legislative powers to a bank, and therefore unconstitutional.

[The main text resumes.]

~~This act~~ By its silence, ~~considered taken~~ considered in connection with the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of McCulloch against the state of Maryland, this act takes from the states their power to tax a portion of the banking business carried on within their limits, in subversion of one of the strongest barriers which secured them ~~from~~ against federal encroachment. Banking, like farming, manufacturing or any other occupation or profession, is *a business*, the right to follow which is not originally derived from the laws. Every citizen and any company of citizens in all of our states, possessed the right ~~to bank~~, until the state legislatures deemed it good policy to prohibit private banking by law. If the prohibitory state laws were now repealed, every citizen would again possess the right ~~and might immediately commence the business~~. Upon the same principle that some of the states tax tavern licences, public shows, billiard tables, gambling establishments &c. &c. might they tax private banks. The state banks are a qualified restoration of the right which has been taken away by the laws against banking, gaurdinged by such provisions and limitations, as, in the opinion of the state legislatures, the public interest requires. These corporations, unless there be an exemption in their charters, are, like private bankers and banking companies, subject to state taxation. The manner in which these taxes shall be laid, depends wholly on legislative discretion. It may be upon the banks, upon their stock, upon their profits, or in any other mode which the sovereign power may will.

Upon the formation of the constitution, the states ~~reserved~~ guarded their taxing power with peculiar jealousy. They surrendered it only ~~upon~~ as it regards imports and exports. In relation to every other object within their jurisdiction, ~~it was reserved~~ whether persons, property, business or professions, it was reserved in as ample a manner as it was before possessed. ~~The~~ All persons of though United States officers, are liable to a poll tax by the states within which they reside; the lands of the United States are ~~liable~~ subject to the usual land tax, except in the new states ~~from compact~~ from whom agreements that they will not tax unsold lands, are exacted when they are admitted into the Union; horses, wagons, any beasts or vehicles, tools or property, belonging to private citizens, though employed in the service of the United States, are subject to state taxation. Every private business, whether carried on by an officer of the general government or not, whether it be mixed with public concerns or not,

even if it be carried on by the government of the United States itself, separately or in partnership, falls within the scope of the taxing power of the states. Nothing comes more fully within ~~the scope of that power~~ it than banks and the business of banking, by whomsoever instituted and carried on. Over this whole subject-matter, it is just as absolute, unlimited and uncontrollable as if the constitution had never been adopted, because, in the formation of that instrument, it was reserved without qualification.

The principle is conceded, that the states cannot rightfully tax the operations of the general government. They cannot tax the money of the government deposited in the state banks, nor the agency of those banks in remitting it; but will ~~any man maintain~~ it be maintained, that their mere selection to perform this public service for the general government [sh]ould exempt their state banks and their ordinary business from state taxation? Had the United States, instead of establishing a bank, employed ~~Stephen Girard~~ a private banker in Philadelphia to keep and transmit their funds, would it have deprived Pennsylvania of the right to tax his bank and his usual banking operations?¹⁶ It will not be pretended. Upon what principle then are the banking establishments of the Bank of the United States and their usual banking operations to be exempted from state taxation? It is not their public agency or the deposits of the government which the states claim a right to tax, but their banks and banking powers, instituted and exercised within state jurisdiction for their private emolument; those powers and privileges for which they pay a bonus and which they states tax in their own banks. The exercise of these powers within a state, no matter by whom or under what authority, whether by private citizens in their original right, by corporate bodies created by the states, by foreigners or their agents of foreign governments located within their limits, forms a legitimate object of state taxation. From this and like sources, from the persons, property business that are found residing, located or carried on under ~~its~~ their jurisdiction, must the states, ~~draw~~ since the surrender of their right to raise a revenue from imports and exports, draw all the ~~revenues~~ moneys necessary for the support of their governments and the maintenance of their independence. There is ~~none~~ more appropriate subject of taxation than banks, banking and bank stock, and ~~no right~~ none to which the state ought more pertinaciously to cling ~~than that to tax them at their own will.~~

~~But this act destroys their right removes from the st~~

In some states this act removes from the power of state taxation the whole banking business carried on within their borders. In Kentucky there are no banks doing business but the two branches of the United States Bank at Louisville and Lexington. They have on loan to her citizens about \$3.700.000 and in domestic bills more than \$2.000.000 more, collecting from them ~~more than~~ about \$300.000 per year in interest and discounts ~~and~~. Yet, by this act, ~~the people of~~ Kentucky ~~are~~ is permitted to raise no tax from these gigantic operations which exhaust her currency and

impoverish her people. In Ohio ~~also~~ the Bank has on loan ~~three~~ four and a half millions and more than half a million in domestic bills, taking from the state ~~more than~~ about \$200.000 annually in interest and discounts. Alabama ~~cannot raise a dollar~~ can raise no revenue from the half million taken from her citizens through the branch at Mobile, and Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana are in much the same condition. ~~When~~ If nearly all the stock shall ~~have passed~~ pass into foreign hands under the operation of a system like that proposed in this act, all the states of the Union in which the principal and branch banks are located, will find themselves in the situation of Alabama. Banking operations to the amount of seventy millions in ~~discounts~~ debts and ninety millions annually in exchange, ~~will be~~ carried on within their borders and under their jurisdiction, will cease to afford any means for the support of their governments, while they will drain off the best currency of the country, ~~and bend the people to a new dependence upon the British Isles.~~ And should the sentiment which now begins to be promulgated, that the Bank of the United States is the *only* constitutional bank in the Union and that the state banks are unconstitutional and ought to be annihilated, become the practical opinion of ~~the country~~ our public authorities, not a vestige will be left of the reserved right of the states to tax all banking carried on within their limits. ~~All will be swept away by the influence and power of this overshadowing and overwhelming institution.~~

It cannot be '*necessary*' to ~~preserve~~ the character of the Bank as a fiscal agent of the government, that its private business should be exempted from that taxation to which all the state banks are liable, nor can I conceive it '*proper*' that the substantive and most essential powers reserved by the states, ~~should~~ shall be thus attacked and annihilated as ~~the~~ a means of executing the powers delegated to the general government. It may safely be assumed, that none of those ~~sages who framed the constitution ever thought,~~ and none of those who raised chimeras in the state conventions to prevent its adoption, who had an agency in forming or adopting our constitution ever imagined, that any portion of the taxing power of the states, not prohibited to them nor delegated to Congress, was to be swept taken away and annihilated as a means of executing certain powers delegated to Congress. ~~Had such an idea of the use of means been entertained, Patrick Henry would have had more associates in opposition and we should not now have been legislating under the authority of our happy constitution. As this curtailment of state power is neither '*necessary*' nor '*proper*' to sustain or aid the Bank in its any duty which is or may be required of it by the government, I cannot but consider it highly and palpably and dangerously unconstitutional.~~¹⁷ Not being '*necessary*' to the efficiency of the bank nor '*proper*' in its bearing upon the states, it must be considered as dangerously unconstitutional.

If our power over means is so absolute that the Supreme Court will not call in question the constitutionality of an act of Congress which "is not

prohibited and is really calculated to effect any of the objects entrusted to the government,” although, as in the case before me, it takes away powers expressly granted to Congress and rights scrupulously reserved to the states, it becomes us to proceed in our legislation with the utmost caution. Though not directly, our own powers and the rights of the states may be indirectly legislated away in the use of means to execute substantive powers. We may not enact that Congress shall not have the power of exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia, but we may pledge the faith of the United States that, as a means of executing other powers, it shall not be exercised for twenty years or forever. We may not pass an act prohibiting the states to tax the banking business carried on within their limits, but we may, as a means of executing our powers over other objects, place it that business in the hands of our agents, and then declare it exempt from state taxation in their hands. Thus may our own powers and the rights of the states which we cannot directly curtail or invade, be assailed frittered away and extinguished in the use of means employed by us to execute other powers.

That a Bank of the United States competent to all the duties which may be required of such an ins by the government, may be so organized as to not to infringe on our own delegated powers or the reserved rights of the states, I do not entertain a doubt. Had the executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution, the duty would have been cheerfully performed. In the absence of such a call, it is obviously proper that he should confine himself to pointing out those prominent objections features in the act presented, which, in his opinion, make it incompatible with the constitution and sound policy. A general discussion will now take place, eliciting new light and settling important principles; and a new Congress, elected in the midst of such discussion and furnishing an equal representation of the people according to the last Census, will bring bear to the capital the verdict of public opinion, and, I doubt not, will bring this important question to a satisfactory result.

In the history of this institution, we find nothing which ought to induce the statesman or the patriot, the friend of liberty and state rights, to seek gives it a claim to a renewal of its gigantic powers. Its power over the currency, whether beneficially exercised or not, is not one of the grounds on which its constitutionality has been affirmed by the Supreme Court. It may have induced some of the state banks to resume specie payments, after the convulsions of the last war, more speedily than they otherwise would. To that result, in the natural progress of human affairs and under the influence of public opinion, they must have come at no distant day had this bank never been created, perhaps more tardily but just as surely. It So far from producing specie payments in the West, in some cases it compelled banks which had resumed, again to stop; and it has been influential, no doubt unwillingly, in producing an unqualified paper currency from which the states are not yet wholly redeemed. In 1819 when the Bank was yet

not three years old, ~~so deplorable~~ such had been its mismanagement, that ~~instead of~~ so far from being able to afford aid to the Treasury, it required the whole power of the Executive Department to save it from ruin.¹⁸ For a considerable period it ~~paid no dividends and for~~ _____ more a dividend less than five per cent, and during this whole period ~~the~~ it made no dividends or less than five per cent, during which ~~it~~ it was not only enjoying a large public deposit but the government was paying to it an interest of five per cent on our seven millions of stock. ~~The amount thus paid to the bank more than was received, was~~ _____ while that institution was saving itself from entire bankruptcy by the free use of a public deposit amounting to about \$ _____. Thus, instead of aiding the government in its operations, it was a tax upon the Treasury and required all the facilities which could be extended, to it save it from the fatal effects of fraud, mismanagement and speculation in its own private concerns. Retrieved from impending ruin by the aid of the government, it began to establish its power throughout the states of this Union. By operating upon the necessities and hopes of men who want money to relieve them from pressing embarrassments or commence new ~~speculations~~ operations, it has induced almost every state to invite or tolerate the location of one or more branches within its borders. Like the senseless bird, one after another, they have been enchanted into the jaws of the glossy serpent, and many of them are now beseeching that his life may be spared, lest in the agonies of dissolution he may instantly crush them to death instead of leisurely devouring them. The rights of the states have been annihilated, and others have been are threatened. Many important state rights have Through these, many important state rights have been annihilated and others are threatened. Maryland, Kentucky, Georgia, and every state which has attempted to exercise its reserved taxing power upon the banking operations of this institution ~~within their~~ carried on within its limits, with whatever of justice and moderation, have been baffled and defeated. Ohio having collected ~~the~~ a tax, and placed it in her Treasury, had the humiliation of seeing the Bank, by the authority of the federal court, enter her Treasury, take out the money and replace it in her vaults. ~~To establish~~ In establishing her supremacy over the states authorities, the provision of the constitution that no state shall be sued in the federal courts has been ~~virtually repeated~~ rendered useless by a construction that state officers, ~~may be made~~ through whom alone, the states can deliberate, decide and act, may be held responsible in their private capacity for their official acts.¹⁹ The states may not be sued, but their officers may; the states may not be tied and restrained from action, then those but their officers, the hands and feet by which alone they can move and act, may. Thus have not only the constitutional power of the states to tax the banking business, but their constitutional exemption from suit, the principal means by which they expected to protect themselves from against federal encroachment, been annihilated in the progress of this bank, which now asks us to sanction its abuses, legalize its encroachment

~~and perpetuate its power.~~ Congress gave it power to purchase real property in payment of debts, and it proceeded to dig canal basins and build houses to rent or to sell. Congress gave it power to deal in bullion, and it proceeded to buy and sell the legal tender of the Union. Without authority or the semblance of authority, it has given its money, which is in part the money of the government, to make roads and canals, and to print and circulate public documents and other papers favorable to the continuance of its monopoly. Congress refused to grant the power to sign small notes by its branch cashiers, and upon ~~the purchased~~ no other authority than the opinion of a few eminent lawyers, it has proceeded to flood the country with a spurious currency of branch drafts.²⁰ Knowing that its ~~charter~~ corporate life was approaching its termination, it has within the ~~four~~ last years established _____ new branches, increased its loans \$ _____ and added \$ _____ to its circulation. ~~When notified that it was the purpose of the debt government to pay off seven millions of the public debt on the 1st instant, it replied that it could not be done the public deposits could not be withdr paid over without inconvenience to their its debtors and asked the payment to be suspended a suspension to the first of October, to which the government acceded upon an agreement of the Bank to condition that the Bank shall pay the interest itself. At the latest returns the public depos-~~ its in the bank were \$ _____ and on the 1st instant not less than \$ _____. On the _____ day of _____ last, the whole amount of specie on hand was \$ _____ and what it was on the 1st inst. I have no means of ascertaining. So far from being able to aid the government, if its exigencies required it, the Bank is not able, in safety to itself, without distressing its debtors, to pay over a portion of the government money which it has in keeping. It has so extended its business and loans, that it again requires the aid of government to protect it from the disastrous effects of the effects of its own mismanagement in the establishment of new branches, and the extension of its accommodations and the enlargement of its circulation. Now, it is confessedly unable to spare a portion of the public deposits in payment of the national debt without refusing to its customers those accommodations which their necessities require and producing extreme embarrassment and distress among the merchants.

In this condition situation the Bank comes forward and asks a renewal of its charter for a term of fifteen years upon conditions which will make it an instant gratuity to the stockholders of six or eight millions of dollars and enable them to make many millions more by selling their stock to foreigners. Under these circumstances the Bank comes forward and asks a renewal of its charter for fifteen years, upon conditions which will not only operate as a gratuity of many millions to its stockholders, but will sanction its abuses and legalize its encroachments. Suspicions are entertained and charges are made of gross abuse and violation of its charter in the its management of the Bank. To a A proposed An investigation, though necessary and proper upon every principle of due caution recom-

mended by every consideration of legislative prudence and public duty; meets with opposition, and when it is conceded, is unwillingly conceded and by the bank and so restricted in time as necessarily to make it partial incomplete and unsatisfactory, The result discloses enough to excite suspicion and alarm. In the practices of the principal bank partially unveiled, in the evasion absence of important witnesses, and in numerous charges confidently made and as yet wholly uninvestigated, there was is enough to make the friends of liberty and our institutions, and I would hope the friends of the bank, now, while there is ample time before the expiration of the charter, demand a full inquiry into all the all its transactions of the principal bank and all its branches. One would have thought, that the Bank itself, if conscious of its purity and proud of its character, to would have suspended its application and been the most importunate that the investigation should have been resumed, extended to all its branches and continued during the recess of Congress. So far from resorting to a course which innocence would have advised, honor *pointed* out and prudence dictated, with eager importunity and indecent haste, it urges instant action upon the legislature of the nation. It would seem to be apprehended, that every moment's delay was dangerous; that time, which is the revealer of truth, might disclose fearful abuses which are now concealed; and that the only safety to the Bank is to put an end to scrutiny and stifle complaint by the certificate of its purity and the weight of its the power which a renewed charter will confer furnish and confer. These considerations make it more imperatively the duty for of those sentinels whom the people have placed around the encampment of liberty, thoroughly more carefully to examine every approach guard every avenue of approach and more thoroughly to examine into the character and objects of those who ask admission. As the Bank charter has near four years more to run, and a new charter is not necessary at this time to the successful prosecution of its business, there can be no injury to it, except what may spring from its own folly or misconduct, and certainly none to the interest of the government and country, by in awaiting, for one or two years longer, the development of truth and the confirmation or refutation of the serious charges which affect the purity of the bank and the character of its managers. What influence and who is it, that has operated wholly uninvestigated, there was enough to induce a majority of the Committee of investigation, a committee which was composed of selected from the most able and honorable members of the House of Representative, to recommend a suspension of further action upon the bill and a prosecution of the inquiry. As the charter had yet about four years to run and as a renewal now was not necessary to the successful prosecution of its business, it was to have been expected that the bank itself, conscious of its purity and proud of its character, would have withdrawn its application for the present and demanded the severest scrutiny into all its transactions. In their declining to do so, there seems, to be an additional reason why the functionaries of

the government should proceed with less haste and more caution in the renewal of their monopoly.

The Bank is professedly established as an agent of the executive government, and its constitutionality is maintained on that ground. Neither upon the propriety of present action nor upon the provisions of this act, was the executive consulted. It has had no opportunity to say, that it neither needs nor wants an agent clothed with such powers and favored by such exemptions. There is nothing in its legitimate functions which makes it '*necessary*' or '*proper*.' Whatever interest or influence, whether public or private, has given birth to this act, it cannot be found either in the wishes or necessities of the Executive Department, by which present action is deemed ~~unnecessary~~ premature and the powers conferred upon its agent, not only unnecessary, but dangerous to the government and country. ²¹If in this movement, as the time and circumstances seem to indicate, there has been any thing political; if the Bank, by asking extravagant favors upon the eve of the Congressional and Presidential elections, intended to signify to any men or man, that they must grant its petition or encounter its power, I hope there has been on all sides enough of purity and firmness to resist the appeal.

It is to be regretted, that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes? of Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. ~~Perfect~~ Equality of talents, of education or of wealth, cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy and virtue, every man is entitled to protection by law. But when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages, artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the more humble members of society, the farmers, mechanics and laborers, who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government. There are no necessary evils in government. ~~All its evils are unnecessary.~~ Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act before me, there ~~is so~~ seems to be a wide and so unnecessary a departure from these just principles it grants such gratuities and advantages to the rich at the expence of the many; it so clearly recognizes and establishes an American nobility in all but the name; that in justice to the principles of our institutions and the equal rights of our people, it ought not to become a law. that it ought not to become a law.

Nor is our government to be maintained or our union preserved by ~~such~~ palpable invasions of the rights and powers of the several states as this act proposes to sanction and perpetuate. In attempting to make our general government strong, it becomes we make it weak. Its true strength consists

in leaving individuals and states, as much as possible, to themselves—in making itself felt, not in its power but in its beneficence, not in its control but in its protection, not in binding the states more closely to the centre but leaving each to move unobstructed in its natural orbit. ~~With what majesty and beauty do the planetary orbs of our solar system wheel round their burning centre!~~ ²²We may read a lesson in the economy of the universe which is not unworthy of remembrance in the adjustment of our federal relations. The planetary orbs of our solar system, gently restrained by ~~the~~ a pervading law, ~~each rolls on its glorious career~~ move on without interference with ~~its~~ their neighboring orbs, and thoughtless of the government which directs ~~its~~ their motion and maintains ~~its~~ their existence. But could ~~the sun conceive that it was ‘necessary’ and ‘proper’~~ in the distribution of his light, that the orbs on which he shines should be brought nearer to the centre, and should he by giant cords attempt to hurl them down from their lofty flight, they would snap his cords assunder; his giant cords would first snap assunder and they, dash against each other and would rush wildly through the Universe; it be conceived that it is “necessary and proper” in the government of ~~the system~~ great empire nature to force them out of their orbits and bring them nearer to the sun in violation of ~~the~~ of nature’s constitution of nature; ~~their existence they would resort~~ break from the unnatural restraint in violation of the law of nature constitution and the whole system to which they belong, would be thrown into disunion and chaos. There is something of the same natural law in the principles principles in the institutions which regulate and bind together these independent states. ~~Let the general government be content to shine upon them, leave their local concerns and the avocations of their citizens to themselves; rather refrain from the exercise of an undoubted power than assume one that is doubtful; make its machinery~~ Subject to the same one pervading law, each has its peculiar interests which are controlled by laws of its own. While they are kept asunder, each in its constitutional orbit, there is no conflict among these interests and no jarring in the motion of the system. But by bringing the states into a closer union, by taking from them reserved rights and interfering with their peculiar local interests by general laws, we create discontents and jealousies fatal to the happiness of the people and dangerous to the existence of the Union. Let the general government leave the local concerns of the states and the avocations of their citizens to themselves; rather refrain from the exercise of an undoubted power than assume one that is doubtful; make its machinery simple and cheap, and collect no more in taxes or duties than is necessary to keep it in a vigorous motion. ~~Thus may our liberty and union be perpetual.~~

~~But these plain principles are yet to be adopted. By the principles of legislation contained~~ Let Experience should teach us wisdom. All the difficulties our government now encounters, and all the dangers which impend over our union, have sprung from a departure an abandonment of

the legitimate objects of government by our national legislation and the adoption of the principles embodied in this act. Our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by acts of Congress. ~~This we have attempted to do, until the gross inequality and injustice of our acts have~~ By attempting to gratify their desires, we have, in the results of our legislation, arrayed section against section, ~~state against state~~; interest against interest, and man against man, in a fearful commotion which threatens to shake the foundations of our union.

It is time to pause in our career, to review our principles, ~~and restore harmony to our country by concession and compromise. On the subject before me, something may be yielded on every point which does not involve the question of constitutional right. It is possible to establish a Bank adequate to all the performance of all the requisite public duties required of the present institution, which shall be in accordance with the constitution, safe to the states and harmless to the people. The topic will soon become one be universally discussed and public opinion decidedly expressed. A House of Representatives, elected under the new Census and after such discussion, will concentrate the public will, and, I doubt not, lead come to a satisfactory result. and if possible revive that devoted patriotism and spirit of compromise which distinguished the sages of the revolution and the fathers of our union. If we cannot at once, in justice to those whom~~ interests vested under our bad legislation ~~has misled~~, make our government what it ought to be, we can at least take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, ~~and~~ against the further prostitution of our government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many, and in favor of compromise and gradual reform in our code of laws and system of political economy.

~~My individual interest in the fate of our institutions is scarcely equal to that of most of my countrymen. In this most important act of my life, I am un-conscious of being actuated by any other interest than my country's. It has pleased Heaven to leave me alone in the world. Not a drop of my blood runs in the veins of any American. I have no wife, no child, no kindred to enjoy the blessings of liberty preserved or endure a tyrants oppression. I shall soon be free myself from all this world's cares and dangers, its hopes and its fears, its enjoyments and its sufferings. Yet do I love my country and my countrymen. To bless them and their posterity; to preserve their institutions in purity and simplicity, to hold out a bright example to mankind and hasten the march of the nations to freedom; would is worth the wish of incur any & devote I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not, I shall find in the motives which impel me, ample grounds for contentment and peace. In the difficulties which surround us and the dangers which seem to impend over our institutions, there is cause for~~

neither dismay nor alarm. For relief and deliverance, let us firmly rely on that kind Providence which, I am sure, watches, with peculiar care, over the destinies of our Republic, and, on the intelligence and wisdom of our countrymen. Through *His* abundant goodness and *their* patriotic devotion, our liberty and union will be preserved.

AD, DLC (76).

1. AJ first presented his objections to the Bank and proposed a substitute institution in his first annual message to Congress in December 1829 (Richardson, 2:462).

2. On January 11, the Senate had adopted a resolution by Thomas Hart Benton calling on Treasury secretary McLane for the “names and titles” of foreign stockholders in the BUS and the names of domestic stockholders arranged by state. On January 23 McLane transmitted both lists, supplied by BUS president Nicholas Biddle. The foreign list included William Charles Keppel (1772–1849), Earl of Albemarle, identified as “Genl. in his British Majesty’s forces, Knight grand Cross of the order of the Bath, &c.,” as a holder of 722 shares, and Baring Brothers as holders of 7915 (*SDoc* 31, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1, 3, 6, 10, Serial 212).

3. On January 26, New York senator William Marcy had presented to the Senate a memorial from 139 Massachusetts signers headed by Boston customs collector David Henshaw (1791–1852), soliciting a charter on these terms (*SDoc* 37, 22d Cong., 1st sess., Serial 212). Kendall’s tabulations above of BUS stockholders and holdings came directly from this memorial, which derived them from a previous official report by the Bank. Kendall corrected the total foreign holdings from the \$7,915,900 in the Henshaw memorial to the \$8,405,500 stated by Biddle in McLane’s January 23 report to the Senate.

4. Both in Kendall’s draft and the Donelson draft copied from it, this paragraph is inserted from a separate sheet. The Donelson text carries an addition by AJ (below).

5. The 1816 BUS charter required its notes and bills to be signed by the Bank president and cashier, a limitation on its circulation of which the Bank had complained and which it had circumvented by authorizing branches to issue small-denomination drafts payable on the Bank, to circulate as currency. The recharter bill empowered the Bank to designate additional officers to sign and countersign notes of less than \$100, while requiring that any drafts or notes of less than \$50 put into circulation be payable at the issuing branch. The bill also prohibited the Bank from holding real property for more than five years and authorized Congress to ban the issuance of bills or notes of less than \$20.

6. Kendall’s figures came from McLane’s January 23 report, which gave totals for all the states (*SDoc* 31, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 101–2, Serial 212).

7. A table appended to John Quincy Adams’s May 14 minority report on the Bank showed a profit in 1831 for the Mobile branch of \$95,140.99. The profit for New Orleans, listed directly below, was \$552,812.55 (*HRRep* 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 536, Serial 227).

8. Under the 1816 charter, the U.S. subscribed to \$7 million of the Bank’s \$35 million capital stock, and the President with Senate consent was to annually appoint five of its twenty-five directors. Private stockholders elected the rest, with only U.S. citizens allowed to vote their shares.

9. Athenian orator Demosthenes (384–322 BC) had warned against the growing power of King Philip II of Macedon (382–336 BC) and its threat to Greek independence.

10. The quotations are from the 1819 Supreme Court decision in *McCulloch v. Maryland* upholding the constitutionality of the BUS and invalidating a Maryland state tax on its Baltimore branch (17 U.S. Reports 316; quotations at 418, 422–24).

11. *Statutes*, 3:276.

12. Article 1, Section 8.

13. Article 1, Section 8.

14. Article 1, Section 8.

15. *Statutes*, 3:274, 276; *Senate Journal*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 452 (Serial 211).

16. Famed financier Stephen Girard (1750–1831) had operated an unincorporated private bank in Philadelphia and played a pivotal role in financing federal operations during the War of 1812, in the interval between the two Banks of the United States.

17. Virginia Revolutionary patriot Patrick Henry (1736–1799) had opposed adoption of the constitution as a threat to states' rights.

18. Mismanagement and excessive lending had brought the Bank to the edge of failure early in 1819. To avoid suspending specie payment, its new president Langdon Cheves had sought Treasury secretary William H. Crawford's cooperation in easing the federal government's pending demands on the Bank (*Report on the Condition of the Bank of the United States, by the Committee of Inspection and Investigation* [Philadelphia, 1822]).

19. In January 1819 Kentucky imposed a \$60,000 annual tax on each of the state's BUS branches. A U.S. circuit court found the tax unconstitutional. A February 1819 Ohio law taxed each state BUS branch \$50,000, and in September state auditor Ralph Osborn ordered the seizure of \$100,000 from the branch at Chillicothe to pay the tax. The Bank sued and in 1821 a U.S. circuit court ordered the return of the money, a decision the Supreme Court affirmed in 1824 in *Osborn v. Bank of the United States* (22 U.S. Reports 738). Osborn's attorneys argued before the Court that the state of Ohio was the real defendant in the case and was immune to suit in federal court under the Eleventh Amendment.

20. The majority report of the House investigating committee on the Bank had charged it with violating its charter by trading in coin and in the public debt, making donations for roads and canals, building houses to rent or sell, and using branch drafts to augment its authorized currency of notes and bills (*HRRep* 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–7, Serial 227). Beginning in 1818, the Bank had complained to Congress of the difficulty of supplying a national circulation under the charter requirement that all notes be signed by the Bank president and cashier, and requested that branch officers also be given signing authority. Failing to secure legislation, in March 1827 Biddle had sought the opinion of Bank attorneys Horace Binney and Daniel Webster on the legality of the branch offices issuing checks or drafts upon the Bank in denominations as small as \$5, signed only by branch officers and with their "general appearance . . . approaching, as near as their different natures will permit, to that of the notes of this bank." Binney and Webster replied approvingly, and William Wirt, then U.S. attorney general, added that he could "see no possible legal objection." Instructions for issuing the drafts were issued in April 1827 (*HRRep* 460, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 49–56, Serial 227).

21. The text from here to the end of the paragraph is struck through with a vertical line.

22. The text from here to the end of the paragraph is struck through with vertical lines.

Draft by Andrew J. Donelson (excerpt)

[In both the Kendall and Donelson drafts, this paragraph is on a separate sheet marked for insertion in the main text. The underlined passage is an addition by Jackson, written underneath and marked for insertion with a pointer. The message as delivered retained Jackson's addition and deleted the sentence that followed (Richardson, 2:578).]

It has been urged as an argument in favor of rechartering the present Bank that the calling in of its loans will produce great embarrassment and distress. The time allowed to close its concerns is ample; and if it has been well managed its calls will be light, and heavy only in case its management has been bad. If, therefore, it shall produce pressure and distress, the fault will be its own; and it ~~will~~ would furnish ~~an argument~~ a reason against renewing a power which has been so obviously abused. But will

there ever be a time when this ~~argument~~ reason will be less powerful? To acknowledge its force is to admit that the Bank ought to be perpetual and as a consequence, the present stockholders & those inheriting their rights as successors be established a privileged order clothed both with great political power and enjoying immense pecuniary advantages from their connection with the Government. Those only who have come to that conclusion, will rely upon it or use it.

AD, DLC (76).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

[This letter is extant only in a later printed version.]

JULY 11th, 1832.

My Dear Andrew,—

I received your letter of the 24th ult., but have not had time to answer it. My official duties, with delicate health, has worn me down. Congress will adjourn on Monday next, which will give me time to write you and say whether I will be able to visit you this summer. I have no time to say more. I enclose my veto to the bank bill. I have killed this hydra of corruption, or at least shorn it of its power to destroy the liberty of our country. The paper I enclose is for our Dr Sarah—give it to her.¹

I rejoice to hear that you have recovered your health. My Dr son you must steer clear of all dissipation, or your health will be destroyed. We all unite in the kindest solicitation to you, Sarah and Emma and all enquiring friends and believe me your affectionate father.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, *Daily Memphis Avalanche*, October 7, 1875 (mAJs).

1. Congress adjourned on Monday, July 16. AJ's letter to Sarah follows below.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington July 11th. 1832

My Dear Sarah

your affectionate & grateful letter of the 28th. ult has just been recd. I have but a moment to acknowledge it. Congress is still in session; will adjourn next Monday, when I can say whether I can visit you or not this summer. I regret to learn that Andrew has been sick, in his letter of the 24th. of June, which I have not had time yet to answer, he informed me he had been sick but was recovering. I am thankful to a kind providence that his health is restored. I am fearful that he [has exp]osed himself, by some dissipation, hunting or fishing &c &c—you must controule him by your

affectionate admonitions from every thing that may injure his health I cannot yet say whether I can visit you this summer. Congress will rise on Monday next, when I will be able to determine, and when I shall write Andrew and you.

My health is not good, my labour has been too great. I send you inclosed my veto to the Bank bill—it has given me much labour, was delivered to me on the 4th. instant, and my Message delivered at 10 oclock A.M. yesterday. I have recd Miss Emmas letter, have not had time as yet to reply to it, regret to learn that none of our Beaus please her, as I was in hopes she might have been located in our country & added not only to society but your happiness as I am aware of your attachment for her.

Mrs. Donelson, Andrew, Mr Earle & Mr Breathit all unite in kind wishes to you Andrew & Emma, and all enquiring friends to which mine is added with my sincere prays to an overruling providence, that he may take you all under his holy keeping & bless you with health & contentment

Present me to all my servants & tell them I send my prayers for their health & happiness and believe me to be your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P. Genl Ward has just stepped in to bid me good bye. I delivered your respects & he desired me to reciprocate them

ALS, THer (20-1047).

From Wilson Lumpkin

Executive Department Ga.
Milledgeville 12th July 1832.

Dear Sir

A short absence from the seat of Government, has caused some delay, in my answering your favour of the 22nd. ult. Your views and policy in relation to the remnant tribes of Indians, now remaining in the States, have long since been promulgated to the whole country, and are therefore not only understood by me and my constituents, but perfectly coincide with those views, entertained by us on the subject, and will eventually be sustained by the whole country. The peculiar state of our affairs, however, in relation to the Cherokees, yet remaining in Georgia, frequently presents unprecedented cases of difficulty and embarrassment, and it is in those cases alone, that I have felt a desire, to be advised of your views, that I might as far as a sense of official duty would permit, act in concert with you, on this delicate and perplexing subject.

Until very recently, I had received nothing from any member of the Georgia delegation in Congress which afforded me any certain index to your opinions, on the subject of the present posture of our cherokee relations. I now understand, and appreciate your reasons and motives, for not directly communicating to me, at an earlier date on this subject. As far as circumstances will permit, I shall endeavour to avoid any course, that will afford legal grounds for conflict between the authorities of the State, and any branch of the Federal Government. Should the Cherokees be induced by the perverse counsel, of designing and selfish men, to reject the liberal terms which you have recently caused to be submitted to them, as a basis of a Treaty, I shall despair of settling this question through the ordinary channel of negociation.¹ If the general state of the country, was calm and quiescent, Georgia might still struggle for a season, with her local Indian perplexities: But at this period of general confusion, and excitement when a combination of traitors, are combined to exterminate civil liberty from the earth, you may be assured that the present state of things in the Cherokee Country, jeopardizes not only the peace and safety of Georgia, but that of the border states, if not the Union. The present population and state of the country, affords the most fit and appropriate materials for anarchists, and the Enemies of the Union, to commence the horrid work of civil war, blood and carnage. The enemies of the Union every where, are becoming better acquainted with the present state of things in this Country. They perceive that the crisis has arrived, when Georgia cannot maintain the civil jurisdiction which she has assumed over the cherokee Country, without an increased and better population. And if they can only prevent the cherokees from treating, and Georgia from placing her population on the soil, they feel assured, that their resources for mischief and confusion, are prepared, and ready for any emergency, which desperation and disappointment may suggest.

The state as well as the Federal Judiciary, have thrown so much embarrassments in the way of the State Executive, that I find it difficult to enforce the laws of the State, with efficiency, without bordering on an assumption of power. During the first half of the present year, we succeeded in gaining on the confidence of the Indians; and they yielded a ready and cheerful submission to our rule, and seemed pleased with the protection, which they found in our authority, and which shielded them from the oppression of bad men. But of late, extensive combinations of bad men, have found this country to be a fit Theatre, to make a display of all the vices and depravity, to which human nature is liable; and those agents of mischief are constantly producing disturbance, irregularity and disobedience to our laws, which for the want of the cooperation of the Judiciary, and population, cannot be readily corrected and suppressed, unless we resort to those principles of natural justice, which have governed mankind in the absence of statutory law.

I have used every means within my controul, to prepare the minds of the Indians, and induce them to accede to the liberal terms propoposed for their removal; and notwithstanding the counter operations I entertain no doubt, but a very large majority, if left to a free expression of their real feelings, would prefer an immediate Treaty; yet from all that I can learn on the subject, Ross and his immediate connexions, will have the address, *under higher* influence, to procrastinate a final adjustment, beyond the end of the present year. This is obviously to embarrass and throw difficulties in the way of those who administer the Government, with a view to political effect.

In conclusion let me assure you, that between you and myself, there can be no misunderstanding, or seperation, so long as we keep up direct correspondence; because I feel assured, that our great end and aim is the same—*The good of our common country, and the perpetuation of the Federal Union.* With undiminished confidence in your Patriotism, I Remain Your Friend

Wilson Lumpkin

LC, G-Ar (20-1050).

1. On April 17 Lewis Cass had written the Eastern Cherokees on AJ's behalf, offering seventeen terms as the basis for a removal negotiation. They included, beyond monetary compensation and logistical support, an offer of a resident agent at Washington, a Cherokee delegate to Congress, and possible future Territorial status. On May 11 Cass entrusted the proposal to Georgia lawyer Elisha W. Chester to carry to the Cherokees and receive their response (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 816–17, 824, Serial 245). Chester reached Georgia in late May. He presented Cass's letter to Principal Chief John Ross (1790–1866) on July 20 at the Cherokee capital at New Echota. The Cherokee general council met on July 23, considered the removal proposal and, as Chester reported to Cass on August 11, unanimously rejected it (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 365–66, 418–19, 421–27, Serial 246).

Pension Affidavit of John Adair

I do hereby certify that in the Month of april or may 1780, Charles town having been surrendered to the Enemy, with all the Regular Troops under the command of General Lincoln—and the Govr. of the State having fled from the State; there being then no legal authority in the State—and the British Troops under the command of Tarlton, Rawdon and other officer, were marching through and taking possession of all parts of the State about three hundred men who had fled from the Enemy, of whom I was one did assemble in North Carolina where the had fled, and enter into a solemn obligation to place themselves under the command of Genl. Thomas, Sumpter and to continue in a body and serve under his command untill the war was at an end, or untill their services were no longer, necessary, they were to find their own horses and armes, cloathing and all necessaries.¹ It being absolutely necessary that they should act on horse

back they immediately returned into South Carolina and made their first attack on a party of British and Torys amounting to between five and six hundred men (commanded by Capt. Hooock or Hack of the Horse & a Coll. Ferguson who commanded the Torys) at Williamsons plantation—the Enemy were defeated. Hook & Ferguson both Killed and a Capt. Adamson (who command) the British Infantry wounded and taken with, between thirty and forty men.² Our numbers increased daily after this action and two or three weeks after, we were led to an attack on a British Garrison at Rocky Mount—but the Genl. finding the works too strong to be taken without Cannon (of which he had none) he abandoned the enterprise—and eight days after (having a reinforcement of 30 men from North Carolina under a Coll. Ervin) we attacked a strong British force at the hanging Rock this I believe was the hardest fought Battle, during the War in the South.³ We continued in service untill the end of the war and fought many Battles which it is not necessary to name—soon after the batle of the hanging rock I was appointed on comission by Genl. Sumpter a Capt. in which rank I served till in the fall. I was then appoindded a Major in which rank I served untill the end of the War. I never was out of service till the end of the War, except a few Months in the fall and winter of eighty, when I was a prisoner with the Brith. and in close confinement untill exchanged for a Capt. Cambel of the British Army, in a partial exchange effected by the Genl. when I received from the Commanding Officer in Camden a passport to go to Genl. Sumpters Camp where I immediatly went I served three towers in succession, in Coll J. Wins regt. of Militia in the year 1779 & the spring of Eighty, and was on the lines in service when Charles town was surrendered to the Enemy. I was in fourteen Batles, the last of which was at the Eutaw Spring under Genl Green.⁴ I found my own horses, arms & cloathing, and only drew rations when acting under the immediate command of Genl. Green, and with his Troops—for which services & expenses I have not yet been paid.

I have not attempted to describe in detail half the services we performed, and battles we fought, but do assert that we were in continual service from May 1780 untill the end of the war and that I myself led one of the advance parties into Charles town when the Enemy evacuated the city. I cannot be particular as to dates, having no record, and having understood that all Genl. Sumpters papers have been destroyed—or lost—and I further certify that the foregoing relation of facts and services are true to the best of my knowledge and recollection.

Given under my hand this 12th. day of July 1832—

John Adair

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] I have read, and carefully examined the above and within narrative made by Genl John Adair. It accords with my recollection of the history of the times refered to. We were schoolfellows at the Waxhaw Academy, I a boy, the Genl grown when he left it. When the

British advanced and overrun the country, this academy was burnt by Major Coffins corps, under the command of Lord Rodney—at this period all were compelled to leave the country that would not take protection under the British.⁵ Genl Adair was one of those who rallied under the Eagle of his country fronted the battles storm, and at the close of the war ranked as a major

Andrew Jackson
July 13th. 1832—

[*Attested below:*] General John Adair, made oath in due form of law, that the above statement is correct to the best of his knowledge and belief—
S. Burch Justice of the Peace⁶

ADS, DNA-RG 15 (M804-8; 20-1060). Adair (1757–1840) had been a Kentucky senator and governor and had commanded Kentucky troops under AJ at New Orleans. He was now a congressman. He submitted this affidavit in application for a Revolutionary pension. On July 14 he was awarded a \$600 annual pension retroactive to March 4, 1832.

1. On May 12, 1780, American Major General Benjamin Lincoln (1733–1810) surrendered Charleston, S.C., and his 5,000-man army to a British besieging force under Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton. South Carolina governor John Rutledge (1739–1800) escaped to North Carolina before the surrender. After Charleston's fall, Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton (1754–1833) and Lieutenant Colonel Francis Hastings, Lord Rawdon, led British dragoons and loyalists in campaigns to subdue the Carolina interior. Thomas Sumter (1734–1832), later a South Carolina militia brigadier, organized patriot resistance.

2. On July 12, 1780, patriot militia defeated British and loyalist forces at the Williamson plantation in present York County, S.C., killing Captain Christian Huck (c1748–1780) of Philadelphia and Colonel James Ferguson (c1740–1780) of South Carolina. Lieutenant John Adamson (1744–1816) was a South Carolina loyalist.

3. After the Williamson fight, Sumter was reinforced by militia under Colonel Robert Irwin (1740–1800). On July 30 Sumter assaulted a British outpost at Rocky Mount near present Great Falls, S.C., but was repulsed. On August 6 he attacked a larger garrison at nearby Hanging Rock, inflicting nearly 200 casualties before being compelled to retreat.

4. Adair was captured at Camden on August 16, 1780. John Winn (c1732–1814) was a South Carolina militia colonel. Major General Nathanael Greene (1742–1786) took command of American forces in the South in December 1780. Eutaw Springs, fought on September 8, 1781, was the last major engagement in the Carolinas.

5. On April 10, 1781, a party under loyalist Captain John Coffin (c1751–1838) attacked the Waxhaw settlement, burning the meeting house and taking prisoners including 14-year-old Andrew Jackson. British field commanders had attempted to enforce a proclamation issued by Clinton in June 1780 that required South Carolinians to swear a loyalty oath accepting Britain's protection and pledging to fight in her cause.

6. Samuel Burch (1787–1846) was a clerk in the House of Representatives and a Washington, D.C., justice of the peace.

From the Marquis de Lafayette

La Grange July 14th. 1832.

My Dear Sir,

The communications of Mr Rives and a comparative perusal of European papers joined the verbal account of Mr. Van Buren on his return to Washington leave me but little to say on the concerns of this hemisphere. We are anxiously waiting for the fate of Don Pedro's expedition. It is high time for the Portuguese to rid themselves of a tyrant whom his protector Lord Aberdeen states himself publicly avowed to be equally *base and cruel*. The sufferings of the best part of that nation either in exile, or in the dungeons of Don Miguel, will I hope soon be at an end. It is to be expected Spain shall also be benefited by the restoration of a charter in Portugal. So far for the progress of the cause of European liberty.¹ My sense of what ought to have been done in the cases of Poland and Italy you had no doubt anticipated before it became my duty to utter my disapprobation of this Government at the french tribune. I am affraid the Encroachments of the Austrian and Prussian Governments Courts upon the rising freedom of Germany will also find, in the french *Juste milieu* more condescension than were consistent with the European and self policy of this country. It is however an evident fact that the revolution of July 1830, a resurrection from that of 89, of which the very date of my letter is a great anniversary, has set a going the progress of liberty throughout the continent of Europe, including the British Islands, and altho there is a momentary deficiency of the french Government in their part of the drama, the great affair of German enfranchisement is proceeding on and shall ultimately succeed.²

But I am again to mention to you my dear sir, the special concerns of Poland. We are indeed, as American citizens, under particular obligations to the donators in the united states, to the committee that has been formed here, and above all, to Doctor Howe, our missionary to the Poles detained in Prussia for the consolations they have bestowed on the unfortunate soldiers of that heroic country, and for the credit they have acquired to the american name. Nothing has been done on our side, but what is perfectly conformant to the rights of nations and the rules of diplomacy, objectional as they are in many cases, while the conduct of the Prussian Government towards a citizen of the U.S. has been very blamable and deserves to be severely noticed.³

The committee of the Poles in france have addressed the people and the first magistrate of the united states. So they have applied to the house of commons in England. You will see by the packet's papers that a plan to induce them to put up with their transportation to Algiers, under a legionary force, has excited their and our opposition. I believe that every testimonies of sympathy and support they may receive from the people

of the U.S., at the same time they cannot be better placed, will be most honourable to the American character.⁴

The two great categories that divide Europe, as I have signalized them at the french tribune, some years ago, under the name of *the oppressors and the oppressed*, are more and more getting asunder. the last declaration of the Garmane junto of frankfort under the united patronage of Austria and Prussia, and the adhesion more or less voluntary of all the German Princes cannot but greatly advance the splitting of that part of Europe into two very distinct and hostile interests.⁵ And altho the united states have nothing to do with European conflicts yet their natural sympathy on the side of liberty cannot, as occasions offer, but be creditable to the American people.

Remember me to Mrs. Donaldson and all friends about you, namely to Edward Livingston, and receive the affte. respects of your most sincere friend.

(signed) Lafayette.

P.S. The Lyonese bazar have struck a medal in honor to Poland; I am very happy to comply with their wishes in recommending it to you and our friends in the U.S.⁶

Copy, DLC-Lafayette Papers (mAJs).

1. Dom Miguel had been appointed regent of Portugal for his niece Maria II in 1826, under a liberal constitutional charter granted by her father, the abdicating king and Miguel's brother Dom Pedro. In 1828 Miguel assumed the throne, abrogated the charter, and imposed an absolutist regime. Defending the British government's countenance of his rule, foreign secretary George Hamilton-Gordon (1784–1860), Earl of Aberdeen, had said in the House of Lords on February 18, 1830, "That Don Miguel was a most heartless and incorrigible person it was not possible to deny; that Don Miguel might be cruel also, he was ready to believe and to admit, as he knew very well that cruelty was too often the offspring of cowardice," but that many things said against Miguel were "absurd exaggerations" and that it was unwise in any case to base national policy on the "personal character" of princes (*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 2d ser., 22:604). On July 9, 1832, an invading army under Dom Pedro, seeking to restore Maria, had occupied the city of Porto, where it was besieged for a year. Miguel was defeated and abdicated in favor of Maria in 1834.

2. In the French Chamber of Deputies, Lafayette had complained that French policy in not supporting independence movements in Italy and Poland was "at variance with the principles which ought to govern it" (*Washington Globe*, October 31, 1831). In June and July 1832, the assembly of the German Confederation, dominated by Prussia and Austria, had adopted articles affirming its supremacy over member states, tightening press censorship, and suppressing popular assemblies and political activity. The storming of the Bastille prison in Paris, marking the symbolic beginning of the French Revolution, had occurred on July 14, 1789.

3. At Lafayette's urging, Americans in Paris including James Fenimore Cooper and physician and reformer Samuel Gridley Howe (1801–1876) had formed an American Polish Committee to aid exiles from the failed Polish insurrection against Russia. In January 1832 Howe went to Prussia to deliver aid to Polish refugee soldiers. He was arrested in Berlin in February and held in prison for a month without charge before being released and expelled to France. On his release he was told that he had been held for discouraging soldiers from returning home to Poland, a charge he denied.

4. Polish emigrés in Paris had formed the Polish National Committee in 1831. On May 9, 1832, president Joachim Lelewel and the Committee wrote AJ asking about asylum in the United States. On May 29, more than 1,600 Polish refugees in France petitioned the House of Commons for aid in establishing Polish independence (*London Times*, July 2, 1832). Reports in London papers on July 12 charged that the French government was planning to ship Italian and Polish refugees to Algiers without their consent.

5. The assembly of the German Confederation met at Frankfurt. In a speech in the French Chamber of Deputies on July 8, 1829, Lafayette had said that he saw but two opposing groups in Europe, “les oppresseurs et les opprimés” (*Mémoires, Correspondance et Manuscrits du Général Lafayette* [Paris, 1838], 6:313).

6. Lafayette wrote further about the Lyonese Society on July 17 (below).

From John Randolph

charlotte C.H. July 15. 1832

My dear Sir

It was not until last ~~night~~ evening that I recd. your message to the Senate rejecting the Bank Bill. It diffuses universal joy among your friends & dismay among your enemies. Mr. Van Buren I perceive is with you. Congratulate him if you please in my name on his return to his Country. The Senate, which he ought never to have left, is his proper theatre of action. I have an unanswered letter from him written at London which has lain upon my table several weeks, perhaps months from my inability to reply to it—& indeed what could I have told him that some other correspondent would not have anticipated. I should like to talk with him about England. I do not perceive that his son returned with him.¹

I see a miserable attempt to bolster up a certain person to whom I alluded in my last. The chief actor is an artful horse jockey who has his selfish views in all that he does or omits to do. He is what Mr V.B.'s enemies represent him to be a most artful & accomplished intriguer. To my knowledge he declared Mr. A. to be unfit for his late position & was endeavouring to foment opposition to him. He is a politician negro trader, Jockey & always acts where practicable by other persons who are his tools & creatures. Thus nobody *knows* him to be engaged in the domestic slave trade but the tools who carry it on for him.

Yesterday, for the first time, I made trial of an airing (dusting rather) in my carriage. Getting to & from it, although not twenty steps through the house—it was drawn up close to the door—exhausted me very much; but whilst I was in the carriage I was more at my ease than in bed. Today however that or something else has brought on new access of fever. Yet I shall try to get home & if practicable to Washington.

You have brought all this on yourself, my dear Sir, by the kind & flattering interest which you have expressed for my health.

our Indian Corn crops are ruined, past recovery, I fear. we have plentiful crops of wheat of the finest quality but we shall have to eat them.

Believe me, my dear Sir, with the highest respect your faithful friend &
Servant

John Randolph of Roanoke

ALS, DLC (41).

1. John Van Buren had returned to America with his father.

From Moses Dawson

[This letter is extant only in a later printed version.]

CINCINNATI, 16th July, 1832.

SIR—

Notwithstanding I am fully aware of your time being too much occupied in public business to give leisure for attending to private correspondence, and my own extreme unwillingness to intrude upon you, I can not resist the impulse of writing you on the subject of your glorious message to Congress on their refusal to sanction the bill presented to you for rechartering the United States Bank. The approbation of newspapers, though it may be sincere is at best equivocal, as party motives may be attributed to their editors; but I must speak for myself, and speak to your own private ear, and say that if Mr. Jefferson was as correct when he said you had filled the measure of your country's glory, I conceive you have made that measure to overflow by your veto on the Bank Bill.¹ Sir, you have a second time contributed to your country's independence, and you have cast off a yoke even more dangerous than British domination—for the latter an appeal to arms might, as it has hitherto done, annihilate it. But another charter to the United States Bank would have riveted our chains so as to be scarcely in the power of physical force to break them.

Your message, sir, has been received with rapture by all true Republicans, and with terror and dismay by your enemies, and the enemies of our free institutions. The few among your friends whose pecuniary interests are immediately affected, appear at first dissatisfied, but they are few, and altogether confined to this city; and though they now feel displeased, I have the fullest confidence that when they study and consider calmly and dispassionately the solid reasons you have given, they will duly appreciate your honest patriotic motives, their interest will give way to their sleeping patriotism, and at the ensuing election you will not lose a vote, but on the contrary you will gain thousands, though I am perfectly aware that your re-election, personally, is a matter of no consideration to you, but politically you will rejoice at the triumph of people over avarice. That you will lose no votes I have good reason to suppose from the fact that none of your opponents can command the votes of those who say they are discontented with the veto. But that you will gain many, I have

proof from the fact that some of your most violent opposers have declared to me that they will now give you all the support in their power. At this I was no little astonished, as I really had hitherto conceived that such was the rancor of their opposition, I did not expect that any act of yours could meet their approbation. So far for this city. The State generally—I am led to believe, from many circumstances that your veto has confirmed your former supporters, and gained thousands of your opponents. I have also had information from Kentucky, and that from an intelligent and opulent merchant, who was one of your most ardent opposers, that he had traveled lately over the State, and had found all parties decidedly opposed to the bank, and that it was his opinion that many of the Clay party would vote for you in consequence of the veto.

I must entreat your pardon for thus intruding upon your precious time, but I hope that my anxiety to communicate to you privately the circumstances arising from your veto will plead my excuse.

I am extremely sorry to hear of the indisposition of Major Lewis, but I hope he has recovered, and that I will soon have the pleasure of hearing from himself.

With the highest veneration, respect and esteem, I am, sir, yours, &c.

MOSES DAWSON.

Printed, *Cincinnati Commercial*, January 19, 1870 (mAJs). Dawson (1768–1844) was editor of the pro-Jackson *Cincinnati Advertiser*.

1. At a dinner in Lynchburg, Va., on November 7, 1815, Thomas Jefferson had toasted AJ: “Honor and gratitude to those who have filled the measure of their country’s honor.”

From Henry Toland

Philada. 16 July 1832

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure to find my little children in good health, on my return here yesterday afternoon, and am sorry to add, that since 12 o’Clock of yesterday, five cases of cholera have been reported to our board of health, 3 of which have died.

I hand your enclosed bill of china ware amounting to \$21^{97/100}, for which you can transmit me your check on the Branch at Washington, which is the same as Cash.¹

The enemy *in general*, under the name of the Bank, have had a meeting, denouncing the Veto &c. It will have no other effect than producing another, more numerous, to sustain it.² With sincere respect I remain your friend

Henry Toland

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] recd July 18th. 1832—Mr. H. Toland—bill, check to be given for & sent to him A. J. check sent for amount of the inclosed bill. A. J.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. On July 18, AJ wrote Toland a check for \$21.97 for chinaware from Stephen Vernon and Co.

2. A crowd reported at 8,000 attended a meeting at Philadelphia's Independence Square on July 16 to protest AJ's Bank veto. The meeting adopted resolutions condemning the veto, branding AJ a would-be dictator, and pledging "all lawful and honorable means" to oppose his reelection (*US Telegraph*, July 18, 1832). An answering meeting was held on July 23. William B. Lewis wrote AJ about it on July 28 (below).

To John Coffee

Washington July 17th. 1832

My Dr Genl,

It is some time since I have written you, or received a letter from you. Congress rose yesterday and altho' we have had a disagreeable session, still, it has *ended well*. The modified Tariff that has passed, and my veto on the Bank has, killed the ultras both tariffites, and nullifiers—and in a few weeks that excitement that has been created by the united influence of the coalition Calhoun Clay & Webster will cease to agitate the Union.¹ You may expect to hear from SoCarolina a great noise stirred up by Calhoun Miller & Co, who has left here for that purpose, but the good sence of the people will put it down. The South being relieved, by the diminution of duties upon cotton bagging, on blanketts, on course wollings and on sugar, will convince the people that the whole attempt at nullification is an effort of disappointed ambition, originating with unprincipled men who would rather rule in Hell, than be subordinate in heaven; for the people must now see that all their grievances are removed, and oppression only exists in the distempered brains of disappointed ambitious men.²

I shall leave here in a few days for the Hermitage, where I hope to arrive by the 12th. of August or 15th. I shall have but a few days to stay as I must be here by the 5th. or 10th of Octbr. and I wish to see you & your family, but whether I will be able to see you at your house is quite uncertain. I travel for rest. let me see you if you can at the Hermitage where I must leave by the 12th. of Sept.

your Senator Moor is a great scamp—he visited me on Saturday night after I had left the capital as he said to assure me that he was still my friend altho he could not sustain the nomination of Mr Van Buren & Gwinn. I replied, that he pursued a curious course to evince his friendship to my administration that in the case of Gwinn the Senate in their secrete session had passed a resolution which violated the rights of the Executive and attempted to controle the executive of his constitutional power of

appointment which I had & would continue to resist, and if the senate rejected Gwin because he did not live in the state when first appointed, I would never send in a nomination of an individual for that office from the State of Mississippi so long as the resolution remained unrecinded. Mr Moor detailed the whole to the senate on Monday morning, if ever he waits upon me again I will know how to accost him³

Mary McLamore returns with me we are all well & unite in kind salutations to you all. Major D. & Emily remain it is too hot for Emily to travel with her infant she is a good deal alarmed about the cholera, I leave her a carriage and pair that she may retire to the country if it should appear here. Eaton & his Lady with Mary. A. Lewis is here, sets out for Tennessee on the 19th. by the way of Wheeling or Giendot. With my best wishes & great haste I am yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (20-1109).

1. On July 14 AJ had signed a new tariff law effecting a moderate reduction in overall rates.

2. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1.263: "Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n."

3. Gabriel Moore had voted with the majority to reject Samuel Gwin's nomination for register of the Mount Salus, Miss., land office on December 22, 1831, and again to table his renomination on July 10, 1832. On Monday, July 16, the session's last day, the Senate removed the injunction of secrecy on the Gwin proceedings, and then considered and tabled a motion to inform AJ that it would take no action on his nomination this session (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:188-89, 272-73, 278).

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington July 17th. 1832

My Dr Sarah

yours of the 6th. has this moment been recd. and the one enclosed to your Dr sister I have carefully forwarded by this days mail. Congress rose yesterday and in a few days I shall set out upon my way to the Hermitage, where, if health permits, I hope to reach, by the 10th or 12th. of next month.

I rejoice to hear of your health & that of my son and the family, but regret to find your alarm about the cholera. This is not right my Dr child, we ought not to fear death, we know we have all to die, and we ought to live to learn to die well; I have said to your Dr sister that I will be happy to meet her at the Hermitage.

The cholera is said to be here at Gadsbys. This I do not believe, still it may be true, and I feel myself just as safe as it was 1000 miles distance, for whenever providence wills it, death must come.¹

When I have determined on a day to leave here I will write you and Andrew.

We have had a stormy and angry session, but it has ended well—the Tariff bill, with my veto on the Bank bill, has ended well, and will give peace & harmony to the United States.

I have not time to write to Andrew Shew him this scrall & accept of my prayers for his and your health, long life, & happiness & believe me to be your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. The family are all well here & join in kind salutations to you, Mr Breathit & Mary McLamore will accompany me. Major Eaton & Lady with Mary A. Lewis will set out Thursday next—present us to all enquiring friends, and say to Steel I have recd. his letter, but have no time write him. I have directed George to make enquiry about Graces mother; the result is, that she has entirely recovered & is now well adieu.²

AL, NNPM (20-1117).

1. John Gadsby (c1766–1844) was proprietor of the National Hotel in Washington. A lodger died there on the morning of July 17, reportedly from cholera, but the next day's papers carried a notice from attending physicians Harvey Lindsley and Nathaniel P. Causin that the report was "entirely unfounded" and that the "old and infirm gentleman" had "died of the ordinary Cholera Morbus of the season," not the Asiatic cholera (*US Telegraph and Globe*, July 18, 1832).

2. The slave George (d. 1865) was AJ's personal servant and carriage driver, and Grace was Sarah's maidservant, recently purchased by AJ. In 1833 AJ also purchased her mother Nancy (d. 1849) and two siblings from William Hebb of Washington.

From Louis McLane

July 17. 1832

My dear Sir,

I have been searching into the precedents for the case of *Mount Salus*; & if the Secretary of the Navy can ascertain whether *Amos Binney*, Navy Agent, was appointed in the recess of the Senate between March 1825 and December 1825 it may furnish some light; for in March 1825 his nomination was laid over, & I believe he continued in office. faithfully Yr. Servant

L. M'Lane

ALS, DLC-Woodbury Papers (mAJs). AJ forwarded this letter to Navy secretary Levi Woodbury the same day (below). Amos Binney (1778–1833) was first appointed navy agent at Boston in 1812. A later four-year commission expired on February 15, 1825, and President Monroe nominated him for a new term on February 28. The expiring Senate tabled the nomination before adjourning on March 3. The new Senate convened in special session the next day, and on March 7 it received a nomination of Binney from newly inaugurated president John Q. Adams. On March 9 the Senate postponed the nomination until its regular session in December and adjourned. Adams gave Binney a recess appointment on March 22. On December 29 the reconvened Senate took up Binney's postponed nomination and rejected it.

· July 1832 ·

Adams nominated Binney again on January 9, 1826, and the Senate again rejected him on April 17. On April 25 Adams nominated Richard D. Harris to replace Binney. Harris was confirmed on May 2.

To Levi Woodbury

July 17th. 1832—

on the 3rd. of March 1825—the nomination of Horace Amos Binney & others was laid upon the Table by order of the senate—will the Secretary of the Navy have the goodness to examin whether Amos Binney acted as Navy agent until the meeting of Congress in Decbr 1825—This, if he did, will be a precedent in the case of Gwinn

The sec. of the Treasury as you will see within thinks he did

A. J

ANS, DLC-Woodbury Papers (mAJs). AJ appended this note to Louis McLane's letter above and forwarded it to Woodbury. Attorney General Taney wrote AJ about Gwin and the Binney precedent on July 19 (below). Horace Binney (1780–1875), second cousin to Amos, was a leading Philadelphia attorney.

From the Marquis de Lafayette

La grange July 17th 1832.

My dear Sir

The Lyonese Society of the *Bazar polonais*, among the multiplied and efficient proofs of their sympathy for the Cause and the Sons of Heroic poland, Have struck a medal, one of which they mean to present to you. I shall ever be happy in the Encouragement that may be given by the American and the french people to such feelings and exertions the *Bazar polonais* of Lyons is Composed of most respectable Citizens in that Emporium of patriotism and industry with which my personal ties are not Unknown in the United States. My first Letter mentioning the medal will have reached you before this Post of Duplicate. Be pleased, my dear Sir, to Receive the best Respects of Your affectionate friend

Lafayette

ALS, Scriptorium, Paris (mAJs). Copy and Translation, Municipal Archives of Lyon, France (mAJs). Printed (in French), *Le Général La Fayette et la cause polonaise* (Warsaw, 1934), p. 113 (20-1121). Citizens of Lyon, France, had formed a Polish relief society in 1831.

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 18th. July 1832.

My dear Sir,

Since my return from the excursion North, and since the date of my last private letter to you *via Matamoros*, I have had the pleasure of receiving two communications from the Department of State, and three private letters from yourself dated 25. feby. 6th March & 19th. April past.¹ These are the only communications received at this Legation either from yourself or the Secretary of State since my departure from Mexico, and were sent me by private hand; All my letters from private correspondents, my Newspapers, pamphlets, Journals of Congress, &ca. &ca. accumulated at Vera Cruz during the last four months, still remain in the Consulate of that place, as the restraint imposed by Government on the intercourse between Vera Cruz and the interior is not yet removed nor can I tell from the present aspect of the political horizon when it will be: present appearances indicate the eventual success of Genl. Santa Anna—his military force has been gradually augmenting, ever since the Affair of Tolome, where rumour declared him completely defeated and all his force dispersed, and he has continued also to increase in number *his declared supporters* from amongst the different States of the Confederacy.² At present he is openly supported by the *States* of Zacatecas, Jalisco, Tamaulipas & Michoacan, and there is every probability that 'ere this San Luis Potosi has ranged under the same banner: All the Sea ports on the Gulph from Vera Cruz to Matamoros are under the control of Gen. St. Anna, and the Revenue derived from Foreign Commerce so completely cut off from the actual Government that they literally subsist at this moment upon loans from Week to Week procured on Terms of the most ruinous interest: All this will serve to aid us in the approaching Negotiation.

I enclose to the Department of State a minute of two conversations held with Mr. Alaman on the subject of Texas, for although that Gentleman has apparently withdrawn from the Cabinet he still directs the Department of Foreign Affairs *sub rosa*, and is in fact as much the Minister as at any period heretofore.³ I find him much better disposed on the question, than my most sanguine hopes allowed me anticipate—for although I never doubted being able to put him right eventually, I expected and feared some opposition to the project in the outset. I must so contrive as to have him the sole Negotiator on the part of Mexico, as I have already intimated to him, in which event I have strong faith of settling the Treaty in 10 days: it is possible that my confident and sanguine temper misleads me, yet I feel satisfied of holding a clue that will lead the Secretary precisely by that path I wish him to follow. The amount to which I am limited for the purchase by my instructions will very probably be in part applied to *facilitate the Negotiation*, in which case we shall provide for that portion

of the payment by a secret article, of all which at its proper time and in its proper place.⁴

At the conclusion of the Treaty it may become indispensable for me to be myself the bearer to the U. States, and for this purpose I beg of you to order immediately one of the Sloops of War on the West India Station to come to Vera Cruz report to me and wait my instructions. The visit of the Vessel to Vera Cruz will create no additional expence to the Navy Department, because being already on Service on that Station it does no more than increase the length of her cruize, and will besides have a good effect upon the authorities of this distracted Country shewing a Vessel of War occasionally for the protection of our Citizens and their property, even should I have no employment for her in conveying me and the Treaty to the United States—but of her employment in the latter Service I am very sanguine.

You will be pleased also to send me the necessary order for being myself the bearer of the Treaty to the U.S. because as I have already remarked it may become indispensably necessary for the purpose of making explanations in regard to the contemplated secret Article, and other matters connected with the Negotiation that cannot be communicated satisfactorily in writing: my absence from Mexico will be of short duration and can operate no mischief to the public service, as the Consul may perform all the formal duties such as procuring Letters of protection &ca. during that absence.

I have not seen a dozen Newspapers from the U. States during the last five months, but your letters, and a Gentleman recently from N. York who has called on me gives me to know that the opposition are relentless and unceasing in their efforts to annoy and embarrass you. I have however full confidence in the intelligence and the patriotism of my Countrymen and will not doubt of their rallying in your support, and that the result of the next election will exhibit them bearing you aloft and triumphant over that most extraordinary and reckless opposition by which you are assailed. I feel that should I be so fortunate as to succeed in the object now in view, the complete success of your Administration will have been consummated, and myself enjoy the inexpressible gratification of having aided to achieve the triumph. I will not permit myself to doubt eventual success.

Pray write me by the earliest conveyance on all matters touched upon in the present letter, and believe me in all truth most respectfully your friend & obedt Servt.

A. Butler

ALS, DLC (41).

1. AJ's three letters and Butler's June 21 letter to AJ are above.

2. On March 3, a government army under José María Calderón had repulsed an attack by Santa Anna near Tolomé, inflicting heavy loss.

3. Butler held conversations with Alamán about moving the Mexican-American boundary westward on July 2 and 10. At Alamán's suggestion he delivered a formal proposal for a

review of the boundary to the Mexican government on July 15. He reported these events to Livingston in a July 16 dispatch (DNA-RG 59, M97-6; *HRDoc* 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 442–45, Serial 332).

4. Instructions issued to Butler's predecessor Joel R. Poinsett on August 25, 1829, had authorized up to \$5 million for the purchase of Texas. On June 23, 1831, Butler had asked AJ to raise the limit to \$7 million, but AJ declined on August 17 (DNA-RG 59, M77-152; *Jackson Papers*, 7:364–67; 9:335–38, 505–6).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington July 19th. 1832

Dear Andrew

your first of exchange of the 7th. instant at three days sight for fifteen hundred dollars drew in favor of William Donelson was this day presented, honored, & paid by me, without any letter of advice presuming it was for the purchase of your brother samuels lot of land. Why you did not advise me of yr draft I cannot say—suppose I had left the city as I am about to do on the 22nd. of this month you & myself might have been placed in a disagreeable situation. I name this only that on all occasions when you draw on any one, be certain with the bill, to send a letter of advice. I am astonished that no one concerned wrote with the bill.¹

I shall leave here on the evening of the 22nd. instant for the Hermitage accompanied by Mary McLamore and Mr Breathit & be with you as early as the hot weather & my health will permit.

I wish you to have your pair of horses in good order for the road, as I will be obliged to leave the Hermitage for this place so as to be here by the fifth of Octbr. next. I hope Steel has had brick made for the stables so that it may be put up this season.

Mr. Earle, your cousin Andrew Emily & Mary McLamore with Major Lewis & Mr Breathit unite with me in kind salutations to you Sarah Emma & all our connections deliver the enclosed to your Dr Sarah & believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (41).

1. AJ this day wrote a \$1,500 check (DLC-41) to cover AJ Jr.'s draft to William Donelson for the purchase of Samuel R. Donelson's land near the Hermitage.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington July 19th. 1832—

My Dr. Sarah

I inclose you a bill of china ware Bot by Mr Toland & forwarded, which I hope will go safe to hand.¹

· July 1832 ·

I shall leave here after sermon on the evening of the 22nd. for the Hermitage and be with you at as early a day as the heat of the weather & my health will permit. I shall have but a few days to remain at the Hermitage expect you to return with me & have wrote Andrew to have your horses in good order.

you will please present my respects to Emma, & say to her, that being informed that she was not pleased with her new beaus I am bringing on with me her old beau, Mr Breathit, & I hope to have the pleasure of a wedding at the Hermitage during my short stay there. Emily & Major Donelson, Mr Earle & Mr Breathit all unite in kind salutations to you all & all enquiring friends.

AL, THer (20-1149).

1. Toland had sent AJ this bill on July 16 (above).

From Roger Brooke Taney

(Copy)

Attorney General's Office
July 19. 1832.

Sir,

In obedience to your direction, I proceed to state my opinion in relation to the appointment of a Register of the Land Office for the Mount Salus District, in the State of Mississippi.

The facts in the case I understand to be these. After the adjournment of Congress on the third of March 1831, and before the meeting in December of the same year, a vacancy occurred in the above mentioned office of Register and Samuel Gwinn was appointed to fill it. During the late Session of Congress he was regularly nominated to the Senate and rejected by them. The President having afterwards received strong testimonials in his favor from the State of Mississippi and being requested by one of the Senators from that State to renominate him, his name was again sent to the Senate with the additional recommendations which had been forwarded to the President. The second nomination was made on the 11th. of June last. It was considered on the 10th. of July & laid on the table. And on the 16th. of July the last day of the session the following resolution was moved and considered—

“Resolved, That the President of the United States be informed that it is not the intention of the Senate to take any proceeding on the renomination of Samuel Gwinn to be Register of the Land Office, at Mount Salus in Mississippi during the present session.” This resolution was ordered to lie on the table and the Senate adjourned without taking any further order in the matter.¹

In this state of things can the President during the recess appoint Mr. Gwinn or any one else to the office before mentioned?

The office was created by the act of Congress of May 6. 1822. As the President is required by the Constitution to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, it becomes his duty to fill the offices which are necessary and have been legally established for that purpose, provided the constitution confers on him the power.

The Constitution gives him the right “to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting Commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.”²

The appointment of Mr. Gwinn during the last recess “filled up” the vacancy which had then happened and the office remained full and there was no vacancy from the time of his appointment & acceptance until the close of the ~~last~~ late session. The nomination made not being confirmed by the Senate, the commission granted by the President expired at the end of the session & the moment after it closed the office again became vacant. This was a new vacancy.

Has this second vacancy happened during the recess of the Senate, so as to authorize the President to fill it, under the grant of power contained in the article of the constitution above referred to?

It has I know been contended that in order to enable the President to make the appointment the vacancy must take place during the recess. In other words that the office must be full at the time of the adjournment of the Senate and become vacant afterwards.

I cannot think that this is the true interpretation of the article in question. The constitution was formed for practical purposes & a construction that defeats the very object of the grant of power cannot be the true one. It was the intention of the constitution that the offices created by law & necessary to carry on the operations of the Government should always be full—or at all events, that the vacancy should not be a protracted one. A Government cannot go on nor accomplish the purposes for which it is established without having the services of proper officers to execute the various duties required by law. To guard against any abuse of the appointing power by the President the approbation of the Senate is required. But as it was foreseen that from the various contingencies & uncertainties to which human affairs are liable vacancies might be found to exist during the recess of the Senate in offices which the public interest required to be filled, the power above mentioned was given to the President in order to provide against the evil of requiring a vacancy to continue in every case until the Senate could be convened—and the further evil of calling them together upon every one of the vacancies which might unexpectedly be found to exist during the recess. But the control of the Senate over appointments to such vacancies is effectually preserved by the limited term for which the President is ~~permitted~~ authorized to make them.

Suppose an officer to die in a distant part of the United States and his death not to be known at Washington until after the adjournment? Must the office remain vacant until the Senate can be convened? It is admitted by every one that the President may appoint in such cases & the practice of the Government has continually conformed to that construction. But if the constitution required that the office should be full at the time of the adjournment & that the vacancy should take place afterwards then the President could not appoint; for in the cases above mentioned the vacancy happens during the session and the office is not full at the time of the adjournment. It becomes vacant the moment the incumbent dies—and the notice does nothing more than inform the President that a vacancy has happened and it informs him at the same time that it took place while the Senate was in session & not during the recess.

I am aware that it has been said that in these cases the vacancy must be regarded as happening when the notice of the death is received and that therefore such a vacancy is to be considered as happening after the adjournment and during the recess. But how can it be so considered in opposition to the admitted fact? There are no words in the constitution that justify such an interpretation. It does not speak of the *notice* of a vacancy but of the *existence* of a vacancy. It does not say if a vacancy shall become known, but if a vacancy shall “*happen*”—and if the words of the constitution give the power to fill those vacancies only which take place after the adjournment then the vacancies I have just mentioned could not be filled.

It is manifest however that the constitution could not have intended to place such cases on a different footing from vacancies which occur after the adjournment. There is no reason for a distinction between them. And the words used in the constitution do not I think by any fair construction require a distinction to be taken. It was intended to provide for those vacancies which might arise from accident & the contingencies to which human affairs must always be liable. And if it falls out that from death, inadvertence or mistake an office required by law to be filled is in the recess found to be vacant then a vacancy has happened during the recess and the President may fill it. This appears to be the common sense & natural import of the words used. They mean the same thing as if the constitution had said “if there happen to be any vacancies during the recess.” The framers of the constitution had provided for filling the offices with the concurrence of the Senate—but foreseeing that from the various casualties to which human concerns are exposed, vacancies would be found during the recess they give power to fill them, until an opportunity can be afforded of bringing the appointments before the Senate & they use words which denote the character of the vacancies which they foresee may occur and for which they are providing. He may fill up vacancies which “*happen*” during the recess. But vacancies are not *designedly* to be kept open

by the President until the recess for the purpose of avoiding the control of the Senate. And the word “happen” is used to describe the class & kind of vacancies & not the particular time at which they took place.

I might suggest another case shewing that the restriction contended for cannot be the one contemplated by the framers of the constitution. Suppose a nomination made to a vacant office and confirmed by the Senate. The office is not full until the person appointed accepts. Suppose he refuses to accept and his refusal is not known until after the adjournment. In such a case the original vacancy would remain unfilled & as it took place during the Session & not after the adjournment the President could not fill it. It cannot be imagined that such cases were intended to be excepted out of the power granted to him.

It has been said that this power if possessed by the President may be so used as to defeat the intention of the constitution & exclude the Senate from all share in appointments. The answer to such an objection appears to be a plain one. If the President wilfully abuses a power given to him the constitution has provided a remedy. In this case the Senate have had a full opportunity of acting but have not acted & have held the nomination under advisement—and left it to fall vacant as soon as they adjourned. They must be supposed to have had sufficient reasons for keeping the nomination in their power and suspending their action upon it. The President could not nominate another person for the same office until this was disposed of and was either withdrawn by him or finally decided on by the Senate. And as the Senate have had an opportunity of acting but have determined to suspend their decision I cannot see how an appointment now made by the President can be supposed to interfere with the rights of the Senate. There is nothing in the case that can be construed into a desire to avoid their constitutional control.

If however the restricted interpretation contended for were admitted, still in the case before me the President would have the right to appoint. The vacancy did take place in the recess. The former appointment continued during the session & there was no vacancy until after they adjourned. The vacancy followed the adjournment; and whether it took place immediately afterwards or at a distant interval can make no difference. If it took place after the adjournment it happened during the recess according to the narrowest interpretation proposed to be given to the article—and consequently even in that view of the subject the President has a right to fill it.

I do not however desire to place my opinion on this ground—But upon what I believe to be the true construction of the Constitution as before stated.

In the case of Amos Binney, Mr. Adams must have proceeded upon the same construction of the Constitution with the one I have given.

The Commission of Amos Binney as Navy Agent of the Port of Boston expired by operation of law Feby 15. 1825 during the session of Congress. He was nominated for the same office Feby 28. 1825. The session closed

on the 3rd. of March and the Senate adjourned without acting on the nomination. They were convened on the 4th. of March 1825 by the summons of the President—and on the 7th. Mr. Binney was again nominated. On the 9th. this nomination was postponed by the Senate to the first Monday in December following; and they adjourned on the same day leaving the vacancy unfilled. On the 22d. of March 1825 during the recess Mr. Binney was appointed by the President to the office above mentioned.

Here then was a vacancy which occurred during the session—was known to have taken place—was left unfilled at the close of the session & was afterwards during the recess filled up by the President. I know of no precedent in favor of the opposite construction.

And as a vacancy in the office of Register of the Land Office for the Mount Salus District until the next meeting of Congress would produce serious inconvenience to the public, & the vacancy is in my judgment one of that character which the constitution contemplated in the grant of power before mentioned, I respectfully advise that the appointment be made—and am Sir with the highest respect Yr. obt st

R. B. Taney

P.S. Since the foregoing opinion was prepared, I have caused the records of my office to be examined in order to ascertain whether this subject had been brought before any of my predecessors in this office. And I find an opinion given by Mr. Wirt when he was Attorney General dated Octr. 22. 1823. and while Mr. Monroe was President in which he gives to the constitution the same construction that I have placed on it—and advised the President that he had a right to fill any vacancies which might “happen to exist” during the recess, although the vacancy took place while the Senate was in session & continued at the time of the adjournment.³

True copies from the Record Book of Opinions in the Attorney General's office Teste James Caldwell, Clerk to Atto. Genl. U.S. Decr. 13. 1832.

Copy, DNA-RG 46 (20-1153). Senate Confidential Printing 22-2-4, pp. 56–59. *Washington Globe*, August 3, 1832; *HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 883–87 (Serial 387). The preceding *Globe* and later Serial printings contain several slight matching variations in wording from the version sent to and printed by the Senate in December. On July 21 AJ gave Samuel Gwin a new recess appointment as register at Mount Salus. The *Globe* printing of Taney's opinion accompanied an unsigned editorial by Louis McLane defending the appointment, about which McLane wrote AJ on August 3 (below).

1. The tabled Senate resolution actually said “nomination” rather than “renomination” (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:278).

2. Article 2, Section 2.

3. William Wirt (1772–1834) was U.S. attorney general from 1817 to 1829. His October 22, 1823, opinion to Monroe, printed in tandem with Taney's by the Senate and in the *Globe*, held that “all vacancies which, from any casualty, happen to exist at a time when the Senate cannot be consulted as to filling them, may be temporarily filled by the President,”

including vacancies that occurred while the Senate was in session as well as during its recess (*HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 475–77, Serial 387).

To Robert Johnstone Chester

(Private)

Washington July 20th. 1832

My Dr. Sir

your letter on the subject of the consul for Mexico, was duly recd. but I have been so surrounded with publick concerns, that I had not a moment for private friendship. There was no such man presented to me for office as you have named.

Congress has at length adjourned passing a *Bank bill*, & Tariff law. The first I was compelled from principle, believing it both unconstitutional, & inexpedient, to put my veto upon the bill. I believe it one of the greatest monsters of corruption ever created, and the present was a contest whether our happy republican Government should continue, or whether we should be consolidated, and subject to the *despotic rule* of a monied aristocracy, and incorporated monopoly, with exclusive privileges. I have ~~this session of congress~~ been a silent witness to its corrupting effects upon congress this session, and I am sure if it was again rechartered with the powers in the bill, that not only our State Legislatures might be dispensed with, but congress dissolved, & the Bank left to Legislate, and the Supreme court to execute its mandates. I therefore for the reasons assigned in my veto message, I returned the bill to the senate where it originated, and refer you to my message for the reasons. I have none by me, or I should enclose you one.

I shall leave here for the Hermitage in one or two days, and hope to reach home by the 15th. proximo, where I shall remain until about the 10th. of September, where I shall be happy to see you, Betsy & the sweet little ones, and the old Lady & Narsissa, Doctor Butler & Patsy, and any other of the connection in that section of the country¹

I have been so much interrupted by company since I commenced this scrawl, that I am fearful that it is not intelligable—you must pardon the haste in which it has been written & with my kind salutations to all believe me your friend—all friends here well and join in kind salutions.

Andrew Jackson

ALS photocopy, DLC (20-1167). Chester (1793–1892) was postmaster at Jackson, Tenn., and husband of Rachel Jackson's niece Elizabeth Hays Chester (1805–1841).

1. Narcissa Hays (b. c1792) and Martha Thompson ("Patsy") Hays Butler (1790–1857) were Elizabeth Chester's sisters. The old lady was their mother, Jane Donelson Hays (1766–1834), sister of Rachel Jackson. William Edward Butler was Martha's husband.

From Paithuckoosaw et al.

St. Louis, July 20th, 1832.

Our Great Father,

We sent a Talk to you last fall, in relation to some land on which we are desirous of settling: on this land we wish to get our living.

In that Talk we misunderstood the situation of the land; the sketch enclosed herewith, will show you its location.

Take pity on our women & children; we do not expect to be ourselves much benefitted by this land; but we want it for our women & children and our children's children forever.

We have heretofore packed our horses, and have been sent from place to place; we want to be permanently settled.

The land allotted to our people is too small; this, as we told you last fall, is the reason we are so desirous of having our request granted.

Our Great Father,

We hope you will open your ears when you receive our words; we hope you will take pity on our women and children; and that you will help us to bring all our people—the whole Shawanoe nation together.

Our Great Father,

You may recollect there have, in other times, been exchanges of land between your people and ours. Our country was not always small. Now, we ask you to do us a favour, and satisfy our people by giving us a title to this piece of land; so that when we are gone, our children and grand children may live comfortably. You and your people will never feel its loss.

Pay-thoh-ka-soh—(Capt. Reed)

Way way leh neh

Lay-loh-she-coh

Koolepatheh

Esky puckee pees kaw kaw

The pretty man

Turtle

Eagle

Panther

his X mark

his X mark

his X mark

his X mark

his X mark

[Four additional signatures follow.]

DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-300). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (20-1197). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 408–9 (Serial 246). Paithuckoosaw's Shawnees resided on White River in northern Arkansas Territory. They had written AJ on November 20, 1831, seeking a tract of land on the Verdigris River instead of being removed further north to the Kansas River, where other Shawnees had settled under treaties of 1825 and 1831 (*Jackson Papers*, 9:702–3). The enclosed sketch showed a tract east of the Neosho River, in present northeast Oklahoma and southeast Kansas. The request was not granted, and a treaty of October 26 provided for the immediate removal of all Arkansas Shawnees to the assigned Shawnee domain on the Kansas (*Indian Treaties*, 2:370–72).

To Edward Livingston

Saturday July 21st. 1832—

The President with his respects to the Secretary of State, and before he leaves the city cannot withhold the expression of the pleasure he felt on hearing that he intended giving the job for printing the Diplomatic correspondence to the Editor of the *Globe*. The work will be done faithfully and *well* and as cheap as it can be by any one as he wants employ for his hands, and is too poor to keep them idle.

It would be mortifying to see his establishment again embarrassed for the want of that support which the work of the Departments afford.

It is a good rule in the Departments I think, to adopt the prices paid by congress in all cases where congress has ordered the printing to be done unless, indeed, where the law or resolution points to some other rule, keeping the job within the appropriation made, if this is possible, after allowing a fair price for the work. If the appropriation upon this *rule*, failed to cover the job, congress could not refuse to make up the deficiency, when it appeared that the printer had done it for a less sum than allowed by congress, which is understood to be the case in the proposition made by Mr Blair.¹

The President with his respects also informs Mr Livingston, that after he left his office he was waited on by the Secretary of the Treasury, and it appearing from his report that there were no appropriations for House rent, and it would be attended with great risque, & expence, to remove the papers of the 5th auditor The President has come to the conclusion to let the officers rest, as they now are, until his return.

AD, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs).

1. The annual Appropriation Act of May 5, 1832, allocated \$12,000 to print hitherto unpublished U.S. diplomatic correspondence from 1783 to 1789, under direction of the Secretary of State (*Statutes*, 4:513). *Globe* editor Francis P. Blair had proposed printing the work for \$2.12 per volume, but Livingston wrote him on June 20 that others had offered to do it for \$1.25 and that to pay more would smack of the same corruption and profligacy in awarding the public printing that Blair had just charged on others in the May 29 *Globe* (Livingston Papers, NjP). Blair ultimately won the job and in 1833–34 he printed 1000 copies of the seven-volume series for \$11,968.88, or \$1.71 per volume. His charges for composition and presswork followed the rates Congress paid for printing congressional documents. The total cost of the edition, including editorial work at the State Department, came to \$16,142.52 (*HRRep* 849, 24th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 16–19, Serial 295).

From Henry Leavitt Ellsworth

Hartford July 21 1832

Sir

By private letters from Washington, I have learnt the selection and appointment of Commissioners under the French Treaty. Ignorant of the conflicting interest and feeling on this subject; and supposing one Commissioner might be selected from New England; connected with the fact, that Connecticut had not a single citizen in office under the general Government, either at Washington or abroad; I had allowed myself to anticipate a more favorable result. And I write now, more particularly to assure you Sir, that although *dissappointed*, I am not *dissaffected* or *dissatisfied*. Offices are not made for men and no citizen can assert a *claim* to public favors. The present, with the past will, I trust moderate my expectations, and teach me the duty of relying more and more on personal exertions. The prominent and decided part I have taken, and that too in opposition to most of my relatives has brought upon me much persecution, and I must confess I am not a little *mortified*, at the exultation of my enemies to find myself thus dissappointed. My principles, are, however too firmly fixed, to yield to chilling influences of sudden dissappointment. I beg to assure the President of my unabated confidence in his judgment, and acquiescence in his decision however adverse to my wishes or expectations.¹

In behalf of those, who are, and have been struggling so zealously in this State to support the great principles of this administration, I trust the time is not far distant when Connecticut, can consistently with the public good, be remembered, in the distribution of public favors

In turning from this personal subject, permit me to congratulate you Sir on the passage of the Tariff Bill, whose modifications will I trust be generally thought “Judicious”² And especially permit me to congratulate you Sir, on the *Veto* to the Bank. If there is any merit in your administration, this act will be most conspicuous. The *Veto* may naturally make some bitter Enemies (temporarily) where selfishness is greater than principle. But be assured, it will make many new friends and gratify a *large number of old ones*—above all it carries with it for yourself the highest consolation—an approving conscience. The aristocracy are alarmed, and will redouble their exertion to deceive the people. Never was it more necessary to disseminate correct sentiments or rather correct information To the honest yeomanry of the country. With this belief we have lately established two new papers in this State & contemplate establishing others soon.³

Will you allow me to enquire if we shall not soon be favored with a visit from the President? It gives us great pleasure to anticipate this event which has by some of your friends been mentioned as probable

Accept Sir the assurance of my best exertions to promote the cause of the administration and my ardent prayer that your life & health may long

· July 1832 ·

be spared to your Country & friends[.] Respectfully & sincerely Yours
obediently

Henry L Ellsworth

ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Ellsworth (1791–1858) was a Hartford lawyer.

1. A law of July 13 to implement the July 4, 1831, convention with France directed the appointment of three commissioners to allocate French damage payments among the American claimants. On July 14 AJ had nominated and the Senate had confirmed George W. Campbell of Tennessee, John K. Kane of Pennsylvania, and Thomas H. Williams of Mississippi. Ellsworth had solicited the post in letters to several Cabinet members (DNA-RG 59, M639-7). On July 23 AJ appointed him one of three commissioners authorized by a law of July 14 to resolve boundaries and disputes among western and emigrating Indians and to facilitate further emigration.

2. AJ had famously called for “a judicious examination and revision” of the tariff in an April 26, 1824, public letter to Littleton H. Coleman (*Jackson Papers*, 5:398).

3. The pro-Jackson Hartford *Jeffersonian* had begun publication in June.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington July 22nd. 1832

My Dr Andrew

I have this morning recd. your two letters of the 9th. & 12th. instant—have duly observed their contents, and hope personally to answer them in 20 or 22 days. I was about to set out this evening after sermon but have await the arrival of a pair of horses sending on by Mr Resides in exchange for the pair he furnished me this spring. I shall set out tomorrow accompanied by Mr Breathit, and by easy & constant travel reach home as early as my health will permit.

Let Mr Steel rest until I get home I will surely let him go, if you and Thomas can attend *well* to the crop & it is his wish to get released—but of all this when I arrive.

your cousin Andrew Emily & Mary McLamore with Mr. Earle & Breathit all join in kind salutations to you Sarah & all friends Present my kind & affection regards to all & particularly to Sarah—tell her not to be alarmed about the Colera & her Dr Sister. Hombolt says it will not pass south of 40. dr n. latitude therefore Philadelphia will escape.¹ It has been there, but has disappeared and I hope will not shew itself again in Philadelphia—tell my Dr Sarah that five die with apprehension to one with the Colera—cheer her up & say to her I will be soon there

The bill for the \$1500 has been presented & paid[.] In haste yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Major A. J. Donelson desires me to say to you that the colts & boys are all well & doing well

ALS, THer (20-1218).

1. Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) was a famed German geographer.

To Amos Kendall

(Confidential)

July 23rd. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

I am off this morning; the *veto works well*. I wish you to look at the harbour bill, and compare it with my veto message on the Maysville road bill, and my Message to Congress in 1830. I have left in the hands of Major Donelson Genl Gratiot's report on the items in this bill, from which, you will find that many are local, & useless, few that are national. I am determined in my message if I live to make one to Congress to put an end to this waste of public money, & to appropriations for internal improvements until a system be adopted by Congress & an amendment of the constitution; in short Sir, to this corrupt log rolling system of legislation.¹

An expose of the members of Congress who have voted for the rechartering the Bank would have a good effect upon the public & enlighten the minds of the people in their choice of Representatives. From advice yesterday the Bank was extending its corruption far and wide thro' our members of congress, and it seems to me that providence has had a hand in bringing forward the subject at this time to preserve the republic from its thralldom & corrupting influence.

In haste, with my kind salutations to you, your Lady & family & best wishes for your health & happiness, believe me sincerely your friend²

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (78). *Cincinnati Commercial*, February 4, 1879.

1. A bill making appropriation "for the improvement of certain harbors, and the navigation of certain rivers" passed the House and Senate in final form on July 12 and was presented to AJ on July 13. AJ pocket-vetoed it, explaining his reasons in a message to the reconvened House on December 6, 1832 (*HRDoc* 17, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 1–2, Serial 233; Richardson, 2:638–39). He recalled the reservations he had voiced about federal internal improvements in his May 27, 1830, Maysville Road veto and December 6, 1830, annual message to Congress, and especially the rule he had then announced of refusing assent to appropriations for purely local objects (Richardson, 2:283–93, 508–14). Brevet Brigadier General Charles Gratiot (1786–1855) headed the Army Corps of Engineers. Donelson forwarded Gratiot's report to Martin Van Buren, who wrote Donelson about it on August 26 (below). AJ requested a revised report from Gratiot on October 26 (below).

2. Kendall's wife was Jane Kyle Kendall (1807–1864).

From Alexander Macomb

[Major General Alexander Macomb (1782–1841) was commanding general of the U.S. Army. On June 15, Secretary of War Cass had appointed Brevet Major General Winfield Scott (1786–1866) to replace Henry Atkinson in overall command against Black Hawk. Scott reached Detroit on June 30 and wrote Atkinson to expect him at Chicago by mid-July with twenty companies of regulars. Scott said he hoped Atkinson might have subdued Black Hawk by then, but Atkinson replied on July 9 that the Indians had thus far eluded his pursuit. He reported that bad terrain and short supplies hampered his movements and that he would “hold the enemy in check” with his regulars “Till a supply arrives—& I shall not press matters unnecessarily before your arrival.” Scott reached Chicago on July 10. He wrote to Cass on July 11 and 12, enclosing Atkinson’s letter and reporting the depletion of his own ranks by cholera. Scott pledged to join Atkinson with an effective force if he could muster one, and by himself if he could not (Black Hawk War, 2:717–18, 752–54, 767–70).]

Head Quarters of the Army
Washington July 24th. 1832

Sir:

A despatch has this day been received from General Scott dated Chicago, 12 Inst. covering a copy of a communication received by him from General Atkinson dated Camp on White Water July 9th. The despatch of General Scott is truly distressing. The Cholera has broken out among the troops as well at Chicago as at Fort Gratiot and Detroit. A great number of the Recruits for Chicago were down with the disorder, say 70 men, and five or six officers. Of the men 19 died, but none of the officers. The whole were improving in health and two or three new cases only, were reported on the 11th. The troops at Fort Gratiot and Detroit were also improving in health, agreeably to a report this day received from the Quarter Master at Detroit.¹

The report of General Atkinson is by no means satisfactory. He states that he was within a few miles of the Indians; but had been, as yet unable to feel them; and further, that they had moved about 12 miles further up to the north: and he seems to despair of bringing them to action, if the Indians are determined to decline fighting. I have caused copies of the despatches of Generals Scott and Atkinson to be made out, in order that you may more clearly see the details, which I think cannot be satisfactory to you; especially the implied willingness of General Atkinson, to wait the arrival of General Scott instead of pursuing the Indians, and obliging them to try the fate of war. The least delay must prove fatal, as the Indians will make their escape, and the volunteers tired of an ineffectual campaign will all be desirous of returning home, pleading as an excuse their apprehension of the Cholera. I trust that General Scott will without loss

· July 1832 ·

of time proceed to the Head Quarters of General Atkinson and assume the command.

I hope this will find you in health. With this, I send the assurances of my high consideration and duty, being always yours, most devotedly and faithfully,

Alex: Macomb. Maj. Gen. Commdg. the Army.

LC, DNA-RG 108 (20-1240; M857-1). LC, DNA-RG 108 (20-1243). Macomb enclosed copies of Atkinson's July 9 letter to Scott (DLC-41) and Scott's July 11–12 letter to Cass (DLC-41).

1. Atkinson was encamped near Lake Koshkonong on Rock River in present southern Wisconsin. Fort Gratiot was on the St. Clair River at present Port Huron, Michigan. Henry Whiting (1788–1851) was assistant quartermaster at Detroit.

From John Robb

Department of War,
July 25. 1832.

Dear General,

Knowing the deep interest you feel for a speedy and successful termination of Indian hostilities, and a strong desire that General Atkinson, should not tarnish the Epaulette's which grace his shoulders, I send you a copy of his letter, by which you will perceive there is not much probability, of your wishes being realized, through his instrumentality. A strange fatality, or *something else* seems, to attend all his movements.

I also enclose you a copy of General Scott's letter. In haste Yours Truly

John Robb

ALS, DLC (41). Robb was acting secretary of war in the absence of Lewis Cass, who had gone to Detroit. He enclosed copies of Atkinson's July 9 letter to Scott (DLC-41) and Scott's July 11–12 letter to Cass (DLC-41), which Macomb had also forwarded to AJ the day before.

From William Berkeley Lewis

Washington 28 July 1832.

My dear Genl.

We have nothing new since you left here. Mr. Eaton has entirely recovered his health, and will commence his journey to the West, he says, next Monday or Tuesday at furthest; but you know he is very uncertain in his movements. Mr. Loughborough left us last Thursday and will overtake you I presume in a day or two.¹

Mr. Robb informed me the day before yesterday that he had recd. despatches from the Army, a copy of which I presume has sent you, directed to Abbingdon. I did not see them but the intelligence, he says, is by no means satisfactory.

Herewith I send you the *Globe* of this morning. It has an excellent article upon the subject of the Bank. It contains also a very good speech delivered by Mr. Dallas at the Great Phila. meeting. I should think Mr. Dallas does not mean to have any thing more to do with Mr. Calhoun or his friends—judging from the bitter terms with which he speaks of the “new fangled Coalition.”²

Mr. Earle informs me that he sends you the papers at different points along the road, which no doubt will relieve, in some measure, the tedium of the journey, if you get them. Your friends here are all well, and every thing seems to be getting on as well as could be desired

Please present my respects to Mr. Breathit and say to him I hope he has entirely recovered his health. Yours Sincerely

W B Lewis

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Preston Samuel Loughborough (1802–1852) of Kentucky was the Post Office Department’s general agent and chief investigator.

2. On July 28 the *Globe* printed the third in a numbered series of editorials on “The Veto and the Bank.” It charged that low attendance and proxy voting at BUS shareholder meetings gave Biddle and two friends effective power to choose its board, making him “the MONARCH whom the monied aristocracy have chosen to manage, with undivided effect, the instrument of their power.” The Bank’s leverage and corruption gave it sway over the whole country, and Biddle’s attempt to install its paid attorney Henry Clay as president made the upcoming election a test “of *power* between NICHOLAS BIDDLE and THE PEOPLE.” The veto was thus a “*Second Declaration of Independence*” against “the mighty monarch of this fearful monopoly.” The *Globe* also reported George M. Dallas’s speech at a July 23 Philadelphia mass rally to support the veto. Dallas decried the joining of “men of the most discordant and opposite opinions and sentiments on all political subjects” in a “new-fangled coalition” bent on defeating AJ’s reelection. He reviewed the administration’s many successes, concluded that AJ “had sustained the best principles, and consulted the chief good, of the whole country,” and summoned the audience to join him in his support. Dallas had once been a Calhoun man, and in the Senate in 1832 he had voted both for the BUS recharter bill and later to override AJ’s veto.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Lexington July 29th. 1832—

My Dr. Son.

I arrived here last evening on my way to the Hermitage, where I will arrive at as early a day as my health & horses will permit. Mr. Breathit accompanies me. I have a lame horse, who is better this morning, whether he may be a cause of any detention on the road as yet, I cannot say. I drove him 40, miles on yesterday, and this morning appears better, from

· *July 1832* ·

which I infer that the application will prove a cure—it is thought to be a commencement of the swaney¹—a severe rubbing on the shoulder, & the application of the spirits of turpentine has had a good effect, but whether it may so far remove the complaint as to enable the horse to travel home is only to be determined by experience. I will be with you as soon as I can, deliver the enclosed to Sarah & believe me to be your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

Mr Breathit desires his respects to you Sarah & Emma—to which add mine, and to Thomas & all enquiring friends A J.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Sweeney shoulder is an atrophy of a horse's shoulder muscles.

August



From Louis McLane

Private

Washington Aug. 3. 1832.

My dear Sir,

I write this letter in the expectation that it will precede you to Nashvill & await your arrival at that place—which in defiance of *blood letting* & *calomel* I pray that you may reach in safety & health.

I am happy to say that nothing has occurred since your departure to increase your solicitude for public affairs, and we shall be able, I hope, to conduct the ship in safety until your return. *Nullification*, however, continues to rumble, like distant thunder, in the South, and tho' the recent address of Mess. *Hayne & others* is less intemperate than might have been expected, it is, nevertheless, sufficiently intelligible, and plainly looks to the end they have constantly threatened. Their infatuation is altogether unaccountable, and not the less dangerous because, it is *infatuation*. Deluded men are the most difficult to be convinced, and it is clear to me that, Mr Calhoun has produced the whirlwind & the storm which he will be unable to direct, & of which he will more probably be, himself, a victim. I have great confidence in the moral rectitude & patriotic devotion of the American people, and I shall be greatly deceived if the fires of South Carolina can resist the concentrated action of public opinion throughout the union. I take the liberty of sending you a *Richmond Inquirer* in which you will see the address of Mess *Hayne & Co.* and also the *address* and letter of *P. P. Barbour!* The latter might be suspected to be the growth of a more *Northern* latitude than the generous region of the *Old Dominion*: but there are few qualities of the heart which personal ambition will not wither, and the men are few who have the courage to act right under any circumstances, at every hazard.¹

I take the liberty, also, of sending you the "Globe" of this morning, for an article in vindication of the course of the Executive in the case of *Gwin*. It might have been fuller and of more elaborate preparation, but it contains all the strong points, will give a proper tone and brief for the press in other parts of the country, and, on the whole, may be considered as sufficiently conclusive & satisfactory. It seemed to me to be necessary to place this case upon its true ground, and by referring the conduct of the

President to the dictates of duty, from which it proceeded, to exclude the imputation of personal motives & feelings and thereby deprive the opposition of the only handle they could possibly make of it. I am mistaken if this has not been now effectually done. It will be followed up, however, should occasion call for it; I need only add that in this and all other cases you may safely rely upon my unfeigned solicitude for your success and just renown to place your sure defence before the public.²

My stay here has been ~~delayed~~ prolonged, partly by the desire to bring up all my official concerns & take all the preparatory steps on the resolutions calling for reports at the next Session; & partly by the illness of Mrs. McLane who, I lament to say, has been seriously attacked with bilious fever since your departure. She is now better, however, and I hope to be able, early next week, to go to my farm in Md. & on to Delaware, for a few days only, so that I may return before Mr Livingston goes in pursuit of his family. He must stay until we hear from *Mr. Preble*, and then, I suppose, Woodbury & myself will be left alone.³ Him, I have most unintentionally put almost *hors du combat* by a jolting ride some days since, so that I despair of again enticing him to keep me company in any future excursion of the sort. he admits now, I believe, that he is better suited to bear the flag of the fleet than to be master of the horse.

You will be glad, I am sure, to learn that *Major Eaton* is entirely recovered, & would have followed you on tuesday last, but for the sickness of Mrs. E. which has prevented him. his case was, as you supposed, altogether bilious, & not cholera as some apprehended. That dreadful scourge, however, is on its march hither and has taken us on both sides—at Phila. & Norfolk: the last accounts from the former place report 15 cases and nine deaths in 24 hours, and in Norfolk only 3 or 4. It is declining in New York, but must be expected to visit the whole line of the Atlantic. I fear this city is in a bad state to receive it, tho' General *Vanness* has reasonably tried the efficacy of a *fast day* which was faithfully observed yesterday by all classes throughout the city. I think, myself, however, that the moral of the fable of *Hercules* & the *waggoner* might on this occasion be practiced with great advantage. We should put our own shoulders to the wheel and cleanse the city of the filth which every where infests it, and then we might, with much greater hope of obtaining it, invoke the aid of Providence. I sincerely pray, that your visit to the West, besides all other advantages, may enable you to shun the terrors of this awful pestilence.⁴

Mr. Donelson no doubt keeps you informed of the state of things & of the inmates at the White house, of which, therefore, I need say nothing.

The commissioners for the valuation of the bridge are now here, but have come to no conclusion yet; tho' I do not doubt they will give the full amount authorized by the law.⁵

There is one point on which we were perhaps not entirely prudent, and that is the possible refusal of Col. Williams or of Mr. Campbell to serve as ~~French~~ commissioners under the French Treaty. In that case however he

can apprise you if necessary; and my only motive for mentioning it now, is that you may occasionally turn the contingency in your mind.⁶

I beg to offer my kindest regards & wishes to your Son and Mrs. Jackson who I hope will have the good sense & taste to prefer the quiet of the hermitage, except for the winter, of gayer scenes.

To Judge Overton & Mr. Brethitt I desire my best respects, and tendering to you my fervent wishes for your continued welfare & happiness, I have the honor to be, dear Sir faithfully yr. fd & Servant

Louis McLane

ALS, DLC (41).

1. On July 31 the *Richmond Enquirer* reprinted from the *Charleston Mercury* an address “To the People of South Carolina” signed by senators Robert Hayne and Stephen Miller and six of the state’s nine congressmen. Believing that “the positive burthens of the Southern States are not diminished at all, and their relative burthens are very greatly increased” by the newly enacted tariff, the signers declared “their solemn and deliberate conviction that the protecting system must now be regarded as the settled policy of the country, and that all hope of relief from Congress is irrevocably gone.” It therefore now lay with “the sovereign power of the State, to determine whether the rights and the liberties which you received as a precious inheritance from an illustrious ancestry shall be tamely surrendered without a struggle, or transmitted undiminished to your posterity.” The *Enquirer* also printed a July 17 dinner address by Philip P. Barbour at Amherst, Va., and a July 6 letter from Barbour to James Iredell acknowledging his nomination for vice president by a convention in North Carolina. Barbour’s letter disclaimed any “thirst for office” but did not refuse the nomination.

2. McLane’s unsigned editorial appeared in the August 3 *Globe*, accompanied by the legal opinions of attorney generals Wirt and Taney (July 19, above) on recess appointments. The editorial justified AJ’s nomination, renomination, and renewed recess appointment to Samuel Gwin as necessary defenses of executive authority against the Senate’s illegitimate effort to proscribe the appointment of out-of-state residents. AJ had thus “not acted from the promptings of a *dictatorial temper*,” but from a sense of “unavoidable duty” to fill vacant offices while preserving his constitutional powers against Senate encroachment.

3. McLane’s home was in Delaware. He, Woodbury, and Livingston were awaiting word from William P. Preble of the Maine commissioners’ approval of their agreement to compensate the state in western lands for its acquiescence in a Northeast boundary settlement with Britain. Livingston wrote AJ about it on September 1 (below).

4. Washington mayor John P. Van Ness had proclaimed August 1 a “Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer.” In a fable attributed to Aesop, a mud-bound wagoner who calls on Hercules for help is answered by a voice telling him to first put his own shoulder to the wheel.

5. In February 1831 a freshet had swept away part of the Potomac bridge erected by the Washington Bridge Company. A law of July 14, 1832, authorized purchasing the Company’s property and materials and rebuilding the bridge (*Statutes*, 4:582–83). The purchase price was to be \$20,000 if three presidentially appointed valuers agreed the assets were worth that much. Thomas Darnes of Virginia and Thomas Carlton and John Wooten of Maryland were appointed appraisers and approved the \$20,000 valuation. The rebuilt bridge opened in 1835.

6. Former senators George Washington Campbell (1769–1848) of Tennessee and Thomas Hill Williams of Mississippi (1780–1840) accepted their appointments as claims commissioners under the French treaty.

From John Robb

Department of War
August 3. 1832

Dear Sir,

I have the honor to enclose you, copies of letters, from Genls Scott, & Atkinson which contain the latest information received at the Department, from the seat of War.¹

Major Eaton intended to have left us on Tuesday last, but the indisposition of Mrs E. has detained him. She has been quite ill, but I believe is rather bett[er].²

The City is still, comparatively healthy. May a kind Providence keep it so. There is little doubt however, but what we *shall* be visited by that desolating Scourge, (Cholera,) sooner or later. We must do our duty and trust in Him “who rides upon the sea, and plants his footstep in the storm.”³ The Cholera, has made its appearance in Norfolk and Portsmouth Virginia. There have been several cases, and as yet none have recovered. The deaths from Tuesday last, to Sunday, were 21. In great haste Very Respectfully Your Obt. Serv

John Robb

ALS, DLC (41).

1. The letters Robb forwarded were probably Winfield Scott's to Lewis Cass of July 15 and 19. Scott reported continued delays and difficulties in gathering troops and supplies in Chicago for a field campaign. Atkinson had written Scott on July 17 of his hopes to soon surround and engage the Indians and conclude the war. Scott's July 19 letter enclosed Atkinson's and avowed full faith in Atkinson's “zeal, talents and judgement” despite the protraction of his campaign (DLC-41; *Black Hawk War*, 2:803–8, 814–15, 829–32).

2. Eaton left Washington for Tennessee on August 8.

3. A garbling of lines from the English poet William Cowper's 1773 hymn “God Moves in a Mysterious Way”: “He plants His footsteps in the sea / And rides upon the storm.”

From James Renwick Willson

1832. Aug. 6th.

Dear Sir,

This morning on the rail road from Schenectady to this village a gentleman of our city, remarked to us that the other day he travelled in company with a British officer, who was very earnest for information as to our roads arsenals & arms.¹ As soon as he received our information as to roads or distances, to the north, or as to the depth of our rivers or harbours he immediately noted in a pocket common-place-book. He has free access to the navy-yards & other depots of public property. We fear that as the battle of Tippecanoe was fought near the commencement of the late war, at British instigation of the Savages so the western frontier is

now suffering from the same quarter, with a view to draw off our troops from Madwasco.² Old monarchies look ahead.

We are pained at the running of the mail on the Lord's day, in these northren states, as an act of disobedience to "*the Prince of the Kings of the earth*." We had hoped for an answer from the Secretary of war, to our last.³ Yours Truly,

Jas. R Willson

ALS copy, PPIRP (mAJs). Willson (1780–1853) was a Reformed Presbyterian minister in Albany.

1. The Mohawk & Hudson, opened in 1831 from Albany to Schenectady, was the first railroad in New York state.

2. William Henry Harrison had fought the Shawnees at Tippecanoe in November 1811, seven months before the U.S. declared war on Britain. Madawaska was in the disputed Northeast boundary region. In 1831 New Brunswick authorities there had detained three Americans for attempting to establish a Maine town government (*Jackson Papers*, 9:762).

3. Revelation 1:5. Willson had been active in the Sabbatarian campaign to convince the federal government to halt Sunday mail service. In September 1831 he had written AJ in behalf of the New York Indian Board inquiring about the War Department's plans for the education of emigrating Indians. AJ had answered on October 4 that Secretary Cass would "probably" reply on his return to Washington, but that the government could entertain no plans for educating the Indians "until the more pressing work of their removal and settlement shall have been accomplished" (*Jackson Papers*, 9:575–76, 599).

From John Robb

Department of War,
Augt 7. 1832.

D Sir,

I have the honor to enclose you copies of two letters received from Genl Scott which furnishes the latest information from the seat of War. I have kept you advised of the proceedings in the West, and shall continue to do so during your absence from the City.

We are all in good health, and the business of our Department kept up, Nothing remains undone.

Mr Ellsworth & Gen Stokes have accepted their appointments.¹ In great haste[.] Very Respectfully Your obt. Serv

John Robb

ALS, DLC (41). The letters Robb forwarded were probably Scott's to Lewis Cass of July 22 and 24 (DLC-41; *Black Hawk War*, 2:847–51, 868–70). In the first, Scott reported that new cases of cholera would further delay his departure from Chicago. In the second, he noted reports that Black Hawk was attempting to escape across the Mississippi and announced his intent to set out promptly in person and join the pursuit.

1. On July 14, AJ had signed an Act authorizing appointment of three commissioners to negotiate boundaries and settle disputes among the western and emigrating Indians, and had immediately appointed North Carolina governor Montfort Stokes, Tennessee governor William Carroll, and Roberts Vaux of Philadelphia. Vaux declined on July 21, and Henry L. Ellsworth was appointed in his place on July 23. Carroll wrote AJ on August 18 (below).

· August 1832 ·

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Armstrongs old Stand 15 miles East of Knoxville

Agust 9th. 1832—

My Dr Andrew

yours of the 29th. ulto was recd. on yesterday as we passed Beans Station. It gave me much pleasure to hear of your return from Virginia & of the health of Emily & the sweet little ones. May you continue *all* to enjoy that blessing.¹

My own health has much improved, & Mr. Breathit *now*, is in good health, but has not been all the time so, since he left the city. My horses are now *all* well, but the lame horse a good deal reduced—the roads worse than I ever travelled them, the only improvements made are loose rock thrown into them, which jolts the carriage & makes it intolerable, draws off the horse shoes, & cripples the horses. I hope to reach the Hermitage in six days after this day. I hope to reach Knoxville to night.

The veto works well—instead of crushing me as was expected & intended, it will crush the Bank.

I have noted your remarks as to the purchase of the Negroes, *all is well*, the prices too high at present, and my son must wait until he can get them lower, or purchase in Tennessee.

Unless something should occur, or some information contained in your promised letter at Knoxville, this will be the last you will receive from me untill I write you from the Hermitage.

Present me affectionately to Emily Mary McLamore and kiss the sweet little ones for me—give my respect to Mr. Earle & deliver the enclosed to him & present my respects to the heads of Departments, with the assurance, if Providence permits, I will be in the city between the 1rs. & 12th. of october next. Mr Breathit unites with me in kind respects to you & family, to Earle & Major Lewis & all inquiring friends. in great haste your friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Let me hear at the Hermitage about your Cavalry—

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (20-1256).

1. Donelson's children were Andrew Jackson Donelson (1826–1859), Mary Rachel Donelson, and John Samuel Donelson. Bean Station is in Grainger County, Tennessee.

To William Berkeley Lewis

15 Miles East of Knoxville
August 9th. 1832—

My Dr Major

your kind letter, with the News papers accompanying it, was recd. last Sunday at Abington, and I could not, until now, find a moment of leisure to acknowledge it. I find it indeed difficult to get one moment to myself, & I now write whilst my breakfast is preparing

Mr Breathit & myself both enjoy good health now. Mine has very much improved. I walked the other day without halting, & without oppression, four miles; my strength is greatly improved.

With my sincere respects to Kendall & Blair, tell them the veto works well, & that the *Globe* revolves with all its usual splendor. That instead, as was predicted & expected by my enemies, & some of my friends, that the veto would destroy me, ~~that~~ it has destroyed the Bank.

I have just read the address of the nulifying members of So. Carolina to their constituents. I hope Kendall, or Blair will criticise it well; it is one of the most jesuistical and uncandid productions I ever read, and is easily exposed.¹ Write me to the Hermitage so that your letters may reach me by the 10th. of September at farthest—on that day I expect to set out on my return to the City. With my respects to all enquiring friends, & to the heads of Departments believe me your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NNPM; Copy, NN (20-1268).

1. The *Globe* had already attacked the South Carolina address on August 4, ridiculing its claim that by reducing some rates the new tariff had actually increased the tax burden on the South.

From Joseph Churchill Strong et al.

Knoxville August 9th 1832

Sir,

The citizens of Knoxville have charged the undersigned with the pleasing duty of tendering to you a sincere and cordial welcome; and of expressing the high satisfaction which they feel that a kind Providence, preserving your life and health, has restored you, for a moment, to the scenes of your early usefulness, and to the circle of your early friends. The deep interest, with which such an event would at any time have inspired us, is greatly increased by the circumstances under which we meet. The Congress of the Union has adjourned, after a Session unusually protracted; a Congress to which were confided duties more urgent and important, and questions more vexed and difficult, than to any which has for many years convened.

The friends of liberty and union throughout the nation witnessed their labors and discussions, not only with the most lively interest, but with the most anxious solicitude. For on the result of those labors and discussions, as to one great question, it was feared by many that the peace and quiet, if not the continuance, of our happy union might depend.

We avail ourselves of this occasion, sincerely and heartily to congratulate the Chief Magistrate of the nation, that his wise and salutary counsels on this great question have been so far regarded and acted on, as to give an earnest and assurance to the oppressed portion of the community, that any improper burthens that may remain will hereafter be removed. However reluctant a selfish cupidity may be to relax its grasp, still no patriot can now distrust the justice of his country, or the ultimate success and triumph of truth and right. It is matter of equal surprise and regret, that faction, plotting for power, should have broken in upon, and marred the harmony of feeling and temper, so necessary to the proper adjustment of this great question, by agitating and disturbing the Councils of the country with the premature discussion of another. The fact can no longer be disguised or doubted, that the Bank of the United States surrendered into the hands of ambition and faction their private interests and public duties; they surrendered the question of the renewal of their Charter, as a weapon of political warfare, to be wielded for the benefit of those who, in a contest for power, have proved themselves alike regardless of the interests of the Bank and the country. Under such circumstances, Sir, we want language to express with sufficient strength and fulness, how much we approve and admire the wisdom and firmness which produced and which characterize the executive *Veto* upon the proposed renewal, and the message to the Senate which accompanied that act. Never did the Chief Magistrate of a nation perform an act, which, however it may appear to be received, so met the unanimous wish of all parties. Many of your political friends wished the exercise of the *Veto*, because, upon various, but perhaps differing grounds of expediency or constitutionality, they were opposed to the renewal. Many of your political enemies as ardently wished the exercise of the *Veto*, because, so highly do they prize office, and so humbly estimate the wisdom of the people, as to wish and believe that *money* might be made an important element in the pending contest, and that the Bank in its corporate character, and in all its power and all its ramifications, might be brought upon the hustings, into active and earnest canvassing. In this latter calculation it is more than probable that they have not been mistaken. But we know little, we know nothing of the character of the American people, if they can contemplate with indifference or even patience, if they can contemplate, indeed, without the utmost indignation, the direct or even indirect intervention of such an institution in the political contests of the country. We know little, we know nothing of the character of the American people, if, however they may in other respects differ on the subject, they can fail to admire and reward the

moral courage which prompted and which is so signally evidenced by the late executive Veto. It results from the nature of our institutions, that our public servants can more frequently and more signally entitle themselves to the enlightened gratitude of their countrymen, by the mischiefs which they may prevent, than by the benefits which they may confer. This high conservative merit eminently belongs to the present Administration. We, a portion of your fellow citizens, thank you, Sir, sincerely and heartily thank you, for the Veto of 1830, and for the Veto of 1832.¹ The former dried up a copious source of prodigality and corruption; the latter will limit the power for mischief forever, if not destroy the existence, of an institution which is, day by day, proving itself to be, more and more dangerous to the liberties of the country.

As a testimonial of our approbation of these and other important measures of your Administration, and as a token of the respect and admiration of our constituents and ourselves, we ask of you the favor, that you would suspend your journey, for a short time, and partake of a public dinner with your fellow citizens of Knoxville. We highly appreciate the motives which induce you to avoid, in general, all public display of the confidence and gratitude of your countrymen, of the character of that to which we invite you. But we would respectfully suggest our belief, that the general rule you have adopted would not be violated by mingling, for a short time, with the friends of your earlier life and their descendants. On a former occasion we cheerfully acquiesced in the denial of our wishes, when informed that urgent public duty called you elsewhere.² Under present circumstances, we hope you may believe that the distance you have already travelled will justify the suspension; for a day or two, of the prosecution of so long a journey.

With sentiments of the highest consideration and respect, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves your fellow citizens &c.

Joseph C. Strong
W. B. Reese
W. C. Mynatt
F. S. Heiskell
G. W. Churchwell

[Six additional signatures follow.]

D, DLC (41). *Knoxville Register*, August 15, 1832. Former mayor Joseph Churchill Strong (1775–1844), William Brown Reese (1793–1860), William C. Mynatt (1787–1837), Frederick Steidinger Heiskell (1786–1882), and George W. Churchwell (1802–1864) were all prominent Knoxvilleans.

1. The 1830 veto was of the Maysville Road internal improvement bill.

2. Passing through Knoxville on September 7, 1830, AJ had declined a public dinner, citing his need to reach Washington without delay (16-0217).

· August 1832 ·

To Joseph Churchill Strong et al.

Knoxville, Aug. 9. 1832.

Gentlemen,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date tendering to me the sincere and cordial welcome of the citizens of Knoxville, and soliciting my acceptance of a public dinner. This renewed expression of the respect and generous confidence entertained towards me by my fellow citizens of Knoxville is received with the liveliest feelings of gratitude, but, business requiring my immediate attention at home, and my engagements being such as to compell me to remain there but a short time, and having thus far on my journey refused to accept such civilities, I hope I will be indulged in declining ~~and do~~ I must, to accept your polite invitation. The course persued by me in respect to the subject of public interest to which you first allude was taken by me after the most mature deliberation, and persevered in with the anxious and confident hope of preserving the harmony of our common and happy country. The ~~principles~~ doctrines avowed in the veto Messages to which you refer were, as I hope all my public acts have been based on what I deemed to be the ~~doctrines~~ true principles of the constitution, and consequent prosperity safety and happiness of the Union, and it is highly gratifying to me to learn that so respectable a portion of my fellow citizens concur with me in opinion. Accept for yourselves, individually, and please present to those whom you represent ~~my~~ the assurance of my high regard and the deep interest I take in your and their ~~prosperity~~ welfare.

Draft in George Breathitt's hand with corrections by AJ, DLC (41). *Knoxville Register*, August 15, 1832.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Campbells Station
Agust 10th. 1832.

Dr Son,

I am thus far on my Journey home, where I hope to reach on the night of the 16th. instant. Mr Breathitt accompanies me, who unites with me in affectionate regard to you, your Dr. Sarah, Miss Emma, and all inquiring friends.

My horses altho jaded, are in good travelling condition, and if no accident occurs will take us home *well*, our health is good, & improving. In haste, believe me yr affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (41).

From Alexander Macomb

[In mid-July Black Hawk's band left the area of Lake Koshkonong, heading north and west in an effort to reach the Mississippi and recross into present Iowa. On July 21, a pursuing force under U.S. colonel Henry Dodge (1782–1867) and Illinois militia brigadier general James Dougherty Henry (1797–1834) caught up with Black Hawk on the Wisconsin River near present Sauk City and engaged him at Wisconsin Heights. Atkinson forwarded Dodge's and Henry's accounts of the battle to Macomb on July 25 (Black Hawk War, 2:874).]

Head Quarters of the Army
Washington August 11th. 1832.

Sir:

I am happy to have it in my power to inform you that news of a more cheering character has this day been received from General Atkinson, than that last communicated to you. It appears that Black Hawk was enabled by the nature of the Country, on the Head Waters of Rock river to elude the pursuit of the troops under General Atkinson, but being eventually likely to be surrounded by the several corps under Henry and Dodge, and probably learning that General Scott had reached Chicago with additional forces Black Hawk determined to quit a position in which he could neither fight to advantage, nor longer subsist his men; so he marched from the waters of Rock River some time about the 19th. or 20th. of July, towards the Wisconsin River with an intention of crossing it at a point opposite to the Blue Mound, or about 40 miles from Fort Winnebago. Dodge after having traversed the Country between the position of General Atkinson at the mouth of the White River near Lake Goshconong, and Fort Winnebago, sent back his adjutant to inform General Atkinson of his movements, when the Adjutant discovered the fresh trail of the Indians leading to the West.¹ The Adjutant immediately returned and informed Dodge of what he had discovered, on which Dodge immediately took up the trail, and joining with Henry, pursued it until they came up with the whole of the party under Black Hawk, who made a stand, and then attacked with his mounted men, but was repulsed and in turn charged by Dodge: the Indians were driven from a high position they had taken into a bottom where they were pursued, and severely handled and beaten: the night coming on and the men greatly exhausted by the march of about 40 miles, they were drawn off from further pursuit. The next morning the troops marched to the River, and found that the Indians had crossed by means of canoes, which they had made by stripping bark from the trees: there being no means of getting at them, and the provisions of our men being exhausted, they returned to the Blue Mounds to procure them. It is stated that 40 Indians were killed, and a much greater number wounded.

As soon as Atkinson heard of the retreat of the Indians from the swamps, he left his position on the Rock River, and marched to the Blue Mounds, where he was on the morning of the 25th., and was that morning to set out with his men and those under Henry and Dodge in pursuit of the Indians across the River. The Indians are represented to be very much broken down and crippled so that there is every reasonable hope entertained, that they will eventually be completely subdued. It is possible that they may attempt in their present condition to descend the Ouisconsin in the bark canoes which they may construct, but it is more than probable that they will be interrupted by the troops stationed at the Prairie-du-Chien, as the Commanding Officer of that Post, has placed a guard on the Ouisconsin, about 3 or 4 miles above its mouth, with the addition of a boat armed with a 12 pounder and some 20 men: besides this there is a Steam-boat with a cannon mounted in her bow on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Ouisconsin, to intercept the Indians should they come down that river, or attempt to cross the Mississippi. General Street, the Indian Agent at the Prairie, writes, that on the 22nd of July, a Canadian reported that he saw some newly made boats at the Prairie, nine in number, corresponding with the description of the canoes which the Indians must have constructed to cross the Ouisconsin near its mouth, but General Street did not credit the Canadiain.² There is however every probability that the report is true, if so, the Indians must have been attacked in their descent of the Ouisconsin. General Scott will be rather late in the field. He had not left Chicago at the last advices from that place, July 22nd. but had resolved to wait no longer for the recovery of his Troops, and to proceed forthwith to the troops in pursuit of the Indians. He had made a call on Michigan for 400 mounted Volunteers, but afterwards countermanded the call.³ He has certainly troops enough with him, to subdue all the Indians in Michigan. Besides the mounted Rangers that may be expected to join him forthwith, there are by last returns, with Atkinson 3.796 officers and men, and General Scott has about 600 effective, regular soldiers, that are assembled at Chicago, and independent of the sick or convalescent, as you will perceive by the return herewith transmitted. There is every probability that the Campaign is finished by this time, and that the order of the War Dept, so far as it relates to punishing Black Hawk and his party, and that vengeance has been inflicted on the murderers of the Menominies, to the satisfaction of that tribe, and according to the treaty made with the Menominies at the treaty of Prairie du Chien.⁴ Although the war has been very expensive, the result, as it regards the effect produced on the Indians, will doubtless be satisfactory and lasting. I have written this despatch in great haste, as the mail closes in a short time. I beg leave to add the assurance of my respect and high consideration. Your Obt Servt.

Alex: Macomb, Maj. Gen. Commdg. the Army

LC, DNA-RG 108 (M857-1; 20-1281). LC, DNA-RG 108 (20-1288).

1. Fort Winnebago was near present Portage, Wisconsin. The Blue Mounds are in western Dane County, south of the Wisconsin River. Dodge's adjutant was William W. Woodbridge.

2. Joseph Montfort Street (1782–1840) was the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi near the mouth of the Wisconsin.

3. Scott had called on Michigan governor George B. Porter for 400 militia on July 17 (DLC-41); but on July 24 he countermanded the order, saying they would not be needed (*Black Hawk War*, 2:870–71).

4. By a treaty signed at Prairie du Chien on August 9, 1825, the Sacs, Foxes, Menominees, and other Indians had agreed to keep the peace and authorized the U.S. to act to remove difficulties among them (*Indian Treaties*, 2:254). U.S. representatives reiterated their intent to punish violators of the peace at a treaty conference at Prairie du Chien in July 1830. On July 31, 1831, Sacs and Foxes attacked a Menominee encampment at Prairie du Chien, killing 25 or 26. A subsequent U.S. demand to deliver up the offenders was refused. On March 17, 1832, before Black Hawk crossed the Mississippi, Macomb had ordered Atkinson to take troops and either apprehend the murderers or take hostages in their stead, thus forestalling the Menominees from seeking revenge themselves (*Black Hawk War*, 2:114–21, 155–60, 219–21).

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 12. August 1832

My dear Sir,

The indisposition of Mr. Alaman for more than two weeks past, has suspended all action in the affair of T____s, and now the aspect of political affairs is so changed within a few days as to throw us all up in the wind. An express from San Luis Potosi has brought the News of Genl. Moctezuma having defeated the Government Army near that place killing Genl. Otero who commanded, and literally destroying the Army; there is no doubt of the truth of this information as I have myself a letter from a Friend and Correspondent who resides in San Luis confirming the News in its worst form.¹

Gen. Bustamente has recently obtained permission from Congress to put himself at the head of the Army, and will leave Mexico in a few days for that purpose: To provide for his absence a President *ad interim* has been elected, General Melchor Musquiz, and I venture to predict that if Genl. Bustamente leaves Mexico, he never returns to it as V. President.² The variable character of these people—their continual manifestations of a desire to change their rulers, and the unchastened ambition and restlessness of their military leaders, are of themselves sufficient to warrant the prediction, independent of the peculiar State of the Country; nay I would not be surprised, if Congress were influenced by this very prospect in granting so readily their assent to the Vice President's application to place himself at the head of the Army.

I have forwarded to the departmt. of State the Official documents, announcing the change made by Congress in the Executive office, and the proceedings thereupon.³

Gen. Musquiz it is understood will have a new Cabinet as soon as he is inducted into office, which is two days hence; of course the affair of T____s must rest untill the new men take office, and untill an opportunity is afforded me for ascertaining the character of the Cabinet, and from whence I may very probably infer the result. I am fortunate in being on the best terms with every Gentleman in Mexico of that class out of which the Secretary of State must be taken—if however he is selected from without the Capital, I shall have to study his character before my approaches are made, and that will necessarily require a little time. If Mr. Alaman could have continued in office three months longer we should have settled every thing—the War—the exhausted State of the Treasury—the cutting off their resources from commerce, and the great want of money afforded us the best grounds on which to justify whatever arrangement we might have entered into. He must be made useful still. His indisposition has not yet permitted him to leave his chamber, but he wrote me yesterday, that he meant to ride as far as my House in three or four days.

The utter bankruptcy of the Government may at this moment make a few Millions desirable; they shall be tempted as soon as I can know before whom the offer is to be laid; but my great fear is that the sum will be considered too small, and that while we are debating upon the price and terms better times may arrive, and relieve them from the present pressure, or that an Administration may be formed of men with opinions and feelings altogether hostile to such a proposition. All this you will say should make me zealous and prompt—neither wasting time, nor be wanting in exertion: Depend on me My dear Sir that you,—*even you*, have not this thing so much at heart as I have.—interest, as well as the laudable ambition of discharging efficiently the duties that devolve on me, alike impel and stimulate me; my best hopes are staked on the result. It is my wish to reside in that Country, and to do so, it must be ours; because I cannot consent to become a citizen of this Governmt. and there is no other alternative, so you may estimate very fairly the quantum of personal interest I take in the subject independent of that arising from the desire of success as a Diplomatist. Besides and addition you must know the anxiety which I feel to be useful not only to my Country, but to contribute to the reputation of the Administration of one who for more than 20 years I have esteemed as one of my dearest friends and by whom I have stood unwavering through good and through evil report, yielding him on all occasions the whole weight of my support, taxing to their fullest extent all my moral energies—of such an one, and after such a trial, I presume no doubts can be entertained. Wishing you success (which I do not doubt you will have) in the approaching canvas I remain My dear Sir with great respect and all truth your friend & most obedt Servt.

A. Butler

[Endorsed by Daniel Brent:] Recd 4th October at D of S.

ALS, DLC (41). Butler wrote again on August 30 (below).

1. On August 3 an insurgent army under José Esteban Moctezuma (d. 1837) routed government forces led by Pedro Otero (1786–1832) near San Luis Potosí. Butler's friend reported that "the carnage was terrible, and the Army of the Government is literally annihilated" (Butler to Livingston, August 12, 1832, DNA-RG 59, M97-6).

2. Acting president Bustamante had sought and been granted leave to lead the army in the field, and the Congress had elected Melchor Múzquiz (1790–1844) interim president in his absence. Múzquiz took office on August 14 and Bustamante left Mexico City on August 16.

3. Butler wrote Livingston with a full report on August 12 (DNA-RG 59, M97-6).

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Hermitage August 16th. 1832

Dr Andrew

I reached home last evening found all well and had the pleasure to receive your letters of the 31st. of July & 3rd. of August and whilst I sincerely regret the indisposition of Emily I am much gratified to learn from your last that she is recovering, and hope ere this that she is well and at the springs, where her and the children will enjoy health.

My lame horse I got on as far as the Caney Fork, Mr Allens, where I was obliged to leave him.¹ I was fortunate in my riding horse & found in him an excellent substitute for my lame horse in the carriage and brought me home well and without any other accident on my whole journey with the exception of the loss of my large Pocket book, which (if George put it into my trunk at the city which he says he did) must have been left out of the trunk at some point where I changed linnen and forgot to be replaced in it—it contains some notes for money, one on judge Overton & one on Houston for money advanced to him whilst at the city, the ballance are of a private & political nature of great use to me, and the historian that may come after me, but to no one else, with Doctor Hoggs note to Dr Brunaugh &c &c. I hope the servant has left it at some place where I exchanged my linnen and that I will find it again—it contains some valuable papers relating to my dear departed wife that I would regret to loose. I pray you look in the lower drawers of the Bureau, in which my bank book is kept—it may be George has not put it up—he says, he did, and saw it at Colo. Byars 13 miles east of Abingdon, and there he says he gave Adam a charge about it, not to take it out or disturb it.²

I have not seen your plantation will the first moment I have leisure; on enquiry I find your crop is good, your overseer of the first grade, all your family & connections well, and your sway back mare in foal by Crusader. I will give you a full description of all so soon as I can examine your farm & stock.

I have recd. Mr Livingstons & Mr McLanes letters, to both present me kindly, and my kind salutations to their ladies & families, please say

to both I shall in a day or two return an answer to each.³ I feel greatly indebted to Mr McLane for his expose in the case of Gwinn—it is a masterpiece—say to Blair there is no danger of being too severe, when a horse shews symptoms of flying the way, the persuaders as John Randolph would say, ought to be gently applied, & he is sure to keep the course. Mr Blair will understand my meaning.

Judge Overton & family being with me & the stage momentarily expected I must close. Andrew & Sarah with Hutchings Thomas & Mr Breathit unite with me in kind salutations to you Emily Mary and the sweet little ones, and believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (20-1298).

1. Baptist minister Jesse Allen (1777–1857) lived on the Caney Fork near Smithville, about fifty miles east of the Hermitage.

2. AJ had been involved in helping to collect a debt from Nashville physician and former congressman Samuel Hogg (1783–1842) to the estate of AJ's late friend and aide James Craine Bronaugh (1788–1822) (*Jackson Papers*, 8:41–42). William Byars (1776–1866) lived at Brook Hall at Glade Spring, Va.

3. McLane had written AJ on August 3 (above). AJ wrote Livingston on August 17 (below). Livingston's wife was Louise D'Avezac Moreau de Lassy Livingston (c1781–1860).

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

August 17th. 1832—

Dr Andrew

I wrote you on yesterday a hasty note advising you of my arrival home on the 15th. &c. in which I informed you of the loss of my pocketbook. I write you now to inform you that it is regained. George finding the trunk encumbered too much had taken, it and placed it, in the bottom of his bag & forgotten the change.

I have seen the most of the connection who are all in excellent health. Mrs. McLamore is up with her little ones, and spent the day with us. I have not been able to stir from the house for company—we had a fine rain last evening & night which was much wanted as the drought has destroyed all the pastures.

I am told that William Alexander has a stud horse here, under some agreement with Mr Steel. I wish you would enquire of William what agreement he made with Steel, about him & what is to be done with the horse—he is a very great inconvenience here & in the way *much* of my other stud colts.

If company leaves me, and it should cease raining I will visit yr farm to day. William Andrew and Stockly all say you have a good crop & an excellent manager but that he has been tampered with and asks higher wages.

· August 1832 ·

with my respects to Emily and Mary & the sweet little ones, to Earle & Major Lewis, and all the heads of Depts. & Bureaus I am yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (20-1316).

To Edward Livingston

Hermitage, 17 Augt. 1832.

My Dear Sir.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 2nd. Inst. We reached here on the 15th. Inst. and I am happy to inform you found the family in good health.

My health and strength I find very greatly improved and increased by the Journey. I have no objection to the appointment of Mr. Leonard as consul of the United States for St. Iago de Cuba.¹ I am pleased to learn that you have, notwithstanding the attending difficulties, succeeded in getting the clerks at work on the Diplomatic correspondence, without incurring any additional expense for rooms &c. With much respect, yr. friend

Andrew Jackson

LS, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs).

1. Santiago de Cuba consul Thomas Backus (c1786–1832) had died on July 25. John Leonard (1773–1836), a merchant and former consul at Barcelona, was issued a temporary commission on August 31 and confirmed by the Senate on January 14, 1833.

To John Coffee

Hermitage August 18th. 1832

My dear Genl

I reached home on the evening of the 15th. and on this morning had the pleasure to receive yours of the 13th. instant inclosing that of the 29th. ultimo.

I am happy to hear that you and your family *all now* enjoy good health, & my prayers are that you all may continue to enjoy that blessing. I am anxious to see you, I have but a short time to remain here, being obliged to be in Washington by the 10th. or 15th. at farthest of october, therefore will have to leave here by the 10th. or 15th. of September for the City—altho I do not believe that the nulifiers will have the madness & folly to attempt to carry their mad schemes into execution. Still you know, I must be vigilant, and not permit a surprise, and to do this, effectually, I

must be at my post, and scan with great care the signs of the times as they may arise

I am anxious to see you—must if possible, and if you cannot come in, I will endeavour to go out in the stage & return in it—do write me on the receipt of this and inform me whether you can, come in, & if you do, bring Mary with you.

I have only time now to say to you that I have read with attention your remarks with regard to the chikesaws & choctaws. The chikesaws must make the application to the choctaws themselves and you & Major Eaton, so soon as the chikesaws make the agreement, must go and enter into the arrangements as to the amount of consideration to be given and the boundery of the land to be transferred by the choctaws to the chikesaws, by the way of articles of agreement in the form of a treaty. Major Raynolds the agent was here, and I fully explained to him my views on this subject, and if Eli Colbert would go forthwith and make an arrangement with the choctaw chiefs, and agreement that they meet you at the place & time the annuity are paid to the chikisaws, it will save a great deal of trouble. I wish this arrangement made as I know the chikesaws cannot live where they now are surrounded on all sides by the whites.¹

give my love to Polly and all your family & believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Major Eaton reached Nashville this morning by the stage

[In margin:] note, I wish to set out on my return by the 10th proximo. I fear I cannot take Sarah with me as I intended. She is quite lusty. A. J.

[Endorsed by Coffee:] Answered 27th. Augt. 1832 From Genl. Jackson

ALS, James S. Leonardo (20-1324).

1. Benjamin Franklin Reynolds (1788–1843) was the Chickasaw agent. “Eli Colbert” was probably Levi Colbert. Coffee concluded a new cession treaty with the Chickasaws on October 20. AJ wrote him about it on November 6 (below).

To William Berkeley Lewis

Hermitage August 18th. 1832

My Dr Major.

I reached this place on the evening of the 15th. instant, and found my little family all well, Sarah quite lusty, so much so that I am fearfull I cannot take her on with me. My son has been very ill but has recovered, and is gaining his flesh again but seems a good deal debilitated, but I trust in a kind providence that his health will be entirely restored again.

Col C. J. Love & his lady is now with me, and gives me pleasing accounts of your crop, &c, and Mr Crutcher with many other of our

friends visited me on the 16th. to invite me to partake of a public dinner which I declined, but am to visit them at Nashville on Tuesday next, from whom I learned your crop was good.¹ We in this neighbourhood had been visited with a severe droughth, but on the night of the 16th. we had a fine rain, which has been continued until now with moderate showers, will gives us grass & improve our cotton.

I thank you for the Globe, and I request you to present my thanks to its author for the lucid & intelligent expose of Gwinns case, and of the constitutional powers of the Executive and the Senate. Men charged with official duty growing out of the delegated powers in the constitution who will aid in an infringement of that sacred instrument, ought to meet with the *castigation inflicted*, be them whom they may—truth is the guide to all good men & true, and the consti- is, & ought to be the guide to all good patriots; therefore, is the castigation just.

From the best sources I am of opinion Breathit is elected Governor of Ky. by from one to two thousand of a majority—this is a close contest.² The veto if it had appeared three weeks sooner, would have given Breathit a majority of ten thousand. But the treachery of friends and the excitement at first created by the veto, before the message was recd. and the corruption of the Bank, and its unconstitutional features exposed, has, had its effects, & there was not time for my friends to counteract it before the day of election, & it is said the funds of the Bank were abundantly used at the Precincts. The veto works well every where; it has put down the Bank instead of prostrating me. Virginia is *sure* to give her vote for Van Buren, the best friends of Mr Barber on my way thro' Virginia assured me thus, for they say, altho they admire Mr Barber & his republican principles, still knowing as they do, that he cannot be elected, *now*, they will note divide the ranks of the democracy, and thereby throw the election of vice P. into the Senate where Seargeant would be elected; in short that their republican Principles are opposed to taking from the people the choice of the vice President & President. You may assure Mr Blair that viginia will prove faithful to the Baltimore nomination & so will N. Carolina.³ It will give me pleasure to take your daughter back to the City should she come on—you may expect me at the city by the 10th. or 12th. of October—in the mean time, with my respects to Mr. Kendall & his lady, say to him I will expect him to give his attention to the harbour & interest bills.⁴ Present me to Mr. & Mrs. Blair, and say to him I shall expect to see a good reply to Joe Gales attack on the administration for removals. Joe may be challengd to name one officer removed that had not been swindling the Govt., or was not a defaulter. However you know all this, & Mr Kendall if his health & other concerns will permit can give Joe such a dressing as will quiet him, & *if possible*, put him from lying.⁵

I shall write you again the first leisure. My respects to Earle—Andrew & Emily & Mary—& to Mr. McLane his Lady & rebecca—Major Barry

& his good Lady⁶—all the heads of Depts. & of Bureaus, & believe me yr friend—to which Mr Breathitt adds his

Andrew Jackson

ALS and Copy, NN (20-1328).

1. Charles Jones Love (c1773–1837) was AJ's neighbor and friend. Thomas Crutcher (1760–1844) was state treasurer for western Tennessee and a former Nashville mayor. On August 16, Love, Crutcher, and twenty-two other prominent Nashvillians headed by Josiah Nichol had invited AJ to a public dinner (DLC-41). AJ declined but promised a social visit to Nashville on Tuesday, August 21 (DLC-41). A grand reception was held to welcome him.

2. In the August 6 Kentucky gubernatorial election, John Breathitt (1786–1834), brother of AJ's secretary George Breathitt, defeated former congressman Richard A. Buckner by a reported 40,681 votes to 39,421. Breathitt wrote AJ on August 23 (below).

3. The Twelfth Amendment to the constitution provides that the Senate shall choose the vice president from the two top candidates if no one wins a majority in the electoral college. Jackson carried Virginia and North Carolina in the fall election. Every Jackson elector there and elsewhere except Pennsylvania also voted for Van Buren.

4. Besides the river and harbor improvement bill about which he had written Kendall on July 23 (above), AJ had also pocket-vetoed a bill passed by Congress on July 14 to settle claims by states for interest on advances they had to made to the federal government during the War of 1812. AJ wrote Van Buren about it on August 30 (below). He delivered veto messages of both bills on December 6 (below).

5. Joseph Gales Jr. (1786–1860) co-edited the anti-administration Washington *National Intelligencer*. An August 2 editorial on the presidential election decried the wholesale removals from office under AJ's partisan "Reign of Proscription."

6. Rebecca Wells McLane (1813–1893) was Louis McLane's eldest daughter. William T. Barry's wife was Catherine Armistead Mason Barry (1793–1873).

From William Carroll

Nashville, August 18th. 1832.

My dear Sir:

Yesterday morning General Smith and my self had determined to pay our respects to you at the Hermitage, but the day was so unfavorable that we were obliged to decline it. To day appears as if we would still have more rain, and as we do not wish to get wet we again decline going up.¹

You have doubtless heard before this time that I have not accepted the appointment of Commissioner to treat with the Indians which you were so kind as to offer me. I deem it proper to state to you the reasons by which I was influenced. The office was created by an act of Congress—the persons to act as Commissioners were nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. They therefore became officers of the General government; and the Constitution of Tennessee forbids that any officer of that kind shall officiate as Governor. But even if I am wrong about the constitutional question, I could not consider it right to be absent from Tennessee the time which a correct performance of the duties of the commissioner would have required, for although the Executive duties in Tennessee are

few, yet they have to be performed almost daily, and great inconvenience would result to the people from long absence of the Governor. It seemed to me then clear that I could not with propriety accept the appointment without resigning the one which I now hold, and that I did not feel at liberty to do, more especially as I know that the appointment would be gladly accepted by many persons in all respects qualified for the discharge of its duties. You will see from the inclosed letter which I had the pleasure of receiving from Major Eaton the night before last, that he urges me to accept the appointment and alleges that I am mistaken as to the constitutional question. He gives for example Governor Mc.Minn who performed sundry duties as commissioner with the Indians. That is true but Mc.Minn held simply an appointment from the Secretary of War. The duties were temporary and on the borders of his own state.² Such duties I would most cheerfully perform myself; and when inquired of by Governor Cass at Washington if I would aid in making a treaty with the Cherokees, should they agree to hold one, I replied that it would give me pleasure to do so. On reconsidering the matter, I can see nothing to alter the determination I first made. You will permit me however to bring to your consideration for the appointment one of your old and sincere friends Doctor Felix Robertson. For the last few years his health has been very unsettled; and he believes that the duties of the appointment would be the means of restoring it. I am authorized by the Doctor to say, that if you believe he could serve the public usefully, the office would be received with feelings of deep gratitude, and I know that it would be pleasing to your numerous friends in this part of the State.

It would appear from the tenor of Major Eatons letter that the acting Secretary of War has authority to make the appointment and that no delay will take place beyond the receipt of my letter which is to be addressed to Major Lewis. If therefore you should conclude to think favorably of the claims of Doctor Robertson, will it not be proper for you to notify the Secretary of war to delay the appointment until he hears from you, or if you please I will name it in my letter to Major Lewis.

Last nights mail brought us very little additional news from Kentucky. The contest has been severe and is very doubtful, I think however that Breathitt is elected Governor and Morehead Lieut. governor. Let the result be as it may, there will be no cause for rejoicing with Mr. Clay and his friends.³

I shall have the pleasure of waiting on you the moment the weather permits. Most Respectfully your friend

Wm. Carroll

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-185). Carroll had declined his appointment as western Indian commissioner by letter to the War Department on July 27. The position was next offered to Eaton, then in Washington, who declined on August 7. On August 18, the day of this letter, AJ forwarded it to Washington with instructions to appoint Felix Robertson (1781-1865), a former Nashville mayor. Robertson declined to AJ, and on September 4 AJ wrote the War

Department directing the appointment of William E. Anderson of Nashville. Acting secretary John Robb wrote Anderson of his appointment on September 14. Anderson declined on September 25, and on October 22 AJ, now back in Washington, appointed John F. Schermerhorn (DNA-RG 75, M21-9).

1. "General Smith" was probably Tennessee secretary of state Samuel Granville Smith (1794–1835).

2. Tennessee's constitution stated that "No member of Congress or person holding any office under the United States or this State shall execute the office of Governor." While serving as Tennessee governor, Joseph McMinn (1758–1824) had acted in 1817–18 under War Department appointment as commissioner to negotiate a Cherokee treaty and oversee its execution.

3. National Republican candidate James Turner Morehead (1797–1854) defeated Jackson candidate Benjamin Taylor for lieutenant governor.

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Hermitage August 19th. 1832—

My Dr Andrew,

I have to day rode over your farm and examined your stock & spent the ballance of the day with Mrs. Donelson and the family & connections, who I found all enjoying exellent health—your crop of corn is a good one & your cotton equal to any in the neighbourhood—all our cotton crops have been injured by a severe droughth but a fine rain that fell on the day & night after my arrival here must benefit it greatly. I found your farm in exellent order and well superintended—your manager a good one, altho several of your negroes complain of great severity, which Mr William Donelson & Stockly says is not the case—one fellow they say he whiped severely for stealing you can say to Emily that I saw more spun cotton & wool yarn, than I ever saw in one family before & a sixty yard peace in the loom. Your overseer, from your fences, your stables and other arrangements must be a first rate manager—it is true your stock of horses (the hogs I did not see) are not in as good order as they ought, I speak of your colts, for the sway back & cotton mare and the constitution filly are in good order, the sway back & cotton mare both in foal to crusader.¹ The overseer is not to blame for the order of the colts, as he had no corn to feed them—they are however, in as good order as mine if not better altho I have plenty of corn. The bolivar colt and the stockholders are fine, and I have ordered them to be brought to my house put with my fillies and fed well. I trust mine & them *all* will soon be in good condition. My stud colt by Bolivar out of the sway back is one of the finest colts I ever saw, altho very poor—all the Bolivars are fine colts. My stockholder filly is fine, but in bad condition, my citizen stud colt, is a very fine animal and if his leg had not been hurt would have been from his form, size, and trials, a very first rate runner. I shall hereafter breed from him—his colt by the Oscar filly is a first rate colt, tho ~~much~~ very poor. Steel, in my stock, has done me great injury—he has only attended to his own & his own mules and

neglected mine, and Andrew has been in bad health and could not attend to them but I thank god has recovered, and I hope will regain good health.

I have not been over my plantation but as much as I have seen of it, the crop as good as my neighbours, altho the order & condition of the fences far inferior to yours.

I regret to learn from Mrs. Donelson, and William and Stockly, that you will not be able to keep the overseer without raising his wages—Ward has offered him four hundred dollars, and Doctor Shelby five, to superintend his steam mill²

I have to go to town tomorrow morning to meet the citizens and shake them by the hand. They offered me a public dinner which I declined, but agreed to meet them and shake my old neighbours & friends by the hand, so soon as I return I shall examine your farm and negroes again, enquire of the overseer his intention as to his leaving you, unless his wages is raised, know his terms, and advise you of it—if from his terms I think, after consulting with William Donelson, it is more than you ought to give, I will make him a proposition, first for you, & if he will not remain, I will then make him a proposition for myself, and endeavour to get Mr Hobbs for you, who my son has been in correspondence with. You shall hear from me so soon as leisure will permit me to make the necessary enquiries.³

We have just learned, that Mr Breathit is elected Governor of Ky. by a majority of one thousand votes and upwards. If the election had been two weeks latter that the veto message could have been generally read, it is said, it would have added ten thousand more to Breathits majority.

I am fearful, tho, not positively determined, that I will not be able to take Sarah on with me—she is quite lusty and in fine health

Make my compliments to Major Lewis and say to him that Major Eaton and his daughter has reached Nashville in good health. I shall see them tomorrow, & write him the first leisure—communicate to Mary McLamore that her mother & family & all the connection near, dined with me on yesterday, her father just heard from—all in good health

Andrew & Sarah with Emma & Mr Breathit with Thomas & Hutchings all Join me in the kindest salutations to you, Emily, & Mary McLamore and the sweet little ones—tell Jackson I will have his colts in good order before I leave here.⁴

Present me to Barry, McLane Tanny & Livingston & their families—to Blair and Kendall & their families & all enquiring friends. With my respects to Mrs. Watson say to her that her brother and his lady spent a day & night with us, and they & family are in good health.⁵ In haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (20-1338).

1. Constitution was a stud horse to whom AJ had put three mares in 1826.

2. John Shelby (1785–1859) was a Nashville physician.

3. Edward Hobbs became AJ's overseer in 1834.

4. AJ had made a present of a mare and filly to Donelson's son Andrew Jackson Donelson in 1830 (*Jackson Papers*, 8:514).

5. Washington resident Elizabeth Courts Love Watson (1777–1853) was the sister of Charles J. Love and a close friend of Rachel Jackson.

To Lewis Cass

Hermitage, August 20. 1832.

Dear Sir,

I have received your three letters of July 24th, 26th & the 4th. Inst, and thank you for them.

I deeply regretted to learn that Death, "like an untimely frost upon the sweetest flower of all the field," had deprived you of the society of one of your interesting and lovely daughters, and truly sympathize with you in your severe affliction.¹ We should, however, in such cases, derive consolation from the reflection that the hand of Providence, often *seems* to press heavily upon us, when it is, in fact, securing the lasting happiness of those most dear to us, and accomplishing our own good. I sincerely trust that such may be the design and purpose effected by this dispensation of God's providence.

I am pleased that you are giving some attention to the state of our military affairs on the frontier, and hope that the war will be brought to a speedy termination. The success of Dodge induces the expectation that this hope will be realized, and nothing will occur to disappoint us.

I had the pleasure to find the family well on my arrival here on the 15th. Inst. My health has very greatly improved since I left the City. Mr. Breathitt (who accompanied me) desires his respects to you. It is my present intention to set out for the City about the middle of next month. With much respect yr. friend

Andrew Jackson

LS in George Breathitt's hand, MiU-C (20-1364).

1. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, 4.5.28–29. Cass's daughter Elizabeth Selden Cass (c1811–1832) had died at Detroit on July 15.

To Felix Grundy

(Private)

Hermitage August 20th. 1832

My dear Sir,

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 13th. instant inclosing one from Mr Horn of Philadelphia, which I now return to you, and thank you for its perusal.¹ The veto, contrary to the hopes of Messhrs. Clay & Co, *works well*, and instead of the Bank putting me down as

was calcuted on, the veto will put it, & its influence down. The Kentucky elections has resulted well, *Breathitt is elected*, by a majority of about one thousand; If therefore, this be a test of Clays strength in Ky. there will be scarcely an effort for him in that State for President, as there will be no ticket for him, exclusively, in any other State—he will decline, & resign his seat in the Senate, and we will have peace in the land, for a short season

Virginia will sustain the nomination made at the Baltimore convention—they friends of Mr Barbour, on my way hither told me they would not vote for him—that it was useless, and might endanger the election of vice President by the people—from what I could gather Barbour I fear has injured his popularity much in Virginia by not coming out at once, and saying to his fellow citizens that his name should not be used to divide the republican ranks.

I regret to learn that you have been indisposed. The journey was too long to be continued in the stage. Mr McGavock is right in keeping you until you regain your health—please present me kindly to Mr McGavock & his amiable family, & to Mrs. Grundy if with you—say to Mr McGavock his brother James & family were all in good health as I passed there, I took breakfast with him²

Mr Bass, Doctor Hogg & others, dined with me yesterday from whom I learned that you would visit Mr Mason soon when I hope you will give me a call I wish to see you.³ With great respect yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, T (20-1368).

1. Henry Horn (1786–1862) was a Jackson congressman from Philadelphia.

2. Grundy was at the Franklin home of Randal McGavock (1768–1843), a former Nashville mayor. McGavock's wife, Sarah Dougherty Rodgers McGavock (1786–1854), was the sister of Grundy's wife, Ann Phillips Rodgers Grundy (1779–1847). James McGavock (1764–1838) lived in Wythe County, Va.

3. John Meredith Bass (1804–1878) was Grundy's son-in-law.

From Winfield Scott

[After the July 21 battle at Wisconsin Heights, Black Hawk and his remaining band fled westward toward the Mississippi, pursued by a combined American force under Atkinson. On August 1, Black Hawk's attempt to escape across the Mississippi near the mouth of the Bad Axe River was blocked by the armed steamboat Warrior, which opened fire after the Indians had shown a white flag. The next day, August 2, Atkinson's army caught up with Black Hawk and attacked. The battle became a massacre as many Indians, including women and children, were shot or drowned while trying to cross the river. In the days after-

wards, allied Indians pursued the scattered survivors on both sides of the Mississippi. Black Hawk himself eluded capture until August 27.]

Head Qrs. North Western Army,
Fort Armstrong, Augt. 21, 1832.

Major General Scott, a second time, takes the liberty of sending to the President of the United States, direct, a triplicate copy of despatches for the War Department.¹

General Scott does not presume to correspond directly with the President; but learning that the latter is on a visit to The Hermitage, & presuming that information from the Army would reach Nashville some days earlier, by the river, than *via* Detroit or Washington, & be acceptable, General S. has ventured on the liberty in question.

General Scott has the honour to present his most respectful compliments to the President, & to offer his best wishes for his health & happiness.

²P.S. The package which this note accompanies has been delayed three days longer than was expected waiting for the return of a steamboat down the river. One copy went off by Express, to Detroit the day of its date.

The delay of the boat here, for thirty minutes, enables Genl. Scott to cause a letter from Mr. Street, the Agent at Prairie du Chien, to be copied for the President.

The story of the battle between the Sioux & the flying remnant of Black Hawk's band is fully confirmed. The Prophet also is doubtless taken by the Winnebagos, North of the Wisconsin, & Black Hawk, himself, in all probability will be seized no matter in what direction he may have fled. His band is entirely captured or destroyed.

The Sioux, no doubt, exaggerate, greatly, the number of the *killed*. Only about ~~140~~ 150 of the enemy, including women & children, got across the Mississippi at, & about the time of the battle of the 2nd instant. The Sioux took 68 scalps, & 22 prisoners. The remainder of the ~~140~~ or 150 have arrived at the villages of Ke-o-Kuck, the Stabbing chief &c, below this place.³

Again apologizing to the President for this informal communication, & the extreme haste in which this postscript is written, Genl. Scott has the honour to assure him of his high consideration & respect.

Fort Armstrong
Augt. 24, 1832.

Col. Eustis, & the troops from Chicago have arrived & are encamped, out of abundant caution, on the Islands in the Rock river, 4 miles from Fort Armstrong. There has not been a new, or old case of cholera, among his troops, in 14 or 15 days.⁴

AD, DLC (41). Fort Armstrong was at Rock Island, Illinois.

1. Scott had sent directly to AJ a copy of an August 16 report to Lewis Cass on the pursuit and roundup of Black Hawk's survivors (DLC-41; *Black Hawk War*, 2:1011–13). He now enclosed another dispatch to Cass, composed from August 19 to 21, reporting further on the pursuit and on his investigation into Winnebago complicity with Black Hawk. It included an August 19–20 memorandum of the interrogation of seventeen Indian captives and also an address Scott had sent to the Winnebago chiefs on August 18, demanding that they meet him at Fort Armstrong and surrender their own hostile members and refugees from Black Hawk's band (DLC-41; *Black Hawk War*, 2:1022, 1024–37).

2. The letter from this point on was apparently written on August 24.

3. Joseph M. Street had written Scott on August 22, reporting the return of about 100 Sioux who had been sent in pursuit of survivors from Black Hawk's band west of the Mississippi. They claimed to have killed about 200; but Street doubted that number, as they had brought in only 68 scalps and 22 prisoners. He told them that "their Great Father would be pleased at their good conduct" (DLC-41; *Black Hawk War*, 2:1041–43). Street also reported the capture of the Sac chief Wabokieshiek, or the Prophet (c1794–c1840). Pashipaho, or Stabbing Chief, the principal chief of the Sacs, and Keokuk (d. 1848), the principal war chief, had remained loyal to the U.S. in the Black Hawk War.

4. Regulars under Army colonel Abraham Eustis (1786–1843) had begun arriving on August 20.

From John Breathitt

Russellville Augt. 23. 1832

Dr Sir,

I was much gratified to hear of your safe arrival at the Hermitage in good health, I hope it will long continue, as you may readily imagine, we have had a desperate struggle in Kentucky. My majority is from fourteen to sixteen hundred according to the best information I can receive, The Bank question was laid up for me as for defeat I saw the use intended to be made of it, and hence early in the campaign suggested modifications, which my opponents but seldom met, The people when I read a list of foreign stockholders were astonished! few were aware of the fact that so much of the stock was held by Foreigners, and but few of those who spoke against me (for they met me almost at every point) would pretend to justify it before the public, my friends write me since the election, that the Veto produced a panic in some counties, and had an adverse influence upon my election, which I have no doubt is the fact, wherever I had an opportunity of addressing the people after the Veto, I do not believe it injured to any extent but I could not reach Fayette Bourbon &c where it had some effect as my correspondents think. The panic however has passed off, and I do not believe that it will injure you in Nov.¹ I have received more than fifty letters since the election, and our friends are *very sanguine* and in high spirits. They say we have sustained ourselves in the battle of the "23rd." and that we will do so again in that of the "8th. January"—and of which I have no doubt² no man has ever yet been able in any state election to obtain as high a vote as when you are, your-

self in the field, and *I am quite confident* that the vote in Nov. will shew that this state will not be an exception to that rule. Our friends are getting up a large Convention at Harrodsburgh (on the 10th. Sepr.) preparatory to the Electoral election, it will be very usefull by imparting energy to the party, I have said to you that I do not fear the result, whatever can be done in honourable canvass, will be.³ Your friends in Kentucky are very anxious to see you and I hope you will gratify them to some extent by passing through the state to Washington, it is a better road than the one you came I hope you will take this place in your route, and altho I shall not be at home I shall expect you to come to my house, my family will be there, and glad to see you, as will be your friends in the place, I will meet you at Harrodsburg & go on to Lexington, I hope you will not disappoint our wishes & expectations in this matter. My Brother George left us to day for Hopkinsville, and will return to Nashville on tuesday or Wednesday as the stage may suit, I find that he is very much of a politician, very respectfully your friend

John Breathitt

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Breathitt had lost Bourbon County by 1,104 votes to 534, and Fayette by 1,426 to 681.

2. On December 23, 1814, AJ had launched a surprise attack on newly landed British troops below New Orleans and halted their advance. His victory at New Orleans followed on January 8, 1815.

3. A state Jackson convention was held at Harrodsburg from September 10 to 12.

To John Donelson Coffee

August 25th. 1832

Mr. John Coffee Jnr. will please to see Mr E. Foster to whom I handed my watch to be placed in the hands of the best artist for repair, know in whose hand it was placed, apply for her, and if done receive her, with the bill for repairs, hand the bill to Mr. Josiah Nichol, who will pay it and send me the watch by the first safe opportunity and oblige y'r. affectionate unkle

Andrew Jackson

ANS, TMM (20-1379). Coffee (1815–1837) was the son of AJ's friend John Coffee. Foster was probably Ephraim H. Foster.

Martin Van Buren to Andrew Jackson Donelson

New Lebanon Springs
August 26th 1832

My dear Major

Your letter enclosing Genl. Gratiots report has reached me at this place. Although calculated to be useful, it is not precisely the thing that is wanted. I wish therefore that you would write him again, (if this reaches you from home) asking his earliest attention to a close examination of the appropriations in the bill, with a view to a more successful accomplishment of the Presidents wishes. They are as I understand them, of the following nature. In his annual message of Decr 1830 returning the Light House and Harbour Bill &c. he thus expresses himself. "The practice of defraying out of the Treasury of the U. States the expenses incurred by the establishment & support of the Light Houses public piers &c. within the Bays, Inlets, Harbors & Ports of the U. States to render the Navigation thereof safe & easy is coneval with the adoption of the constitution, & has been continued without interruption or dispute. As our *foreign commerce* increased and was extended into the interior of the Country by the establishment of Ports of Entry & Delivery upon our *Navigable* rivers, the sphere of those expenditures received a corresponding enlargement. Light Houses beacons buoys public piers, and *the removal of sand bars, sawyers, and other partial or temporary impediments* in the *Navigable rivers* and *harbors* which were embraced in the *revenue districts* from time to time established by law were authorized upon the same principle, and the expenses defrayed in the same manner." &c with remarks shewing the equity of all expenses of that character, adding facilities to our foreings commerce, and consequently cheapening imports, being defrayed out of the public treasury, as long as our taxes were laid in the form of imports—to be always paid by the consumer—and that from bills making direct appropriations for such objects he should not withhold his assent &c¹

This rule, which the President laid down for the government of his future conduct, was not as definite & free from the power of abuse, as could have been desired; but it was thought to be as much so, as any which could under the circumstance be derived, & no one has yet been able to suggest a better. The uniform disbursements for the Harbors on the atlantic coast could not be arrested, & if continued similar disbursements for the removal of obstructions in the large Navigable rivers of the West, & for the harbors on them, and on the lake shores, so far as they were situate between the different ports established by law to give facilities to our foreign commerce, could not be denied with justice or safety. To bring a case within the rule it must be an appropriation either

1st. For the improvements of a harbor on the sea board or for

2d. The removal of *partial & temporary* obstruction in a river already *Navigable* ~~that is not which vessels engaged in our foreign trade being~~

between a port of entry, or delivery, established on said river, and an other such port, on the ocean, or for

3d. The improvement of the harbors on such rivers; & within such places; or on the great lakes, which are themselves directly traversed by vessels engaged in our foreign commerce.

The President retained the bill of the last session because it contained several appropriations which could not be considered as embraced in the rule, & the object of his application to Genl Gratiot, as I understood it, was, that he would avail himself of the information ~~of~~ in his office, & acquire such further information as might be necessary, to enable him to select from them all, such cases as were most clearly excluded from the rule, to be mentioned in the Presidents next message. Instead of that he has treated the question of approval or rejection as an open one, & given his view of the utility of the several improvements & that, although doubtless with perfect fairness, yet evidently with those feelings in favor of all improvements, which are inseperable from his profession & pursuits I think it very important that the President should be extremely well grounded in the specifications which he makes, & hope therefore that you will be able to make the Genl. sensible of the propriety of looking at the matter in the right spirit. It is contended that in as much as the *Revenue Districts established by law* embrace the whole U.S., that therefore all our waters are included, whether the places to be improved are on the line of communication between one port & an other or not. Now this was not, as I understood it, the intention of the President, & he will doubtless in his next message make that intention more clear by placing proper & necessary restrictions upon the generality of the terms heretofore used. The term Navigable waters is well understood. The navigation of most of them can be improved by removing temporary or partial obstructions, and improvements of that character are very different from those which have for their object, to make, for the first time, navigable, streams which were not so before, & were not known as Navigable waters—and which *latter* improvements would be of the same class with canals, & the connexions of streams by these means, & thus, through their joint agency, establishing a new rout of communication. Again by the improvements in the “navigable rivers & harbors ~~established~~ which were embraced in the revenue districts established by law” must be understood, such improvements as are between a port of entry or delivery, & the ocean, or outlet to our foreign commerce; and not to include such as are either ~~in~~ of a navigable river above the such ports, or of streams which empty themselves into the said Navigable water, but which are themselves not navigable, and have therefore had no ports of entry or delivery established upon them; notwithstanding that such waters are in a more enlarged sense, *within such Revenue districts &c.* To illustrate this idea—The Hudson River is a Navigable river—the highest port of Entry or Delivery upon it, is, say, Albany, *above* Albany are the Cities of Troy, Lansingburgh the Town of Waterford &c. Above

Albany, the Mowhawk a very considerable River, and in places Navigable, empties into the Hudson, but, upon the Mowhawk there have been no ports of Entry or Delivery established—*below* Albany the Kinderhook & other considerable streams *not* navigable mingle their waters with those of the Hudson, & in one or two cases bring in small boats many valuable articles of commerce. Now the Hudson *below* Albany would according to my view of it be plainly included. The harbors, if (as is not the case) there were any (~~what there are not~~), at the Mouths of the intersecting streams, ~~also~~ *below* Albany, As well as the harbors at the other Towns on that part of the rivers, would also be included; but neither the river above Albany, nor the Mohawk, ~~or other~~ nor the harbor at Troy, or at the Mouth of the Mohawk, would be included. & if Congress intend to embrace those waters in their line of improvement, they can do so, by establishing ports of Entry or delivery higher up, & if they abuse this power, by doing it under a pretense that their establishment is necessary, ~~for the~~ or will give facilities to our foreign commerce—but with the real design of making them a cloak for improvements which would otherwise be excluded by a just & salutary rule, which if acted upon in good faith would subserve the public interests & do equal justice to all parts of the country—why, the people must take them in hand for their misconduct. The President cannot do every thing & cure every evil with which he finds the body politic beset. I hope you will be able to ~~impress~~ gather sufficient from this hasty scrawl, in addition to your own observations to put Genl. Gratiot on the right track. It has been prepared at a watering place in the midst of the noise & dissipation of such ~~places~~ resorts & is I fear too confused to be very useful.

I propose to leave here in a day or two for the Western part of our State. The Cholera has continued to be so severe at Albany, that I have not yet been able to visit it, & I must now give up that pleasure for some time to come. The allied powers, viz Clayism & Antimasonry promise themselves success from the late unprincipled combination which they have formed but they will certainly be disappointed² Our people are yet too honest to countenance such profligacy. The Veto is popular beyond my most sanguine expectations. I have not heard of a single case where it has driven a friend from us (unless Webb be an exception) and for the first time, since I have taken part in politics, have I found a prominent measure of an opposing candidate extensively applauded by his adversaries. Within my own personal knowledge there are in this state very many of his most decided opponents, who concur with the Message in all respects. Part of this is doubtless owing to the rival interests of State Banks, but in no small degree also, is it the dictate of a sincere & disinterested conviction. I shall be greatly disappointed if its effect is not very considerable with the great body of the people at the election. The change of the Courier & Enquirer gives a salutary stimulus to our people, & serves also to furnish the people practical and cotemporaneous evidence of the justice of the apprehensions expressed by the Veto message, of the influence of the Bank upon our

elections. I hope Mrs. Donelson has entirely recovered & that you are all well *located* (as we americans say) out of harms way. With us the Cholera is deranging every thing & our hopes of a speedy relief are not the most sanguine. Accept my best wishes for your health & happiness & believe me to be very truly yours

M. Van Buren

P.S. John has gone to Vermont to bring me a pair of horses for my journey but I can safely interpret his wishes in expressing his desire to be kindly remembered to Mrs Donelson & yourself. Please to do the same for me to My little daughter & master Jackson. A letter from you addressed to G. B. Throop Esqr. Auburn Cayuga County with a request to have it delivered or forwarded to me will come safe.³

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (20-1392). Donelson had sent to Van Buren Army chief engineer Charles Gratiot's report on the projects in the pocket-vetoed river and harbor improvements bill, about which AJ had written Kendall on July 23 (above). Van Buren enclosed a copy of this letter to AJ on August 29 (below).

1. Van Buren quoted and paraphrased a passage in AJ's December 6, 1830, annual message, explaining his reasons for pocket-vetoing at the end of the previous session in May a bill "making appropriations for building light-houses and light-boats, erecting beacons and monuments, and placing buoys on proper sites, and for improving harbors and directing surveys" (Richardson, 2:508-9).

2. A New York National Republican convention met at Utica on July 26 and endorsed the gubernatorial candidate, Francis Granger, and the slate of presidential electors previously put forth by a state Anti-Masonic convention in June.

3. George Bliss Throop (1793-1854) was governor Enos Throop's brother.

To Eliza Yorke Farquhar

Hermitage, Tennessee
August 28th. 1832—

Dr Madam,

I have just received your letter of the 14th. instant, and hasten to answer it with that frankness the delicacy of the subject requires, and the solicitude of a fond mother for the happiness of a beloved daughter, deserves.

Thomas J. Donelson is a nephew of mine and twinn brother to my adopted son, who married your niece Miss Sarah York. Thomas was reared by an amiable & pious mother having lost his father when very young¹—his moral character as well as all his family is without a stain—his fortune, tho small, is competant with industry & economy to live independantly—he is clear of debt, of amiable disposition, free from all kind of dissapation or intemperate habits, from all which, I have no doubt he is well calculated to make your daughter happy—he possesses a good tract of land and seven negroes with stock on his farm, adjoining me.

· August 1832 ·

I have thus my Dr Madam given you a concise, but correct, view of Mr Thomas J. Donelson and his circumstances, upon which you may rely, and from which you can form a just estimate of the prospects of the happiness of your daughter in a union with him for life.

your daughter is now in excellent health, as is my son & daughter and all unite with me in a tender to you of their affectionate regard, and believe me with great respect your most obdt. servant

Andrew Jackson

ALS, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (mAJs). Farquhar (1767–1848), a Philadelphia widow, was Emma Yorke Farquhar's mother and the sister of Sarah Yorke Jackson's late father. Emma married Thomas Jefferson Donelson at the Hermitage on September 17.

1. Thomas's parents were Rachel Jackson's brother Severn Donelson (1773–1818), who died when Thomas was nine, and Elizabeth Rucker Donelson (1782–1828).

To Amos Kendall

August 28th. 1832—

With my sincere respects, I inclose the within to you that you may read & inclose it to Major Lewis as I expect he will be in the country. I am constantly surrounded with company & business, I have no rest, will return soon to the city. I am now surrounded. I am yr friend

Andrew Jackson

My respects to your Lady & prayers for your preservation from the colera—

ANS, DLC (78). The enclosed letter to Lewis follows below.

To William Berkeley Lewis

Hermitage August 28th. 1832

My Dr Major

I have recd. your letters of the 15th. & 17th. instant, and after a careful perusal, cannot help believing that you are a little hipped, and under that atmisphere, greatly alarmed. I assure you I have no information that would induce me to be alarmed; I have no fears of the republic. I am told by Mr Brown, a Georgian, and who is well acquainted with judge Clayton, that he is misrepresented, and altho opposed to the Tariff, more so against Calhoun & nullification. I have no fears of Lumpkin his letters to me give evidence of his firmness and opposition to nullification, or

any act with the Indians to involve the Executive¹ Alabama is as firm as a Rock for Van Buren and against nullification. I have just recd. a letter from Genl Coffee and another from the Revd. A. J. Crawford, Creek nation near Georgia, which gives the most flattering account of V. B. popularity and of Moors prostration.² I pray you fear not, and say to Blair to treat the Idea of nulification as too absurd to be attempted by the patriotic South ; What, So Carolina to do an act to destroy her own Liberty & prosperity, and the best hopes of the world, to become the vassal of a foreign goverment, or fall a victim to the barbarous hands of their own slaves. Every art will be taken to magnify & alarm. I am prepared to act with promptness & energy—and should the laws be resisted, to enforce them with energy & promptness—our Government is sufficiently strong for self preservation, and under my administration, the laws will be duly executed and the union preserved—regardless of the reckless course of the great nullifier of the South and all his satellites or any result that can flow from it. The former Calhounites in Tennessee are open mouthed against his course, and ready to seize their muskets, to execute the laws. I never heard a more united voice against any thing than against nulification. I could raise in Tennessee 10,000 Volunteers to put down opposition to the laws and nullification—*fear not, the union shall be preserved*

I regret the absence of so many of the heads of Departments and I will hasten back as early as I can. I shall leave here by the 10th. proximo & reach the City as early as I can by easy stages. Arouse my friends and the friends of the Union, despair not—the nullifiers will exaggerate to alarm, & increase their own strength, the best way to thwart them is by laughing at their folly, weakness, and wickedness, shewing no alarm but a readiness allways to execute the laws. We have gained a triumph in Ky. Breckinridge is elected by a majority of upwards of 1700—*this is true*, notwithstanding all the fears of the timid. I saw Mary & Eaton, both well; they will be with me on thursday—give my respects to all enquiring friends. I inclose this to Mr Kendall, that he may read & enclose it to you—

in haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (mAJs). Boston *Commonwealth*, January 9, 1875 (20-1403).

1. Wilson Lumpkin had written AJ on July 12 (above). According to recent press accounts, Georgia congressman Augustin Smith Clayton (1783–1839) had espoused nullification at a dinner in his honor in South Carolina's Laurens District on July 25 and at an August 1 mass meeting at Athens, Ga. At Athens, Clayton offered resolutions branding the protective tariff "unjust, oppressive and unconstitutional" and calling for a state convention in November to act "with full power in behalf of the good people of Georgia to maintain, preserve, and defend the rights and privileges of the free citizens of this state" (*Macon Telegraph*, August 8, 1832).

2. Andrew Jackson Crawford (1796–1866) was a Methodist missionary and minister in Alabama. His grandmother and AJ's mother were sisters. Crawford was the brother of William White Crawford and the son of AJ's first cousin James Crawford Jr.

From Martin Van Buren

New Lebanon Springs
August 29th. 1832

My dear friend

I recd. at this place Genl. Gratiots report & the inclosed copy of a letter I have written to Major Donelson will best inform you of what I think upon the subject. I shall on my travels pass the whole subject in my mind, (having the different messages with me,) and in due season give you the result. I enclose you a sketch of my hasty letter to the Major, that you may correct, or add to the request it contains, if you think it requires it. I must again repeat to you that the Veto message has verily proved to be the most effective document, amongst the people, that was ever issued under like circumstances. You doubtless hear this from many, & will be apt to make large deductions on the score of the partiality of friends, & the zeal of partisans; but I assure you that no abatement need be made on those accounts, & I have no doubt of its producing greater effect on the election than our most sanguine friends hope for. The opposition prints dare not publish it; This has increased the desire of the people to see it, and our people keep them well supplied. The union between the different sections of the opposition, is, on the face of it quite imposing, but you may be assured that we shall give them a sound beating. As is always the case with the Democracy of this State, the bold front of the adversary has roused them to the highest pitch, & I can with truth say, that the election field never presented so pleasant an aspect to me as at this time. The friend who doubts of success, or is unwilling to do the needful to prevent it, I am yet to see. It is unnecessary to say to you, that the defection of the Courier and Enquirer will not do us the slightest injury. It comes as an opportune & practicable commentary upon the text of the Veto message, & cannot fail to be extensively useful. Our friend Govr Throop has with that disinterestedness which has hitherto distinguished his public life voluntarily with-drawn from the field, and our friends will without difficulty settle down upon a good candidate. The Cholera has hitherto prevented my going to Albany, & I leave here in three days for the West; going north of Albany & taking Saratoga in my way, where I shall stay but two or three days. It is quite uncertain when I return, as I have agreed to make Govr Throops house in Cayuga my head quarter, & from thence make excursions amongst our friends as extensive & as long as he pleases. I found my boys in excellent health. Master Smith, has, I am happy to inform you improved a great deal, & in that respect keeps pace with the flattering anticipations which you have indulged in respect to him.¹ I find that he has become a writer for the newspapers, & I inclose you one of his articles. There are others of more point & force, but too personal to be distributed by me, or to have been written by him. They all wish to be affectionately & gratefully remembered to you. Do that favour for me to

your son & daughter, to Mr Breatheat, & to such of my friends as you meet with not forgetting Judge Overton & believe me to be Very truly yours

M Van Buren

P. S. B.s Election in Kentucky is truly a glorious affair—you can form no idea of the effect it has upon the poor Clay men in this quarter—

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (20-1411). Van Buren's enclosure was a copy of his August 26 letter to AJ Donelson (above). AJ replied on September 16 (below).

1. Smith Thompson Van Buren (1817–1876) was Van Buren's youngest son.

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Hermitage August 30th. 1832

Dr Andrew,

I have had the pleasure to receive your several letters; the last without date after you had reached the springs. I sincerely regret your indisposition, but rejoice to hear that the chills & fever has left you, and that Emily and the sweet little ones are in good health and surrounded with such agreeable company. I hope you and them may enjoy yourselves, and steer clear of all disease during the present prevalence of the colera—cheerfulness & good spirits are the best preventatives of disease, with temperance, and good diet.

Doctor Butler & patsy, with Narsissa and Jane Hays are now with us, all in good health, and give us the pleasing intelligence that all our connections in the district are in the full enjoyment of that blessing, as is all our connections in this neighbourhood, who are all to dine with us to day. Andrew & Sarah are now in good health Sarahs excellent, but too far advanced in pregnancy to return with me to the city, for which place I will set on the 10th. of next month—all our connections here unite with me in kind salutations to you Emily, Earle, Mary McLamore & the children, with my prayers for all your good healths.

your farm I have been over again—it is well conducted, and your stock in good condition. I had directed three of your colts to be brought & put with mine, but William Donelson counteracted the orders, which was very fortunate, as mine have the distemper & thro sheer negligence Dunwoody has let two die with it, Steel pays no attention to them, one of which was my favorite colt by Bolivar out of the sway back mare. I had barely taken a glance at them before going to Nashville, and Andrew being with me, the colts were neglected, and they suffocated. What few now remains I hope, will, with care survive it, but my Bolivar out of the virginia mare is very bad with it—in short my stock of brood horses has been destroyed, & several of my work horses, all the mares but one of them dead—for the want

of care, my overseer has neglected them & has been attending to his own business more than mine, and has paid no attention to the stock, except Williams stud horse, whose season he, it appears, had purchased, and I am so surrounded with company and attending to the various communications from the city, that I have no time to look at them—but enough of this, I shall endeavour to change it, by the selection of another overseer.

I find from a letter recd. from Major Lewis, that our friends are a good deal alarmed from the movements in the South and particularly Georgia. I think there alarm is groundless; Barriens influence as far as it extends, will be used in favor of Calhoun & his plans, but it will not succeed, and I hasten to the city to be prepared to meet the movements of the nullifiers in So Carolina, should they make any hostile to the Union. I find here a strong & united voice against Calhoun & his reckless course, and I am insured from good sources in Alabama that his agents there can do nothing, that Van Buren will get the united vote of Alabama & Georgia I have no doubt; & I would not be astonished to see a recoil in So Carolina, that will destroy the whole nullifiers at one fell sweep; I do not despair of preserving the union. The influence of the Bank has not destroyed me, and I trust that a kind providence, will protect our happy Union, & preserve it from all the combinations of the Nullifiers & their wicked & ambitious views.

If life & health permits I shall reach the by the 10th. of October, when I hope to meet you & all the heads of Departments.

The Legislature meets on Monday next at Nashville; I shall visit Nashville, spend the next week there & in the neighbourhood, return home, & prepare for my return, journey, & set out the 10th.¹

I named to you that I had left one of my horses on my way hither. I have heard nothing from him since, and is I am apprehensive he is dead.

I shall write you again before I leave here. William & myself has had a conversation with your Overseer—he asks \$500. This is more, as William thinks, & I concur, than you can give. I expect to employ him, altho he has the character of being severe, William Donelson says, not more than necessity has occasioned, but I will, if I employ him, bend him to the exercise of humanity.² I am Dr Andrew affectionately yours,

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I wish you to see William Alexander and write Andrew what is to be done with his stud—he has been a great encumbrance here & William must pay for his keeping—he has drew all attention from my stock, both by Dunwody and Steel—and by strange horses being brought, has introduced on my land this fatal disorder that threatens destruction to all my colts—it is doubtfull whether they will not all die with it—being surrounded with company I must close.

Present me kindly to the heads of Departments & their families, to Blair Kendall & Lewis Smith and all enquiring friends³ A. J

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (20-1416).

1. The Tennessee legislature convened in special session on September 3 to redistrict the state's congressional seats under the 1830 census.

2. Donelson's overseer, soon to be employed by AJ, was Burnard W. Holtzclaw.

3. Smith was probably Thomas L. Smith, register of the Treasury.

To Martin Van Buren

Hermitage August 30th. 1832

My Dr Sir,

I have just recd. a letter from our mutual friend Major Lewis, full of apprehension and alarm about the proceedings of the nullifiers of the South, and the late, others, proceedings in Georgia; from all which I have no fears—letters from Genl Coffee, and a Reverend Clergyman in the South East section of Alabama, adjoining Georgia says “Moor & the nullifiers are prostrate, & that you will be triumphantly carried by an overwhelming majority. surely, if the nullifiers were making head against you in Georgia, this friend of mine, on the confines, would have said something about it. My own opinion is, that Mr. Crawford and the friends of the administration were overreached by the cunning of Berrien, who spun out the debate untill the majority had retired to their homes & thereby his resolutions were adopted—but they will avail nothing Mr. Brown an intelligent lawyer who knows Clayton well says, “there is no man more hostile to Calhoun than he is, and nothing could induce him to unite with him—however I have not as much confidence in the judge, as Mr Brown. I believe he is fond of his present situation, and would go with the current, & when it is found that Barbour will not be supported by Virginia, you will get the United vote of the South and West, notwithstanding the united exertions of Mr Calhoun Poindexter Barrien with all their corrupt associates.¹

Calhoun is prostrate in this State, I heard one of his best, former, friends say, for his nullification doctrines he ought to be hung for as a traitor to the liberties of his Country, & if they carried their threats into opporation, he could, & would march with 10,000 volunteers to crush and hang these traitors. These are and must be the feelings & sentiments of all honest men who love our happy country & who wish to hand down to their posterity the liberty we enjoy.

I shall set out for the city by the 10th. of next months, and expect to hear from you, on my arrival. My Dr Sir pass in review they laws I have under consideration I wish your views, that not only my course may be consistant, but that if any accident should befall me, that the Government may continue to be administered as we have commenced it, and the Government brought back & administered agreable to the true reading of the constitution

I am determined in my message to bring to the view of Congress, the folly of appropriating money for internal improvements untill it establishes by law a general system and distinguishing between what is national, and general, from what is local. I have taken a view of this in my veto message on the Maysville road bill, and in my general messages, and I wish to give a full, & final view of the whole, to the next congress. The law opening the settlement with the states and allowing compound interest on all claims allowed and that to be deducted from the payments which have been made, & leaving the ballances on interest, are so unjust, unless it is extended as well to individuals as to states, which must accumulate a debt, more than the pre-[sent] Tariff could meet in ten years, indeed it would & I have no doubt will if not checked, create a debt greater than our late national debt—let me have your views on this also, and as early as you can.² I would be glad to see you at the city on my return, but I suppose you cannot until the election is over. My son & Sarah desires to be presented to you kindly and so does Mr. Breathit. yours sincerely

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Andrew & Sarah join me in kind respects to your sons—you must bring Smith & Martin this winter to see me.³

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (20-1431). AJ addressed this letter to Van Buren at Albany in care of Edwin Croswell (1797–1871), editor of the *Albany Argus*.

1. The clergyman was Andrew Jackson Crawford, named in AJ's August 28 letter to William B. Lewis (above). William H. Crawford had chaired the August 1 political meeting at Athens, Ga. The original call for the meeting invited those "friends of Gen'l Jackson" who opposed the tariff but also opposed nullification. A counterposing notice summoned "all persons, whatever, who feel interested in the subject," to attend and "determine upon the proper mode and measure of redress." At the meeting, a motion to appoint a committee to draw up resolutions was adopted. Augustin Clayton then entered and offered instead his resolutions denouncing the tariff and calling for a state convention. A lengthy debate ensued, in which John M. Berrien, AJ's former attorney general, spoke in favor of Clayton's resolutions and nullification. Some press accounts said that up to two-thirds of the attendants had left before the final vote (*Macon Telegraph*, August 8, 1832; *Augusta Chronicle*, August 8, 1832).

2. "An act providing for the final settlement of the claims of States for interest on advances to the United States, made during the last war" had passed Congress on July 14. It would have allowed the states interest on advances to the government from the time the funds were furnished until they were finally fully repaid, with interim payments to be first applied to accruing interest rather than directed to reducing principal. The effect would be to inflate outstanding claims and potentially reopen others already settled. AJ wrote Van Buren about it again on September 16 and November 3 (below).

3. Martin Van Buren (1812–1855) was the third of Van Buren's four sons.

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 30. August 1832.

My dear Sir,

The new President Genl. Melchor Musquiz has been inducted into office, and I transmit by the present conveyance to the Department of State his inaugural address, as well as the Manifesto of General Bustamante on his leaving the Capital to take command of the Army. I have not had time to make a translation of these two documents, as they are but just communicated to me by the Department of Foreign Affairs, but the translating Clerk in Mr. Livingston's office will do this for you.¹

Three of the new cabinet have been appointed—Francis Fagoaga for the department of home & foreign affairs—Ignacio *Alas* for the Treasury—(a very ominous name you will say) and John Ignacio Godoy for the department of Grace & Justice—that of War and Marine not yet filled. I am much pleased that the Department of State has been conferred on Mr. Fagoaga he is a Gentleman of Education and talents with manners extremely courteous, and though connected with the high Aristocracy of the Country (being brother to the Ex Marquis of Apartado) has ever displayed great liberality in his political opinions and especially towards foreigners.² I have been on the most friendly terms with him since our first acquaintance, and resided for 12 months in a house adjoining his with the best opportunities of cultivating his acquaintance. When I called to pay my respects on his taking office he was alone, and entertained me for half an hour with Eulogiums on the U. States—Its government, institutions, Commerce, Manufactures enterprize, skill, wealth &c. &c.—and concluded thus—Sir you are the happiest people in the world, and the most prosperous—you are out of Debt, you are at peace, enterprize and industry is protected encouraged and rewarded—No Civil wars distract your Community and waste private property—your Laws are in full vigour, faithfully administered, and afford ample protection to personal rights—I should feel proud to be called a Citizen of the U. States, and I don't know but I yet become one. Unfortunately Mexico exhibits the contrast of all this, and ~~none~~ no one can say when we shall change for the better. All this was so unexpected, and so directly and highly complimentary that I was somewhat embarrassed how to reply—it was proper to say something however, and my reply was directed to the sky and the soil, and not to the Men or their institutions. I spoke of the happy position of Mexico, its delightful climate, embracing all the varieties of temperature requisite for the production of the most valuable commercial staples—its cochineal, coffee, sugar Tobacco, Rice, wheat, Indigo & Cotton—the certainty which such advantages presented of their attaining elevated rank in the great community of Nations, so soon as their party differences could be reconciled, tranquillity restored to the Country, and a proper direction given to their resources and industry—that I hoped this period would

soon arrive, and that hope I must add was greatly heightened since the interior as well as foreign concerns of the Nation had been placed under his control. He appeared gratified at my concluding observation and I clearly perceived that the compliment to himself told well. He rejoined that he had no taste for office, it was the first he had ever held, and that in accepting his present appointment he had made great sacrifices—but he had done so notwithstanding, in the hope that he might aid in producing the state of things to which I had referred—that so soon as he could perceive his efforts at conciliation would be unavailing he should retire—and in the event of being so happy as to succeed in tranquillising the Country he should still retire. And thus our first official interview after a little common place, concluded in very good humor.

I shall use the first proper occasion to enquire after my official note on the subject of the new boundary and endeavour to ascertain his opinions on that question—in this I may be aided by Mr. Alaman who is on the best terms with Mr. Fagoaga.³ By the bye Mr. Alaman goes out of office very much dissatisfied with Genl. Bustamente—he disapproves the appointment of General Musquiz, and believes that the Vice President intrigued to procure it—indeed he said to me in so many words that the V. President had been double dealing with the late Cabinet, and intimated pretty distinctly that he should not regret to see him put aside—an event which I look upon as very probable, and about which a pretty correct opinion may be formed as soon as he approaches within striking distance of Gen. Moctezuma.

Since the Revolt at Vera Cruz, there has been a great deal of marauding by Vessels on the Coast bearing the Mexican flag, without our being able to ascertain which party they belonged to; these marauders have plundered some of our Vessels, some of British and several of the French. I have this day heard that one of them called the Montezuma, robbed not long since one of our Vessels in the Gulph, a short time after which Lieutt. Tatnall in the Grampus spoke the plundered Vessel was informed of the outrage, immediately pursued, overtook and captured the Montezuma, put a prize crew on board and ordered her for the U. States.⁴ I sincerely hope this may be true, for rely on it My dear Sir that some such examples are wanting, and will have the very best effects. We have accounts of a fight in Texas between the Mexican Troops stationed there, and the citizens in which the former are said to have been completely defeated, although the Mexican Troops were double the number of those who fought them. I am not surprised at this—nor would any one be, who had seen the Troops of the Mexican Army and who knew the character of our Western Men. Since the Battle, Texas it is said has declared for Santa Anna—all this is I think in our favour.⁵

With the best wishes for your health and prosperity, I remain My dear Sir most faithfully yours

A. Butler

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Butler wrote Livingston this same day enclosing the inaugural address and manifesto, both issued August 14 (DNA-RG 59, M97-6). Robert Greenhow (1800–1854) was the State Department translator.

2. Francisco Fagoaga (1788–1851) was Melchor Múzquiz's new minister of interior and exterior relations. His older brother José Francisco Fagoaga (1783–1842) had been Marquis of Apartado until Mexico abolished titles of nobility in 1826. Ignacio Alas (c.1780–1843) was the new minister of finance, Juan Ignacio Godoy the minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs, and José Ignacio Iberri the minister of war and marine.

3. Butler had submitted a formal proposal for a review of the boundary to Alamán on July 15 (DNA-RG 59, M97-6; *HRDoc* 351, 25th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 444–45, Serial 332).

4. On August 16 the U.S. schooner *Grampus*, under Lieutenant Josiah Tattnall (1795–1871), captured the Mexican schooner *Montezuma* (or *Moctezuma*) off Tampico, on report that it had plundered the American schooner *William A. Turner* out of New York. Tattnall sent the captured ship and crew to New Orleans, where the men were released while captain Pedro Villareal and the officers were tried for piracy in U.S. district court. The officers were acquitted, but Villareal was found guilty and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

5. Clashes between American emigrant settlers and Mexican government authorities in the vicinity of Anahuac, Texas, had climaxed on June 26, when the colonists attacked and forced the surrender of a Mexican garrison at Velasco. At Turtle Bayou on June 13, the insurgents had adopted resolutions accusing the Bustamante regime of tyranny and abuse and embracing the cause of Santa Anna. On July 25, empresario Stephen F. Austin declared fidelity to Mexico and support for Santa Anna at his colony's capital at San Felipe. The defeat and surrender of a Mexican force at Nacogdoches on August 2 and 3 eliminated the last formal opposition to Santa Anna within Texas.

From Martin Van Buren

New Lebanon
August 31t. 1832

My dear Sir

I forgot to suggest the propriety, in my last of requesting Mr Hagner to make an official report of the probable effect which the bill of the last session would have, if it became a law, upon the funds of the U. S. I cannot but think that three millions is a moderate estimate; & it would be desirable to be in a situation to speak advisedly upon the subject.¹

I paid a visit to Elder Leland, the old apostle of democracy, who carried the large cheese to Mr Jefferson thirty one years ago. After taking what he called a Democratic dinner with him & his old lady, each of them rising of 78 ~~in the afternoon~~ his house was filled with some of the old 98 Republicans of Cheshire, who have hitherto withstood the arts of seduction, & constitute a bright exception to the degeneracy of Massachusetts politics.² Their town has never yet given more than eight Federal votes, & is now nearly unanimous. They were to have a meeting the next day, and the old Patriarch was anxious to have me stay to it, but I soon satisfied him of the impropriety of my doing so. Enclosed you will see their proceedings, which I beg you to read twice. His descriptions and observations are very graphick, and he is very generally regarded by those of his

Baptist brethren, to whom he is in any degree known, as a patriot of the first water. He is publishing a pamphlete entitled “The result of observation” in short sentences which cannot fail to exercise a powerful influence on the public mind. You had, he said, disappointed him greatly, but that was not the least of it, *you kept on disappointing him*. The old gentleman lives about 20 miles from here, & has done us the favor to preach twice for us at this place. You will be surprised, if any thing from that quarter could surprise you to find by this paper, that your personal figure has not escaped the notice of your enemies—verily, I thought that you would be safe on that score; & sure I am, that no lady, who had seen you, could have been the author of a calumny of that description.³ I am detained here for one or two days more by to perform a task or two imposed upon me by our friends, & then I start upon my western tour. If you should have occasion to write to me a letter addressed under cover to George B. Throop Esqre. Auburn Cayuga County Newyork would be sure to reach me. Remember me kindly to your family—to Govr Carrol & Judge Overton & thank my friend Mr Balch for the letter he has been so kind as to write me.⁴ Our young men are taking the field with a spirit & activity which has never been surpassed. The Bank question, and the unholy alliance between the Clayites & Anti Masons appears to have roused them to the highest pitch Congratulate Mr Breathite, for me, on his brothers brilliant, & most gratifying success & believe me to be ever faithfully your obliged friend

M. Van Buren

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (20-1438). AJ replied on September 16 (below).

1. Peter Hagner (1772–1850) was the third auditor of the Treasury. AJ wrote him on September 17, asking how much the withheld state claims bill would cost the Treasury (DNA-RG 217, 21-0025). Hagner replied on October 20 that it was impossible to calculate precisely upon present information, but that a rough estimate of additional back interest due to the states would be \$1,324,000 (DNA-RG 217, 21-0111). AJ forwarded the report to Van Buren on November 3 (below).

2. John Leland (1754–1841) was a Baptist preacher, celebrated as a champion of religious liberty and Jeffersonian Republicanism. His wife was Sarah Divine Leland (1753–1837). On January 1, 1802, Leland had presented to President Thomas Jefferson on behalf of the citizens of Cheshire, Mass., a “mammoth cheese” weighing over 1200 pounds. Jeffersonians hallowed 1798 as the year they had rallied against Federalist overreaching in the Alien and Sedition Acts.

3. A “Great Jackson Meeting” was held at Cheshire on August 23. Van Buren probably enclosed the report of the proceedings in the August 30 *Pittsfield Sun*. Leland’s opening address lauded AJ and called the Bank veto “one of the best state papers that was ever written.” Leland also likened AJ to a hunted deer, whose bold advance upon his pursuers Clay, Webster, and Calhoun so unnerved them that they overloaded their guns and misfired, while he went off “*with hind’s feet, walking on the high places of the earth*.” The *Sun* took Leland’s figure as a just rebuke of a local critic who had attacked AJ’s “*personal appearance*” by saying that he had “*crooked legs—small legs—and is deformed*.”

4. Alfred Balch (1785–1853) was a Nashville lawyer.

September



To Levi Woodbury

Hermitage, Sept. 1. 1832.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letters of the 18th. ultimo, which I have had the pleasure to receive.

I hope that the indisposition, under which I regretted to learn you had been labouring, has *entirely* passed away, and that you are now in the enjoyment of good health.

I am truly sorry to learn that the Dry Dock at Charlestown has suffered the injury of which you speak, and am not without apprehensions in respect to the firmness of the foundation.¹

I hope the injury will be repaired as soon as possible, as it will, if permitted to exist, delay the repairs of our large Ships. We should observe the old maxim and in times of peace prepare for *any emergency*. We must continue to hope for the best under all circumstances but still the worst *may* sometimes come.

I feel obliged to you for the concern you manifest in respect to my health, and have the pleasure to inform you that it is much improved. Mr. Breathitt desires his respects to you. With much respect yr. friend

²private & confidential

P.S. I wish you to keep a steady eye to the South. I have no fear of the Union, but we must be prepared to act promptly & with effect—resistance to the laws, cannot be permitted to go without punishment. The laws must be executed, and if secession, & the ports opened as a free port, *we must be prepared to act promptly*, and effectually, until Congress can be convened—*have all things ready*.

A. J.

We probably leave about the 15th.

LS in George Breathitt's hand, DLC-Woodbury Papers (20-1476).

1. On August 13, a cofferdam protecting construction of a dry dock at the navy yard at Charlestown, Mass., failed, flooding the dock with water and earth. The dry dock was completed in May 1833.

2. From here through his initials, the manuscript is in AJ's hand.

From Edward Livingston

(Private)

White Sulphur Springs¹
1st. Sepr. 1832

My Dear General

Since I wrote to you yesterday, I have recd advice from Mr. Brent that the Counterpart of our agreement with the commissioners of Maine has been received at the Department executed by them. So that if Congress and the Legislature of Maine confirm the agreement that matter will be settled, and we may have good grounds for a final settlement of that embarrassing question.²

Affairs in Portugal as well as in the Netherlands seem coming to a Crisis Don Pedro having taken Oporto almost without opposition Whether the two brothers will be left to settle the dispute without the interference of other powers is very questionable. The fleets of England and France on the one side and the Spanish armies on the other may by a very slight provocation be brought into action as principals & lose the unusual character they have assumed as armed Guardians of the lists in which this contest for a crown is to be decided by a passage of arms. The King of Holland seems bent on refusing his acquiescence in the decrees of the Conference, and by a late Despatch from Davezac he (Davezac) seems more confirmed than ever in his opinion that the Dispute will end in a war.³ Should it break out in that quarter it will be more general and sanguinary than any that has lately taken place, for the parties in Germany are in the highest state of irritation and the late alliance of the several governments for suppressing the liberty of the press and all liberal institutions will create a fearful reaction.

You have seen the proceedings in Georgia. They shew how prudent you were in requiring the resignation of an Attorney Genl who openly preaches resistance to the laws of the Union[.] With the Highest respect Your Friend & Hbl S.

Edw Livingston

ALS, DLC (41).

1. White Sulphur Springs was a popular resort in present West Virginia.

2. Brent had written Livingston on August 27 (Livingston Papers, NjP). On January 14, 1833, the Maine commissioners transmitted to Governor Samuel E. Smith the agreement for the U.S. to indemnify the state with western lands for any territory lost in a Northeast boundary settlement with Britain. On March 4 the Maine legislature resolved that any arrangement must require the approval of a majority of Maine voters (*Resolves of the Thirteenth Legislature of the State of Maine*, 1833, pp. 580–81). The Northeast boundary remained unresolved until the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842.

3. Auguste Genevieve Valentin Davezac (1780–1851) was the U.S. chargé d'affaires to the Netherlands and Livingston's brother-in-law. He reported from The Hague on June 15 and 22 on the arrival of protocols from the five London Conference powers, demanding

that the King accede promptly to the November 1831 Treaty of the XXIV Articles. Davezac said that King William was expected to again refuse, and that both Dutch and Belgians were preparing for war (DNA-RG 59, M42-14).

From Robert Love

Waynesville 1st of Sept 1832

My dear Sir,

Some two or three mails back I Recd. a communication from the Secretary of the United States informing of me that you had the goodness to appoint me Surveyor for running & marking the Boundary line between the United States, and the United Mexican States;¹

Having noticed in some paper latterly that himself, and family are at the white Sulphur Springs in Virginia; And seeing of it also stated that you intended a Visit at this time to the Hermitage. I Therefore Avail myself of writing to you on the Occasion. I am afraid my worthy friend that I will be unable to perform the arduous duties of a Surveyor, as it must be done on foot, yet my desire is great on the Subject, for the advantages of the Geographical knowledge that may be acquired on a tour of the kind. Everything which I may say to you in this Letter, I wish it to be for your own Eye & Ear. I do not wish that any thing which I may communicate to you now may be considered as an acceptance or not of the appointment above alluded to, untill after our next Presidential Election, as every exertion is now making by the opposition by Intrigue, and every artifice, that can be invented by man to defeat your Election. I am nominated for this district as for an Elector for yourself and V.B. Our state has got into a distracted Situation as to the Vice Presidency, and the opposition are doing everything in their power to keep up a Division on that head with a view, I presume of preventing an Election by the College of Electors.² This District is strongly in favour of V.B. Beleiveing that Mr Barbour altho a worthy man cannot be Elected, Yet by his takeing off Votes on the Republican side may be the mean of letting the Election go into the Senate and thereby let Sergeant be our next Vice President a measure much deprecated by the Majority of this District; Yet about Asheville & Morganton their party have somewhat encreased owing to the Influence and family connection of Colo A Erwin I presume who has been among them almost all the Summer,³ These are my reasons for not Saying Yea or nay about my acceptance of the appointment if it can be Evaded untill after the Presidential Election. And I also wish you to state to me whether or no I could be permitted to have an Assistant by the Government, and if for myself to have the Appointment, and also whether I can be authorised to appoint two or three men of my acquaintance to go along as Chainmen & Markers—and what you might suppose their daily pay would be. I am

Very desirous of performing of the tour for the reasons above set forth, If it should please the Almighty to enable me to do so, yet people of my age become much debilitated; and Scarcely able to know their own abilities or inabilities for one week at a time, I am now in the Seventy third year of my age. I shall to the Secretary of State letting of him know of my receiving of his communication.⁴

Be so good as to write to me as Early as you can with convenience and be so good as to let me know where I can write to you again, whether at the Hermitage or the City of Washington, My wife has been Very unwell for something like four or five weeks and for the last four or five day principally to her bed[.]⁵ I am with every degree of Friendship & due respect your Obt Servt &c

Ro Love

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Private, from Col. Robt. Love, to be preserved A. J

ALS, DLC (41). *North Carolina Historical Review* 14 (1937): 378–79. This letter reached AJ in Washington after his return. He wrote Livingston about it on November 17 (below).

1. Livingston had written Love on July 19, 1832, with news of his nomination and confirmation as surveyor of the Mexican boundary under the treaty ratified in April (DNA-RG 59, M40-23).

2. A convention of dissident Jacksonians met at Raleigh on June 18, denounced the tariff, and named a slate of electors for AJ as president with Philip P. Barbour instead of Van Buren as vice president. Love was the Jackson-Van Buren electoral candidate in his district.

3. Andrew Erwin (1773–1834), long a Tennessee personal and political foe of AJ, had once lived in North Carolina.

4. Love wrote Livingston to acknowledge his appointment on September 14 (DNA-RG 59, M179-74).

5. Love's wife was Mary Ann Dillard Love (1767–1842).

To Anthony Butler

Hermitage, Sepr. 4. 1832.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 21 of June, Instant, was received by me a few days ago at this place, where I have been since the 15th. of last month. It afforded me much pleasure to receive the intelligence of the restoration of your health, which, I hope, will continue good.

It is with regret that I learn of the distracted condition of that country, but trust that before this the Executive will have succeeded in ~~making his~~ obtaining ministers, and that Mr. Alaman has recovered, and been made the plenipotentiary on the part of Mexico in the contemplated negotiation, as you think him more disposed than any other to ~~favour~~ do us justice in the negotiation.¹

The commissioners have already been instructed to begin at the Gulph of Mexico, and run up the west branch of the Sabine, and continue up on the west side of its west fork, to the point designated in the Treaty.

I very much hope that you will *soon* bring this subject to a close.

Each of the Treaties has been ratified. The one pertaining to our commerce is entirely satisfactory and entitles you to the thanks of your Countrymen. My health is very good.

I shall set out for Washington in a few days, from whence I will write you more fully. With respect yr. friend

Andrew Jackson

LS in George Breathitt's hand, TxU (20-1481).

1. AJ crossed out "favour" and inserted "do us justice in." He also added the phrase "from whence I will write you more fully" at the end of the letter.

From Henry Lee

Near Paris—4th. September 1832

My dear Sir—

By the last packet I recd. a letter dated the 25th. of July last from Major Lewis, which contains an enquiry expressed in the following words—"The Genl. informs me that he wrote you, or got Donelson to do so, concerning a letter written by him to Mr. Monroe, relative to the seizure and occupation of Florida, provided it was the wish of the govt.—dated the 6th. Jan.y. 1818—to which, meaning his letter to you, he says no answer has been recd. The Genl. in his letter of the 6th. of Jan.y expresses a wish that Mr. Monroe should inform him whether his proposition met his approbation, and that if he did not think proper to answer the letter himself, to get some other person to do it, say, John Rhea. Mr. Monroe availed himself of this suggestion and did authorize Mr. Rhea to write to him and to say that his letter of the 6th. of Jan.y. 1818 had been recd. and his views with regard to Florida, approved. You know the Genl. was violently assailed the next winter in Congress, which occasioned him to visit Washington while the Seminole question was under discussion. Some little time before he left the city Mr. Rhea called on him and enquired if he had destroyed the confidential letter which he had written to him at the request of Mr. Monroe. The Genl. told him it had not been destroyed. Mr. Rhea then most earnestly desired that he would burn it on his return to Tennessee. He promised it should be done, and accordingly when he returned to the Hermitage he *did* burn it, and made the following note on the margin of his confidential letter book, opposite his letter to Mr. Monroe, to which Mr. Rhea's letter was an answer (to wit)

* "Mr. J. Rhea's letter in answer, is burnt this 12th. april 1819—A. J."¹

The General says he loaned you this confidential letter book, at the time you were investigating the Seminole question, which contains the above marginal note, and, when you saw it, you expressed surprise that he should have burnt so important a paper. These are the Genls. recollections in relation to this matter, and he wishes verely much, to know if you do not yourself remember them. That “Johnny Rhea letter,” as it is called has indeed become, as you seemed to think at the time you saw the note, an important paper. It may be *important* as it regards the Genls. future fame; he therefore wishes ~~him~~ you to inform him, or me, whether you do not recollect seeing the marginal note, in his own hand writing, while you were in Tennessee in 1827–28. As Mr. Monroe before his death permitted some of the Genl.’s *private* and *confidential* letters to be published without his knowledge or consent, with regard to the Florida transaction, it may become necessary to publish *all* the letters which belong to that ~~transac-~~
~~tion~~ subject; and this is the reason why you have been applied to for your recollections with regard to this letter and the circumstances connected with it.”

My answer to this inquiry is, that, I have a distinct recollection of finding from a Memo. in your letter book while I was investigating the Seminole or Florida transaction in Tennessee that you had burnt a letter which contained Mr. Monroes approval of your design to ~~occupy~~ enter Florida in prosecuting the Seminole war and that I expressed to you my surprise at finding you had ~~done so~~ burnt or destroyed so important a paper. I have a less distinct recollection that that letter was not from

AL fragment, DLC (41). Lee (1787–1837), the son of Revolutionary hero Henry “Light-Horse Harry” Lee and half-brother of Robert E. Lee, was appointed consul general to Algiers by AJ in 1829 but rejected unanimously by the Senate in 1830. He had remained abroad since. In 1827–28 Lee had been in Tennessee gathering materials for a planned biography of AJ. His inquiries included the Seminole affair, about which he corresponded with both Monroe and Calhoun. Lee enclosed this letter within another to AJ on September 5 (below).

1. An undated copy in AJ’s papers of his January 6, 1818, letter to Monroe, endorsed “a true copy” by AJ Jr., includes a copied note: “Mr. J Rhea’s letter in answer is burnt this 12th. of April 1818. A.J.” (DLC-23).

To Levi Woodbury

Nashville, Septr. 5. ’32.

Sir,

It occurs to me that there should be at Norfolk, Va. some one in the character of Officer *afloat*. This was the case with Captain St Clair when Commodore Barron cammanded at that place.¹ The business at that port, it appears to me, renders, *under existing circumstances*, such an arrangement desireable, and if there be nothing that would make such an appoint-

ment improper, and nothing of the kind ~~appears~~ occurs to me, you will direct Captn. Elliot on this service.² Respectfully Yr. Obt Servt.

Andrew Jackson

LS in George Breathitt's hand, DLC-Woodbury Papers (20-1483).

1. Navy captain James Barron (1768–1851) had been commandant of the Gosport navy yard at Norfolk from 1825 to 1831. From 1827 to 1830, Navy registers listed Captain Arthur Sinclair (1780–1831) as “commanding afloat, Norfolk.”

2. Jesse D. Elliott, recently commanding the West India squadron, had taken leave in July to recoup his health. In November Woodbury ordered him to Norfolk and from there to assume command at Charleston, S.C.

From Henry Lee

Near Paris 5th Sept. 1832

dear Genl.

The enclosed letter contains what I have to say in answer to Major Lewis's enquiry respecting my recollection of the Johnny Rhea letter. In regard to that part of Major Lewis's communication in which he states on your authority, that you wrote to me or got Donelson to do so, on this subject before, and that no answer had been recd. to your or Donelsons letter, I beg to observe that I have not recd. a single line from you or Donelson, on any subject whatever since the letters you & he wrote me by Comre. Porter—on the occasion of my *disappointment* by the Senate.¹ So far from having been guilty of the disrespect and injustice which a neglect of a letter from you on the subject of your correspondence with Mr. Monroe would involve, I have repeatedly written to you although my letters have never been noticed For knowing that you had enough to do without troubling yourself with writing to me, I did not feel that your silence indicated that my letters were unwelcome. To conclude on this subject—as my friendship and respect for you are as sincere and strong as they ever were, I am incapable of observing a line of conduct toward you, which could only proceed from disesteem or indifference

If you are Donelson did write to me the letter must have miscarried—though I suspect the fact to be that you told Donelson to write to me—and that he among innumerable other letters forgot or postponed this one.

I am delighted to learn from Lewis that the young lady who has become the wife of your son, is likely to become a source of much comfort to you in your anticipated retirement at the end of 4 years more, to the Hermitage The respectful assiduities and tender care of an amiable daughter in the quiet of your declining years will make you forget the vexations through which your long and arduous career has passed—and will smoothe your descent to that limit which all mankind are destined to reach. May you carry with you the same clearness of conscience warmth

of affection and fortitude of mind which have hitherto entered into your Character, and die as nobly as you have lived; is the earnest wish of your faithful and affectionate friend & svt.

H. Lee

ALS, DLC (41). Lee enclosed his letter to AJ of the day before (above).

1. As later quoted by Lee, AJ had written him on June 4, 1830, stating his “mortification” at Lee’s rejection by the Senate (*Jackson Papers*, 8:213). Former Navy captain David Porter had sailed in June 1830 to replace Lee at Algiers.

To Edward Livingston

(Private)

Nashville, Septbr. 8. 1832.

My Dear Sir.

Yours of the 24th. Ultimo is received. I have, heretofore, expressed to you my gratification that you were proceeding in the publication of the Diplomatic correspondence without difficulty.

I have, however, understood with regret that, on your departure from the city, your chief clerk appointed a Mr. Knapp (an insidious spy) to take charge of the Diplomatic correspondence, and prepare it for the press. At this I was surprised. It is well known that I do not object to men’s being employed in the service of the Government *merely* on account of their entertaining ~~different~~ opinions different from my own, but I thought it was as well understood that I would not approve the appointment of unprincipled men, who were to act the character of secret spies, to offices, when honest & capable friends are desirous of employment. I have, however, learned with pleasure that by the interference of a friend the appointment of Knapp has been recalled. I mention this circumstance to you with a view that you should see how easily we may be imposed on, & take such Steps as will prevent a like occurrence in yr absence.¹

I expect to leave in a few days for the city, where we will talk about the official matters alluded to in your letter. Please make my kindest regards to Mrs. & Miss Livingston. I hope Miss Cora’s health has much improved & will be finally restored.² With respect yr. friend

Andrew Jackson

LS in George Breathitt’s hand, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs).

1. Samuel Lorenzo Knapp (1783–1838) was a lawyer and author. On August 6, before leaving town, Livingston notified his chief clerk Daniel Brent that he had appointed four men, including Knapp, to compile U.S. diplomatic correspondence from the 1780s for publication (DNA-RG 59, M40-23). AJ’s friend was perhaps Amos Kendall, who on August 9, after Livingston’s departure, recommended Joseph M. Duncan of Philadelphia to Brent, stressing Duncan’s “unwavering and arduous” support for AJ as well as his professional qualifications (DNA-RG 59, M639-7). Brent replied on August 10 that the post was already filled (DNA-RG 59, M40-23); but on August 20, having not heard back from

Knapp, Brent employed Duncan to begin work. Knapp accepted on August 28, but in September Livingston confronted him with charges of having written abusive pieces for the *National Journal*, newspaper voice of the Quincy Adams administration. Knapp denied the charge on September 25, but by then his appointment had been withdrawn (Livingston Papers, NjP).

2. Cora Livingston (1806–1873) was Livingston’s daughter.

From David Burford

Nashville Septbr. 10th. 1832

Dear Sir

Reports are circulated here, of the truth or incorrectness of which I desire to be informed.

It is said that you entertain a preferance for the election of Mr Grundy to the Senate of the United States. I speak my own, and the sentiments of my constituents, when I say, that entire confidence is reposed in the purity and correctness of the past acts of your administration; a confidence which would induce me in all cases where I consistently can, to pursue a course which may have a tendency to advance and sustain it.

Mr Grundy’s and Mr Foster’s names are before the Legislature for the appointment; and a wish is entertained by some that Major Eaton’s name should likewise be presented, but it is said Mr Grundy is preferred by you and also, that whatever were the relations between you and Major Eaton heretofore, that they are not such at this time as should induce *your friends* to desire his services. Anxious to decide correctly between the pretensions of the different candidates and believing a correct knowledge of facts necessary to be able to do so; if consistent with your views of propriety I would solicit a reply from you. I beg to be excused for the trouble, and hope you will properly appreciate the motives which have induced me to trouble you with this communication. Very respectfully, I am, your most obt. Servt.

D. Burford

ALS, DLC (41). ALS draft, Mrs. J. Noble Crump (20-1506). Burford (1791–1864) was a Tennessee state senator from Smith County. AJ’s reply follows below.

To David Burford

(copy)

Hermitage Septbr. 10th. 1832—

Dear Sir,

I have this moment received yours of this date, stating that “it is said that (I) entertain a preference for the election of Mr. Grundy to the Senate of the United States”; and further, “that whatever were the relations

between (myself) and Major Eaton heretofore, that they are not such at this time as should induce (my) friends to desire his services" in the Senate of the United States.

From the friendly manner of your communication, and in justice to myself and all parties concerned, I feel bound to give you a reply.

In respect to the first of the "reports," which you say "are circulated" there, I have to inform you that it is incorrect. Not knowing who were to be ultimately the candidates I could not determine, & consequently could not have expressed "a preference for the election of Mr. Grundy to the Senate of the United States."

I am much astonished to learn that any one has intimated that the friendly and confidential relations, which have existed between Major Eaton and myself for the last twenty years, have undergone the slightest change. He has ever had, and still possesses my entire confidence. I have, therefore, in reply to the second part of your letter to remark that, if the relations between Major Eaton and myself ever were such "as should induce (my) friends to desire his services," they are so still. ~~I have the honor to be very respectfully yr obt. servt.~~

Andrew Jackson

I feel very grateful for the confidence you express in the administration of the general Government and your determination to advance and sustain it. Nothing can be more satisfactory to me than to be aided in my administration by men of zeal, capacity, and honest fidelity. I have the honor to be very respectfully yr obdt. servt.

Andrew Jackson

ALS draft, DLC (41). John C. McLemore wrote AJ about the pending senatorial election on September 25 (below).

To Henry Miller Shreve

Hermitage, Sepr. 10. 1832.

Sir.

The Choctaw Agent—Major F. W. Armstrong—has addressed me on the subject of the Steamers, under your charge, which, ~~he says, is understood to be~~ are intended to aid in the removal of the Choctaws west of the Mississippi river, and suggests the necessity of their being in immediate readiness for the service. It is stated that ~~there are~~ some of the Boats are not now employed, and you will, therefore, order at least two, such, if they can be spared from other service, to be in readiness, at as early a day as possible, at Memphis, with their tow Boats or Scows, and there await the orders of Major Armstrong, to whom their arrival &c. must be reported. Major Armstrong will shortly be at Memphis and will expect a letter from

you advising him of the probable time of the arrival of the Boats, &c. You will furnish him with three Boats &c. if ~~you~~ they can be spared To insure the receipt of this, I address you at Smithland, Ky., St Louis, & Louisville.

(Signed) Andrew Jackson

Draft in George Breathitt's hand, DNA-RG 77 (20-1510). Shreve (1785–1851), a prominent inland navigator and steamboat entrepreneur, had been the government's superintendent of western river improvements since 1826. On July 20, the War Department had appointed Western Choctaw agent Francis Wells Armstrong (1783–1835) as special agent to superintend the western phase of the autumn Choctaw removal, from the Indians' arrival on the Mississippi River to their resettlement in the West (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 1, pp. 125–26, Serial 244). On September 8, the Department directed Shreve to have his steam-powered snag boats *Archimedes* and *Heliopolis* ready at Memphis by October 25 to carry the emigrants across to Arkansas (DNA-RG 77, M1113-3). Meanwhile, on September 7 Armstrong wrote AJ, stating that the boats would be needed sooner and asking him to issue Shreve the instructions conveyed in this letter (DNA-RG 77, 20-1500). After delays, Shreve's boats assisted in transporting perhaps 3,000 Choctaws across the river in November.

To Levi Woodbury

[The first text below is a draft penned by Jackson's secretary George Breathitt with additions by Jackson. The second is the sent letter, entirely in Breathitt's hand.]

(Confidential)

Hermitage, Sept. 11. 1832.

My Dear Sir,

It has been more than intimated to me, by a confidential friend, that *efforts have been made, and perhaps not without success*, by the nullifiers, to *disaffect* the Officer of the Navy in command at charlston ~~with~~ towards the Union, and secure his co-operation with them in the event of serious difficulties happening.¹ While I will not admit the probability of things in the South coming to a desperate issue, ~~still~~ yet it behoves us to be ready for any emergency. I communicate this information to you with the suggestion that you make such arrangements as will enable the Government to be relieved, ~~without~~ if it should unfortunately become necessary, of any difficulty in respect to this matter. It is further said that the Legislature will be convened immediately after the elections in So Ca, and that ~~their~~ then the nullifiers will determine their course (in S.C) ~~will then be immediately determined on.~~

It is likewise stated that the same efforts, ~~which~~ of a simular character with to mentioned to have been used with the Navy, have also been ~~tried~~ ~~with~~ practiced by the nullifiers upon the Army in whose cooperation they confide. I desire you to communicate this confidentially to the Secretary of War, and request him, for me, to make arrangements to relieve the troops now at charlston at any time it may be desirable, ²and ~~having~~ in

our Forts at charleston, officers, who cannot be corrupted by nullifiers. The idea is, that by the treachery of our officers, to get possession of our Forts, and thereby prevent a blockade. *This must be guarded against, & prevented.*

I am becoming more and more convinced of the propriety of our having Captain Elliot *afloat*.³ at the Norfolk Station, that he may be in readiness to take command of the squadron ~~that it may be ordered necessary to that Charleston Station, should it become necessary~~ employ, if any we shall be required to use any.

I shall set out in a few days on my return to Washington via K.y. and reach the city as soon as I can by easy marches. My health continues good. Make my respects & that of Mr Breathitt to all the heads of Departments & Bureaus & their families including your own and believe me very respectfully yours

A. J.

LS draft in George Breathitt's hand with additions by AJ, DLC (41).

1. Captain James Renshaw commanded at the Charleston station.
2. The text from here to the end of the paragraph is in AJ's hand.
3. The text from here to the end of the letter is in AJ's hand.

Confidential

Hermitage, Sept. 11. 1832.

My Dear Sir,

It has been more than intimated to me, by a confidential friend, that *efforts have been made*, and perhaps not without success, by the nullifiers, to *disaffect* the Officer of the Navy in command at charlston towards the Union, and secure his co-operation with them in the event of serious difficulties happening.

While I will not admit the probability of things in the South coming to a desperate issue, yet it behoves us to be ready for any emergency.

I communicate this information to you with the suggestion that you make such arrangements as will enable the Government to be relieved, ~~without~~ if it should unfortunately become necessary, of any difficulty in respect to this matter. It is further said that the Legislature will be convened immediately after the elections in South Carolina and that then the nullifiers will determine their course. It is likewise stated that efforts, of a similar character with those mentioned to have been used with the Navy, have also been ~~tried~~ practiced by the nullifiers upon the Army, *in whose co-operation they are represented to confide*. I desire you to communicate this confidentially to the Secretary of War, and request him, for me, to make arrangements to relieve the troops now at charlston at any time it may be desirable. We must have in our Forts at charlston Officers who cannot be corrupted by the nullifiers. It is intimated that they expect by the treachery of our Officers to get possession of our Forts, and thereby prevent a blockade. *This must be guarded against, and, if attempted, prevented.*

I am becoming more and more convinced of our having Captain Elliot *afloat* at the Norfolk station that he may be ready to take command of ~~any~~ the squadron ~~we have~~ it may be necessary to employ, if we shall be required to use any.

I shall set out in a few days on my return to Washington via Kentucky and will reach the city as soon as we can by easy stages. My health continues good. Make my respects, as also Mr. Breathitt's to the heads of Departments, Bureaus, & their families not forgetting your own, and believe me to be Very Respectfully Yr. friend

Andrew Jackson

LS in George Breathitt's hand, DLC-Woodbury Papers (mAJs).

To Henry Toland

(Private)

Hermitage September 12th. 1832.

My Dr. Sir,

I reached home on the 15th. ultimo & found my son & Sarah in good health. Sarah so far advanced in a state of Pregnancy that I cannot take her on with me to the City as I intended, to which place I will set out to morrow, via Kentucky, and by easy days Journeis endeavour to reach Washington by the 12th. or 13th. of October. I find all things progressing well in the political world, except in So. Carolina, where the excitement is high and nullification, & secession, the order of the day by all those who are under the influence of Mr. Calhoun. I have no *doubt* from the information I have just recd. that the nullifiers, unless checked by the good sense of the reflecting part of the community, intend to carry their wicked project to the extreme. It will be met promptly with calm deliberation & firmness by me. There is sufficient strength & power in the Government to preserve itself, and I never will, so long as I fill the Executive ~~is filled by me~~, permit a few ambitious, and wicked demagogues, to destroy the Union, and thereby the liberties of america, and the best hopes of the freedom of the world. I therefore set out tomorrow, to be at my post, to see that the laws are duly executed in the south.

I have again to trespass on your Goodness. I find all the articles ordered have safely arrived; but the two peaces of sheeting, *for beds*, of 50 yards each, and it is more than probable that they were not purchased, but, they were in the memorandum given to Major Lewis. Will you therefore have the goodness to purchase & send on for me to the care of Mr. Josiah Nichols Nashville Two pieces of sheeting for beds. Three pieces of good Point Blanketts, for *Negroes*, say 4 points, and one piece of good bed ticking, and forward them as early as you can, for which draw on me, as soon as I reach the city, which shall be paid.¹ Have the goodness to

write to my son and inclose the invoice to him at Nashville so soon as the purchase is made. With my best wishes, believe me your friend; present me kindly to your family, yours.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, MH (20-1514).

1. On September 26 Toland sent AJ a \$155.43 bill for blankets, sheeting, and ticking (DLC-41). AJ enclosed it to AJ Jr. on October 22 (below).

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Hermitage Septbr. 13th. 1832—

Dr. Andrew,

Yours of the 3rd. instant is just recd. & I hasten to reply to it.

I have conversed with Stockly and Steel on the subject of Polly Baker. There are none who can or will give any information about her hip, none that knows of any injury. The only thing I can learn is this, the filly at a certain point of the tract shew a disposition to leave the tract, and a fence was there made to prevent it—in a trial run she then bolted, attempted to leap the fence & hung upon it, but after extricating herself shew no symptoms of lameness, and on her second run performed well. If she has been injured it is must have been then. This is all I can hear about it—and I have no confidence in Steels veracity. If the filly stands her training well, I would suppose she would not fail in the race. The Revd. Mr Cryer confidentially says, if she is in good order she will beat the Bonnets of blue with ease. If she continues well and makes a good trial run, I would say, risque the entrance. Capt Territ will be able to judge of the run, and I would try her in the run with the best in the stable; Then you can judge from her time, as well as her merit compared with others ag with whom she competes. *You must risque to win.*¹

My horses have been cruelly Treated & my stock destroyed by the neglect of Steel. Dunwoodys time was entirely engrossed by the stud horse, & mine neglected, and William will have trouble with Steel.² Mr Steel has recd. all the season of the stud, nothing left for his keeping and claims a ballance due from William, and threatens to sell the stud horse for the ballance. This I will see he shall not do—but will direct Andrew to keep the horse untill I return, and he receives instructions what to do with him—since I got Steels statement in writing I have not had time to converse with him being surrounded with company, but will postpone leaving home until Monday to settle this, and some other business with him. I regret the continuance of, & the virulence of the Colera. I pray you to take care of yourself, and remove Emily Mary and the children into the country, if the disease should appear to seize all person, those of regular as well as those of irregular habits.

All friends well here, & join in kind salutations to you & Mr. Earle, who I offer up my prayers for his recovery, and the preservation of you & your dear little family—yours affectionately

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (20-1518).

1. Fairfax County, Va., horseman George Hunter Terrett (1778–1842) ran AJ's four-year-old filly Polly Baker in Washington, D.C., races that commenced on October 16. She ran a close second in a race with a \$300 purse. The gray filly Bonnets o' Blue, winner of several major races since 1830, did not compete and retired in 1833 after an injury.

2. William was the horse trainer William Alexander.

To Benjamin B. Cooper

Hermitage Septbr. 15th. 1832

My Dr. Sir,

I have this moment recd. your letter of the 29th. ultimo, and snatch a moment from the company with which I am surrounded, to inclose you by return mail, a transfer of my right of three fourths of the celebrated horse Boliver to William N. Shinn Esqr President and Elias B. Cannon Esq Secretary of the Burlington County (N. jersey) association for improving the breed of horses, agreeable to your request ~~and~~ conferring the sale of three fourths of the interest in said horse held by me, with all his emoluments since the first day of August last, the day on which, it appears, you made the sale to the association reserving the spring season of said horse to ourselves, to cover interest & expences—it would be inconvenient & improper to transfer the Books to any one & unjust to his customers to do so, therefore, I cannot yield to the request of Mr Sloan & the other Gentlemen.¹

I had concluded to have brought him back to this country, he is amongst the best foal getter in the union, he has got a few colts in this neighborhood; they are all fine, I could have sold two of his year old stud colts for \$500 each—but as I had authorised you to sell on the terms you have, I enclose you the transfer of my three fourths of him, to enable you to ~~confirm~~ carry into effect your contract and sale of him you will comply with the engagements named in your letter to Mr Shinn & Cannon.

I shall set out for the City on the 18th. instant, & hope to reach Washington by the 12th. of October where I will be happy to hear from you. I am Sir with sincere respects yrs.

Andrew Jackson

I Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, owner of three fourths of the celebrated ~~and well-bred~~ horse Bolivar, now in the possession of Benjamin B. Cooper Esqr Newjersey owner of the one fourth of said horse do by these presents

transfer and ~~set over~~ and convey to William N. Shinn Esqr President, and Elias B. Cannon Esqr Secretary of the Burlington County association for improving the breed of horses and their associates all my right & property in said horse Bolivar; ~~and for~~ and in consideration of the sum of fifteen hundred dollars to be deposited by the President & Secretary of said association in any solvent Bank in the City of Philadelphia, that pays specie for its bills when presented, said deposit to be made on or before the first day of Novbr. next; and on a notification ~~by said Bank~~, by the President or cashier of sd. Bank that ~~such~~ the sum aforesaid is deposited & made subject to my Draft or check, Then all ~~wr~~ right title and interest in the said celebrated Stud horse Bolivar is hereby invested in the said William N. Shinn Esqr President and Elias B. Cannon Esqr Secretary of the said association, ~~and~~ to enure to the benefit of the said President & Secretary & sd. association, with all his emoluments, from and after the first day of August last, the day on which said association Bought sd. horse hereby requiring Benjamin B. Cooper Esqr to deliver over said horse to the said President and Secretary of said association, ~~and~~ binding myself, my heirs & Executors to warrant & defend the right title and interest of said horse to the said President & Secretary of said association. Witness my hand & seal this 15th. of Septbr 1832
Test.

A. J. 

Mr Breathit will copy this A. J

ALS draft and ADS draft, DLC (41). Cooper had written AJ on August 29 (DLC-41), announcing the formation of a new company in Burlington County, N.J., to purchase Bolivar for \$2,000 and asking AJ to transfer his three-quarters share to its president William Norton Shinn (1782–1871) and secretary Elias Brevoort Cannon (1803–1839). On October 1 Shinn and Cannon wrote AJ a receipt for the transfer, agreeing to deposit \$1500 to his credit in the Bank of Pennsylvania on or before November 1 (DLC-41). Cooper sent AJ the receipt on November 1, saying that the deposit had been delayed but would be made within a few days (DLC-41). It had still not been made on January 15, 1833, when AJ wrote Cooper to complain. Cooper replied on January 29 (DLC-42).

1. Cooper's August 29 letter to AJ had conveyed a proposal from Jeremiah Haines Sloan (1800–1845) and other company members in effect to backdate the purchase to Bolivar's departure from Tennessee, paying AJ interest on the \$1,500 and assuming all costs and profits since. Cooper recommended declining, as the proposal would require disclosing confidential arrangements with mare owners and would yield less profit than expected from the 60 to 70 mares Bolivar had covered.

From John Douglas Carriel

Vicksburg Mississippi
15th Sept 1832.

Dear Genrl.

We yesterday had the Citizens of this place with the neighbourhood convened (by previous notice) to hear the famous *George Poindexter* (our Senator) make a justifying speech to his Constituents who were dissatisfied with his course—in Opposeing the measures of your Administration. A more inflammatory speech I have never heard a speech which was more inflammatory and abuseive than any under my observations. He charges you with a hostility to our best interest in pointed terms, and is making a bold iffort to influence Mississippi to give her vote to some other person than A. Jackson his insinuations could be tolerated—but he made some direct and pointed charges and specifications—that we are in duty bound to ourselves—as of the party—to throw back as foul Calumnies. He charged you in most positive terms (in presence of hundreds of your friends) that you were personally knowing to the formation of a company of speculators in Tennessee, consisting of several members among them a Mr Armstrong of Tennessee to whom you had confided the principal Agency—in judicating and determining the legality of Indian transfer according to the provisions of the Treaty with the Chocktaws. And that you had given letters of Credit to a young Gentleman—to New York to perchase Merchandize with permission to introduce among the Indians and he was also a member of the said Company whose object was to speculate on the State of Mississippi and cheat the Indians. And that he had urged the pretensions of several gentlemen of Mississippi to fill said offices and that you had uniformly resisted with insult to the Character and dignity of Mississippi. That you were fully conversant with all the scheme of these speculations. And insinuated that you were personally interest—and connived at the froaud, that you were fully in the possession of all the facts and Circumstances of said speculation. I have resided twenty years near you and never before heard your moral honesty questioned, and feeling a deep solicitude for your success at the approaching election. If you have time Sir, I wish you would direct your secretary to write me a history of Mr Armstrongs appointment and powers—with the letters of credit—so that I may be enabled to sustain you against such forced Calumnies—for I am and shall use my best influence to promote your measures (which is matter of notoriety here)[.] I am yours respectfully

Jno D. Carriel

ALS, DLC (41). Carriel (1789–1835), a Georgia native, had co-founded Athens, Ala., before moving to Mississippi. Poindexter had addressed an audience of several hundred at Vicksburg on September 14. In a two-hour speech, he defended his course in the Senate and attacked “the selfish intrigues and corkscrew politics of Martin Van Buren” (Vicksburg

Advocate & Register, September 20). George Breathitt replied to Carriel on October 1 that “the President instructs me to say that the charges are wholly destitute of even the shadow of truth, and must have originated in a wicked and malicious mind” (DLC-41).

To Martin Van Buren

Hermitage Septbr. 16th. 1832.

My Dear Sir,

I have just received your two letters of the 29th. and 31st. of august, with the enclosure of a copy of a letter to Major Donelson on the subject of Genl Gratiots report for which I thank you.

I have written to Mr Hagner to prepare a report for me by the time I reach the city, say the 12th. of ocrbr. on the bill allowing interest to the States for advances &c &c—and on my return I will call upon Genl Gratiot for his special report, on the *special* points which I will submit to him¹ I shall leave here on my return on the 18th. instant & travel thro’ Kentucky to Guiendot & thence thro’ the State of Virginia to Washington.

All things are progressing well here, a few nullifiers in petto, but dare not hoist their colours. I have just received a letter from Mr Harry Cage one of the members of Congress from the State of Mississippi under the New census, who says Poindexter is prostrate, and his attempt to get up a Barber ticket has entirely failed, & that the nomination at Baltimore will prevail by a large majority.² The veto, has brought over to the support of the administration in the city of Neworleans, 75 of the most influential Spanish & French & will add at the polls at least one hundred & fifty who have been & were the strong supporters of Mr Clay. Mr Clay will not get one Electoral vote west of the mountains or south of the Potomac, in my opinion.

So soon as I return I expect to hear of Mr. Rives having left Paris and I wish to send out Mr. Livingston immediately on the receipt of this information; and with a view to filling the Treasury Department with a fit, proper, & competant head, I would like to hear your views, of the proper character in the State of Newyork for that office. Mr. Wright has been brought to my view as well as some others in N.Y. and I would like that you would extend your views to other [. . .] South and give me your [. . .] communicate to me at W[ashington] city, to reach me as early aft[er my] return as your convenience will permit, as well on this subject, as on [the] others heretofore requested.³

Mr Breathit, My son & daughter, join me in kind salutations to you and your sons, and with my prayers that you & them may escape the Colera believe me yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0004). The last page is torn. AJ addressed the envelope to Van Buren in care of George B. Throop at Auburn, N.Y.

1. AJ wrote Peter Hagner on September 17 for a report on the pocket-vetoed state claims bill. Hagner reported on October 20, and AJ forwarded his report to Van Buren on November 3 (below). AJ wrote Charles Gratiot on October 26 (below).

2. Harry Cage (1795–1858) had been elected to a new Mississippi congressional seat created by reapportionment under the 1830 census. In the November election the Jackson-Van Buren ticket in Mississippi overwhelmingly defeated a Jackson-Barbour ticket. No Clay ticket was offered.

3. William C. Rives took leave from his Paris post on September 27 and arrived in New York on November 17. In May 1833 AJ commissioned Edward Livingston as minister to France and appointed Treasury secretary Louis McLane to succeed him as secretary of state and William John Duane of Pennsylvania to succeed McLane at the Treasury. Silas Wright was the New York state comptroller.

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Hermitage Sepbr. 17th. 1832

Dear Andrew

I received your letter enclosing that of Mr. Cooper, on the subject of the sale of Bolivar, and have complied with his request by forwarding the transfer of the right of property as requested, fixing the first day of November next for the deposit of the fifteen hundred dollars in Bank at Philadelphia, the consideration for the horse Bolivar reserving his Spring season—from the fine appearance of his colts I had determined to have brought him back, but considering lately how unfortunate I have been in horses, I concluded it best to sell him. The sway backs colt by Bolivar was the best of his kind I ever saw.¹

I rejoice to learn that you have thus far escaped the direful contagion that afflicts the City and trust in the protection of a kind providence, who holds us all in the hollow of his hand for your safety until it passes away. The precaution of leaving the City is prudent, but be careful of returning too soon as there are more danger in the return than remaining, in the City with proper care of diet & conduct therefore I would advise you and your family having left the city not to return to it until the colera has passed from it.

I had set the 10th. for my departure from here, finding it impossible to close my business, and never setting out on a journey on friday I postponed it until this day—but an occurrence which is to take place to day and the solicitude of those concerned, and Sarah & Andrews wishes for me to be present detains me until tomorrow. It is the marriage of Thomas J. Donelson to Miss Emma Farquier. The detention of Sarah here until her confinement, Thomas & Emma who had been requested by Emma's mother to have the ceremony at home, and who intended to go on with Sarah & Andrew with me, determined them to have the ceremony over in my presence as Sarah could not go on before January. Therefore I have consented to remain to day to see the ceremony performed this evening—on tomorrow morning I will, providence permitting, leave home via

Nashville, K.y. guindot and direct to the city, or if the Colera still rages to where you are, stopping on my way at Mr Moss's near Alexandria, for a day to communicate with you but I shall occasionally write you advising you of my travel & near approach.

Attend.

I am confidentially advised, that the nullifiers of the south, have corrupted both the Naval officers, and those of the army in charleston—that they nullies are determined to push matters to extremeties, and expect to get possession of the forts &c &c—see the Secretary of War & let the officers & men at charelston be relieved by men who cannot be corrupted, and the Forts & defences on that station ordered to be guarded against being taken by surprise. They are sure of getting possession of the Fts. on that station, & it is this belief, that makes them so bold—say to the Sec. of war to look to this—it is useless to change the officers without the men—if the Sentinel & soldiers are corrupted the officer cannot defend the garrison, therefore let the officers & men be relieved by a faithful detachment, and this carried into effect as early as possible at farthest, by the 20th. of October, & before their assembly meets. Let it be done without a hint of the cause until it is effected, and as the common rotine of the army.

your friends are all well, the old Lady very anxious about your situation & that of your family, all join with me & Mr Breathit in kind salutations to your family & Mr Earle—yours affectionately

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I can hear of no lameness the filly had in training, Dunwoody says she hurt her breast on the fence but no injury in her hip was ever discovered whilst here, that William Trained them some times pretty hard, but none appeared to be lame or ingured; the guelding was very poor when put up, gained flesh whilst training & when he went away, tho poor, was in better condition than when put in train Andrew has not time to write but leaves the whole to you. If the filly makes a good trial run, risk the entrance, Mr Cryer says, she will beat the Bonnets of blue if in order.² A. J

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (21-0009).

1. AJ had written Benjamin B. Cooper on September 15 (above).

2. The filly was Polly Baker, about whom AJ had written Donelson on September 13 (above).

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Hermitage Septbr. [. . .]

My Dear Andrew

I am this mome[n]t leaving the Hermitage for the c[ity via] K.y. to Guiendot, & thro' virginia ~~to the city~~. I defer any further observations as it respects your domestic concerns untill I see you. I have paid up Steel this morning, and took his receipt in full, and he is off—he has injured me thousands and poisoned my servants with his bad advice, and conduct. I leave Andrew ~~to~~ in charge of all, and hope he may do well. I am sure Steel was worse than a drone to the hive.

Thomas & Emma was married last night, all our connections present but the old Lady & all in good health. I am charged with a package by the old Lady for Emily & the children, which I will deliver if a kind providence permits me to meet them.¹ In great haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (21-0033). The manuscript is torn. The missing date is September 18.

1. The old lady was Emily's mother, Mary Purnell Donelson.

From Martin Van Buren

Oswego Sept 20th. 1832

My dear Sir

The death of Mr Ferguson has created a great stir in Newyork. The candidates from that City will be numerous & no doubt several of them deserving. Our good friend Forsyths brother in law, himself a very clever fellow, has written me on the subject and if it were possible for me do any thing for him with propriety the great obligation I feel myself under to Forsyth would afford the strongest inducement to me to interfere in behalf of Mr Meigs; but it is not possible. If the arrangement I am about to propose cannot be adopted, I must go for Mr. Coddington. You know how constantly and how strongly he has been recommended by the Newyork delegation, & how frequently he has been disappointed. The objection which was made to him by his opponents has been put down by time, & I understand that the General Committee have with entire unanimity taken their stand in his favor. That body having been but recently appointed, & representing to so great an extent the Democracy of the City it would not I think do to pass him by without some stronger justification than would be found in the selection of either of the persons applying. I have hitherto declined to interfere and shall continue to do so until I can hear from you. What I propose is this, and it is a matter in respect to which I feel very solicitous.¹

I have before alluded, in a letter I wrote you from London, to the situation in which Gov. Throop has been placed by yielding himself agt. his strong inclination to the wishes of his political friends, & of myself in particular.

In 1828 Genl. Pitcher was Lieut Gov, & actually administering the Government in consequence of the death of Gov. Clinton. He was anxious to be renominated for Lieut. Gov. We had no confidence in his integrity, an impression which he has subsequently, most signally confirmed, & it was therefore considered, that if I stood for the Govs. Chair, which was deemed important I would not, if Pitcher was elected with me, be permitted under any circumstances to leave it.² Our friends with no other reason, as you best know, than the general course of ~~circumstances~~ affairs, took it into their heads that it might become necessary for me to do so, & were therefore very anxious to have a Lieut. Gov upon whom the utmost confidence could be placed. Gov. Throop was fixed upon as that man. He was then residing on his farm in the possession of a permanent office, (Judge of the Circuit) which pleased him and where he was most anxious to remain. Upon the repeated & earnest solicitation of his political friends he consented to resign his place on the bench and run for Lieut. Governor. He was elected—succeeded to the Government, & was afterwards elected Gov. which office he now holds. Owing to a variety of causes, but principally the clamour of unsound politicians and disappointed applicants, an impression was made upon several of our friends that there might be some danger in running him again, & that at all events in an election so vitally important as that which is approaching, it was very desirable to remove as far as practicable every obstacle which might by possibility give a chance of success to the opposition in this State. Although well assured that his friends would not desert him, and that he would again have been put in nomination, Govr Throop, upon hearing that such an impression existed in the minds of some of his friends, with that disinterestedness & decision which has always characterized his public life instantly withdrew his name, & will on the first of January return to private life. The moment his determination was announced, many, who were silent before spoke out, and the regret that he had done so was so much increased by the course he has subsequently pursued in respect to the Cholera & upon other points, as to have become general; & I do but justice to him & the people, when I say that there has at no time been a more general feeling of respect on the part of all, & warm feelings on the part of the Republicans for any other individual than that which is now entertained for him throughout the State. If he would permit it, & there were not reason to apprehend that his nomination, after what has taken place, would be exposed to the imputation of trifling with the people, the Herkimer nomination which meets tomorrow would without hesitation re-nominate him.³ In addition to the loss of his Judgeship he has by the increase of his expenses & the

inadequacy of the Govrs salary, impaired his small property to a considerable extent. This fact, with the other circumstances of his case has elicited an anxiety that something should be speedily done for him which pervades the State, & would render his appointment to any office the most popular act which the administration could do in this State. You who feel so ardently when the interests of your friends are concerned, will, I know, appreciate mine in respect to the future fate of one of ~~my~~ the earliest & best of mine—who to that general claim adds that of actual sacrifices to subserve my individual interests, in connexion with the general cause. His friends before my return thought of the place of Deputy Postmaster in Nyork, & I believe that subject was suggested to you by Judge Marcy. Notwithstanding my anxiety on his account I could not favor that idea, because I thought that the place ~~was~~ does not possess sufficient dignity for the Gov. of a state like this to retire to. The one in question is altogether differently situated. The office is in itself a pleasant & highly respectable one, & it so happens, that since the administration of Genl. Washington it has always been held by gentlemen of distinction.⁴ I did not however venture to move in the matter until I saw him, which I have now done at this place, where he has met me to accompany me to his house in Cayuga, & am happy to learn that the arrangement would be highly acceptable to him. You know me too well to need any assurance that I would not press it upon you if I knew of any well founded objection to it on public account. The delay which will be necessary will not only be justifiable but desirable. The family of Mr. Ferguson are anxious for the appointment of his son, but I can well conceive, that independent of the serious objection arising from his age, you may not think it desirable to establish, or contribute to the establishment of the practice of continuing offices in the same family after they have been so long enjoyed as has been the case here, & which would wear, to some extent, the appearance of making them hereditary. Should such be your view, the continuance of the emoluments of the office in the family until the meeting of the Senate, would be desirable & well received, especially as the law makes provision for the case by authorizing the Deputy (the son) to perform the duties until a new appointment is made. Whatever objection could be raised on account of his not being a resident of the City would be more than obviated by the circumstances of his case, & I have not a doubt that his appointment would give the highest satisfaction every where. I have not hinted the matter to any one except Mr. Bowne the Mayor of Nyork & shall not probably do so until I hear from you.⁵ When it is known I will of course take the responsibility which belongs to me, & get along with my friend Coddington as well as I can. Do me the favor to shew this to McLane & excuse me for troubling you with so long a letter. Yours faithfully

M. Van Buren

P.S. I have not adverted to the importance of having a man of so much probity & character in the Custom House because I know you will bear it in mind—nor to the fact that my friends have now no security that the large patronage of that off institution would not be thrown agt them if you should be taken from us.⁶

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0037). AJ replied on November 18 (below).

1. John Ferguson (1777–1832), the customs naval officer for the port of New York since 1813, had died on September 4. Former New York City congressman Henry Meigs (1782–1861) was the brother of Georgia senator John Forsyth's wife. In 1829 Van Buren had fruitlessly urged Jonathan Inslee Coddington (1784–1856) for customs surveyor (*Jackson Papers*, 7:178–79). AJ appointed him New York City postmaster in 1836. The Democratic Republican General Committee for the City and County of New York, better known by its meeting place, Tammany Hall, consisted of three delegates elected annually from each of the city's fourteen wards.

2. Nathaniel Pitcher (1777–1836) was elected lieutenant governor in 1826 and served as governor from De Witt Clinton's death on February 11, 1828, to Van Buren's inauguration on January 1, 1829. Now a congressman, Pitcher had recently declared against Jackson's reelection, reportedly saying that “no honest man could have stayed at Washington the last winter and not been convinced of the utter incompetency of Andrew Jackson for the situation he now fills” (*Albany Evening Journal*, July 26, 1832).

3. The New York state Jackson convention assembled at Herkimer on September 19. After receiving a communication from Throop declining reelection, it nominated William L. Marcy for governor on first ballot.

4. New York City's first naval officer, Benjamin Walker (1753–1818), appointed by Washington in 1789, was a prominent Revolutionary officer and later congressman. Ferguson's predecessor, Samuel Osgood (1748–1813), appointed by Jefferson, had previously been a delegate to the Continental Congress and U.S. Postmaster General. Ferguson had briefly been mayor of New York City.

5. Walter Bowne (1770–1846) was mayor of New York City.

6. Van Buren held no trust in the character or politics of New York customs collector Samuel Swartwout, whose appointment in 1829 he had strenuously opposed.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Tyreys Spring Septbr. 23rd. 1832¹

My son

I have met with Mr Chester who came up to see me in this mornings stage & seize the opportunity to send you this with one enclosed for Sarah, which I hope Mr. Chester will have the opportunity to hand you—as he travels in the stage he will have but a moment to be with you, introduce him to Sarah & Emma & treat him kindly.²

I have nothing to communicate more than what I have verbally—you will have to attend to the getting out the cotton, and I am fearful it will be too much fatigue for you—have your Press & cotton ginn ready & let the ginn begin to run as soon as you have a sufficient cotton out to keep her running. I have agreed with Mr. Dismukes for 10,000 lb. of corn fed Pork, at \$2.25, pr hundred, and for the benefit of the offall, have agreed to take

it delivered on foot, weighing the largest & smallest & then taking an average—he is to advise you whether he can supply it.³ I wish you to buy, & save all that will not way 120 lb. by which you will be able to raise a good supply after this year. In haste yours affectionately

Andrew Jackson

P.S. My affectionate regards to Thos. & Emma & kiss Sarah for me. A.J.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Tyree Springs was a mineral resort in Sumner County, north of Nashville.

2. Mr. Chester was Robert J. Chester, husband of AJ Jr.'s cousin Elizabeth Hays.

3. John Thompson Dismukes (1791–1846) lived in Davidson County.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Tyreys Springs Septbr. 23rd. 1832—

My Dear Sarah,

Mr. R. Chester who married our cousin Betsy Hays, having come from Nashville to this place to see me, affords me the opportunity to send you this—he will be in the stage, will have but a moment to be with you—but for that moment, you & Andrew will receive him kindly & treat him affectionately.

How I regret, whilst with you, the croud & bustle with which I was surrounded & the constant press of business, that prevented me from that social hours of peaceful retirement & converse I expected with you, and ~~mak~~ heightens the regret of leaving you behind me, still I look forward with the pleasing hope when you will unite with me at the City, & present to me a lovely child, which I will press to my bosom with delight, and accept from providence as one of his kindest blessings—and for which my constant prayers will be offered up, for your safe delivery and safety—should providence bless you with a living babe, present in baptism to the Lord, as early as your convenience will permit. I do think that my friend Mr. Hume would visit your church to perform the baptismal ceremony if Andrew would ask him, & make it known to be my wish—but my dear Sarah, I only name this to you & Andrew and leave it entirely to your own judgments, & good discretion, and voluntary adoption.¹

On our domestic affairs I conversed freely with Andrew. I have said to him & hope you will see it done, to have every utensil for the citchen necessary, and then to make the servants do their duty, as I know, they know it. I have no doubt, but all the bad conduct arose from the secrete advice of Steel—he has done much injury to the servants, as well as to my stock, & other things—he is now out of the way, & the servants finding that andrew has energy enough to controle, & punish for disobedience, you will find a happy change for the better—you want for the Kitchen a

large well tinned coffee pot for company, & a smaller one for the family and when got, & let Andrew make Betts answerable for their preservation. Every article of furniture necessary, I wish you, my Dr daughter, to get—live with true economy, but *shun all kind of parsimony*

My health remains good, except the gloom thrown over me by leaving the Hermitage, which I hope a kind providence will permit me once more to visit, when I may have more retirement with my family & neighbours

With my prayers for yours, Andrews, Thomas, & Emma's health prosperity & happiness believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NcMHi (21-0048).

1. Hume was Nashville Presbyterian minister William Hume.

From John Christmas McLemore

(Private)

Post office
Nashville 25. Septemr. 1832

My Dear Friend,

Your kind favour of the 23d. Inst handed by Mr. Chester is before me—nothing of consequence has occurred since you left us. Majr. Claiborne did not make his nullification speech as was expected on yesterday—and I am informed has declined dicussing the subject before the Legislature—indeed he is as fare as I can learn entirely silent—attempts were made to draw him out without success.¹

Majr. Eaton is gaining ground, and will I am confident, be elected. Grundy is still loading the mails with his letters to his friends, to get up instructions to vote for him. We are writing letters too to counter act his movements, and some of the members have already recv'd. counter instructions to vote for Eaton. Our friends *are firm and decided*, and I have no hesitation, in assuring you, that Eaton will be the Senetor, or that there will be no election this session. The election is put off to Friday the 5th. day of October, and *I have no doubt* but that on that day John H Eaton will be declared by the proper authority, duly and constitutionally Senetor in Congress &c.

I have just been informed, that certificates are about to be obtained, stating that you have *no political* preference for Eaton, that it is merely a personal friendship, entertained for him, and that *politically* you prefer Mr. Grundy—they will try to make much of this; I, you *know* can contradict this, & *will do so wherever* I meet it; but if you will write me a letter; substantially such as is herewith enclosed, the effect will be good. I may not use it, but I wish to have it ready to be used by me with great *caution*. I feel intensely anxious for Eatons success and must guard every

point, and I really think a letter similar to the one enclosed *may be necessary to success*. Write by the first mail—all our friends in good health[.] Very sincerely your friend

Jno. C. McLemore

[*Postscript by John Henry Eaton:*] I have just come in while McL is closing his letter. What he states is true. Grundy is saying, that your opinions are not correctly represented; & that he would obtain certificates to shew that your political desires are for him

Letters to me to night from Gallatin say that the fever is up since I came out. That all Grundys instruction men, are turning over, & in three days a majority of the County will direct Watkins & Boddie to vote against him So much for his management of matters—²

E

ALS, DLC (41). AJ replied on September 29 (below).

1. Former congressman Thomas Claiborne (1780–1856) of Nashville represented Davidson County in the Tennessee house of representatives. On September 24 he had charged an anti-nullification speaker with falling into “the doctrines of consolidation,” but said he “did not feel able, from ill health, to go fully into the discussion at this time” (*National Banner and Nashville Whig*, September 25). On October 22 he opposed resolutions which passed the house by 26 to 6, condemning nullification as “unwarranted by the Federal constitution, and dangerous to the existence of the Union” (*Tennessee Journal of the House of Representatives*, September 1832 session, pp. 147–48).

2. Elijah Boddie (1787–1851) and Charles Watkins (1774–1863) represented Sumner County in the Tennessee lower house.

To John Christmas McLemore

Lexington, 29th. Sep. 1832.

My Dear Sir,

I have this evening received yours of the 25th. Inst, and must confess that I am much surprised at its contents for I am ~~perfectly certain that~~ sure no one can, with truth, say that I ever expressed a qualified friendship or confidence in Major Eaton.

It is strange to me that anyone should insinuate that I have not entire confidence in ~~Major Eaton~~ him as a statesman after I have given so many unequivocal evidences of ~~entertaining~~ such confidence ~~towards~~ in him.

With what plausibility can such insinuation be made, when it is recollected that it was by my persuasion alone that he left his seat in the Senate of the United States, and accepted a ~~station~~ place in my cabinet, where he was always found ~~devoted to me~~, true to the administration and efficiently engaged in advancing the best interest of our country?

It is well known that it was ~~because of~~ his own voluntary determination & not by my wishes that he retired from this station, and that he carried with him my increased, rather than diminished confidence.

When you reflect on these things, and recollect the various other evidences of ~~the~~ confidence in Major Eaton, both as a man and a statesman, that I have given to the world, you will ~~feel~~ not be astonished at the surprise I ~~expressed~~ felt on reading your letter.

I deeply regret that ~~charges and insinuations~~ my opinions in regard to Major Eaton have been so misrepresented as to ~~require~~ make it necessary, ~~in discharging a duty which I owe to myself as well as others~~ for me to say anything about him at this time, inasmuch as I am apprized of the strong disposition entertained by some ~~manoeuvring~~ politicians to misinterpret and misrepresent whatever may be said by me.

But while I regret the necessity of speaking, I will not hesitate to do so, when, as ~~now~~ in this case, ~~it is made necessary~~ the only alternative left me is to ~~see~~ do it or permit a friend to be injured by tacitly countenancing the unfounded insinuations that ~~men choose to make~~ are made. I would hold myself guilty of base ingratitude were I to ~~decline~~ to refuse a contradiction to these incorrect statements, which have been made with a view to ~~accomplish the prostration of~~ injure a friend.

It is not true, as has been stated, that I have been or now am opposed to the election of Major Eaton to the Senate ~~for if the Legislature should chose think it place him in it there it will be gratifying to me.~~

I ~~however will not interfere in the election, & it is seems strange~~ and it appears impossible to me that, under all the circumstances, any should ~~doubt~~ conclude that it would ~~afford me anything~~ produce any other feeling than ~~great~~ that of pleasure to see Major Eaton in the Senate from which I took him, ~~if it should it be the pleasure of the Legislature to place him there.~~

[Endorsed by George Breathitt:] Copy of letter to M.Lemore.

Draft in George Breathitt's hand, DLC (41). Copy, Mrs. J. Noble Crump (21-0052).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

(Private)

Lexington K.y. Septbr. 30th. 1832—

My son

We arrived here on last evening, and on our approach, were met by thousands—such a spectacle, I was not prepared to see, as we had travelled without parade, and as silently as we could, & had not determined before we arrived at Tyreys Springs, which rout, this, or by Louisville, we would take—it has perfectly astounded they Clayites. We have remained here to day to attend church where we were edified by a good sermon, it was a sacramental Ocasion. We shall proceed on our journey tomorrow morning. Since our arrival in this state we have been kindly treated every

where. Our health remains good; I shall expect to receive letters from you, & Sarah, when I reach the City, which I hope will be, by the 12th. proximo. I shall be uneasy until I hear of her confinement & safe delivery. Present her with my affectionate regard, & kiss her for me—present us kindly to Thomas & Emma, & to all our friends & believe me your affectionately father

Andrew Jackson

turn over—

P.S. I bearily bring to your recollection that your wheat & rye ought to be in the ground as early, now, as it can be put in, *the ensuing week if possible*. Write me how the servants are, & how they behave & whether the two colts are recovered—have what blood stock that remain alive, well attended to. Mr Breathit joins me in kind salutations to you & Sarah & the new married pair—*farwell*. A. J.

ALS, MoSW (21-0055).

To Tennessee Legislators

Septbr. 1832—

Gentlemen

Your communication of this date has been recd. Delicate, as the subject is to which you refer, the respectable source from whence it arises, and a conviction that candor on all occasions is most conducive to the good of Mankind, as well as the individual interest of all who practice it makes it my duty simply to state the facts from which you can draw your own conclusions.

It is well known to you, that Major Eaton was called by me from his seat in the Senate to fill the office of Secretary of War, as a member of the first Cabinet under the present administration, which appointment he accepted with much reluctance. He was appointed from a knowledge of his ability & adequacy to the performance of the duties attached to that situation, but more particularly especially to a well tried personal attachment and undeviating fidelity. In the course of the ~~existence~~ opposition which necessarily exists in all free Governments his faithfulness made him peculiarly obnoxious to the leaders of the opposition, and to all those secrete agents, who acted in consonance with their views. During the whole course of his acting in the performance of the duties assigned him the same inflexible and inviolable adherence to the public interest was by him observed. He was firm and faithful, which the most violent opposition, & the most artful laid plans to drive him from the councils of the Executive could not shake. But it seemed to him that to attain the public happiness, and to enable the Executive to carry on the administration of

the Government in the spirit it was conceived, that it was necessary that he should resign the office of Secretary of War. He did so, and perhaps the annals of individual sacrifice rarely has occurred that a more patriotic and judicious step was taken. As exempt from fault as ordinarily falls to the lot of man—at all times inviolably faithful to his duty and to the Executive & in his full confidence, in the opinion of this honest & patriotic man, it became necessary in the course of the opposition that he should resign for the Public good. Such self denial, is very rare, and cannot be too highly appreciated, as under such circumstances few could be found capable of it. It enabled the Govt. administration to progress by opening a way to such reformation as the public good ~~required~~ imperiously required & called for. Upon this reform the nation has passed its verdict.

The question with the honorable of which you are members, is simply this, shall the enemies of the administration succeed in destroying a most useful & honest man, a citizen of your state, to attain their object by dividing weakening & embarrassing its friends? You answer no.

Mr. Grundy our present Senator has so far as I know ably supported the administration but it is for you to say whether the public interest will be best promoted by the election of Major Eaton in preference to Mr Grundy. It is not for me to judge of this, all I can or ought to do, is to bring to your view, the course of the Democracy of Newhampshire, when they put their favorite Woodbury aside and elected, Mr Hill who had been appointed to office & rejected by the senate, as the most pointed rebuke the could give to the outrage committed by the Senate ~~upon~~ by the rejection of Mr Hill who they had recommended to the offich to which ~~they~~ he had been appointed. To you the constitution has assigned this duty without any interference on my part, which I have & will continue to avoid.¹

All I can say is that should the Legislature elect Either it is believed the State will be ably served. If in the opinion of your honorable body it be necessary to elect Major Eaton to the Senate to shew the opposition that in their career of destruction that they shall be essentially met and opposed in a greater degree, and the Executive in a greater degree strengthened I will at all times feel grateful for Mr Grundys faithful & patriotic services. It is with the Legislature to determine at this important crisis of our national affairs who shall be selected as their senator of the three persons named, Major Eaton, Grundy or Foster

Andrew Jackson

ADS draft, DLC (41). This communication was likely never sent. In thirty ballots on October 5 and 6, the Tennessee legislature failed to elect a senator to fill Felix Grundy's expiring term. On the final ballot, Ephraim Foster polled 22 votes, Grundy 20, and Eaton 18. Grundy was reelected at the next session in October 1833.

1. After the Senate had rejected AJ's nomination of Isaac Hill for second comptroller of the Treasury in 1830, the New Hampshire legislature elected Hill to replace Levi Woodbury in the Senate at the end of his term.

October



To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Guyandotte October 5th. 1832—

Dear Andrew

We arrived here this evening at 6 oclock, having travelled 70 miles in two days—we left Lexington on Monday morning after breakfast, and were escorted on our journey thro K.y. by thousands—never have I seen such a gathering as met us in advance of Lexington three miles—to say the least of the number, I may say 5000—and this too without any concert, or notification except such as was caried by the stage drivers, as we never had determined on our rout until we got to Tyreys springs, having set out from the Hermitage with the intention of passing by Louisville. we have experienced the kindest feelings throughout Kentucky, and if I was to judge from the spirit displayed & the intelligence of our friends, K.y. is safe—nothing can give the state to Mr Clay, if they people go to the poles—if the present excitement keeps up to the day of election they will appear at the poles.¹

My health is good, as is Mr Breathitt's we set out early in the morning for the city, I would be glad that you could meet me at centreville, or Fairfax court House. I expect to travel from 30 to 35 miles a day if my horses should not fail me, except Sundays on which I will rest. My horses considering the severe drives we have made are in good condition except a little leg tired from the heavy drives & deep roads we have experienced

With my kind regards to Emily Mary McLamore Mr Earle and the sweet little ones, and my prayers for all your healths and safety, I am affectionately yours.

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I have much Love from your connections which I will deliver when I see you but am too tired to write. A. J

N.B. I will write you again when I can determine the time I can reach Fairfax court House.

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (21-0063).

1. Henry Clay carried Kentucky in the November presidential election.

· October 1832 ·

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Guyendot October 5th. 1832

My dear Sarah

I have had a desire to write you at every stage since I left you, but such has been the bustle with which I have been surrounded, ever since I left the Hermitage that it was out of my power until now.

We reached here this evening at six, in good health, but somewhat fatigued having yesterday & to day travelled 70 miles thro a broken, and some places, very wet country; In the morning early I we will proceed on our journey, & I hope to reach the city in ten days; we have been in a constant croud thro Kentuckey and I now hope having got into virginia we will have some quiet on the road. so soon as I reach the city I will write you fully. Until I hear of your confinement and safe delivery & recovery, I shall have great anxiety—but I trust in a kind and superintending providence that he will bless & protect both you and Andrew, & bestow upon you a living & healthy child, to be a blessing to you in your riper years, & to me in my declining years ones.

Accept my blessing and believe me to be your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, MWiW-C (21-0066).

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 9th. October 1832.

My dear Sir,

The British Courier affords me an opportunity to Vera Cruz which I improve to give you the news of the day, as the communication with the Sea board is not yet opened, altho' all restraint may be speedily removed by Gen. Santa Anna's arrival in the Capital which is now confidently expected. He is in march for this place and distant about 70 to 80 miles, and there is nothing here or on the way to resist him, Gen. Facio has been beaten and is left behind, and I know that the Governmt. do not meditate any opposition to his entering the Capital; indeed Commissioners are actually appointed under the authority of Congress to propose terms to Gen. St. Anna upon which the City of Mexico will be surrendered to him.¹

I wrote you on the 19th. ulto. but your letter as well as the despatches have to make the tedious and circuitous route of Matamoras, and as the present may reach you earlier than the one of the 19th past, I will add in brief what the former contained. In that I informed you of the battle between the Army under the command of the Vice President in person and Moctezuma in which the latter was completely defeated—this elevated the

hopes of the Administration party greatly, and they boasted of soon crushing all opposition; the Army of Gen. Santa Anna along with the rest—but the triumph was of short duration, for upon the very heels of Gen. Bustamente's success arrived the account of Gen. Santa Anna's having beaten successively Gen. Facio & Gen. Andrade, the latter under the very Walls of Puebla, and having occupied the City immediately after, where he was resting and reorganising his army preparatory to the advance on the Capital. Puebla is not more than 60 to 70 miles from Mexico so that Santa Anna may be shortly expected—his friends say he will be here in three days. Santa Anna's unexpected success and near approach to the Capital has created great consternation here, and several are already off, whilst a great many more are preparing to leave the City—Every leading Man of the late Administration or of the party, will feel it necessary to place himself in safety if practicable, for severe retaliation is threat'ned by the opposition, and unless a Capitulation is arranged with Gen. Santa Anna there will doubtless be many executions.²

The stirring events of the last two months has completely suspended our Texas negotiation. I have had one conversation with Mr. Fagoaga (the present secretary) on the subject he promises me a Written communication at the first leisure, and I mean on every fit occasion to renew it, untill we shall come to some definite arrangement. The loss of Mr. Alaman's Agency in that negotiation is a serious loss—I must endeavour to repair it in the best way I can—but it is impossible to form an opinion as to the prospect of a satisfactory result with Mr. Fagoaga untill I can get his views more fully than I have yet been able to do. He does not seem shy, but the continual occupation in which he is kept with the peculiar condition of Home affairs, has compelled him to suspend every thing disconnected with the restoration of internal tranquillity for the present.

I learn that Lieut. Tatnall's prize has arrived in the U. States—that Gentleman deserves great credit for his conduct in the affair of the Moctezuma, and I beg you to sustain him to the fullest extent, nay let his conduct be publicly applauded if possible. It is so seldom that we can reach these people with punishment for the wrongs continually inflicted on our Citizens along with other foreigners, that no occasion should be neglected that presented an opportunity for doing so. Some foreign nation must 'ere long teach the Mexicans that although the General Government of their own Country may be too feeble to restrain or punish the violations they are constantly repeating, not only against rights sanctioned by National Law, but even against such as secured by positive Treaty stipulation; that the injured nation will employ its own means for punishing the aggressor.

Some of the cases to which I have reference in the preceding remarks will be found in detail, in a recent despatch to the Department of State. I shall employ every opportunity to write you, during the pendency of the present great struggle for ascendancy between the two parties here, and

hope that end in favor of whom it may, the result may advance the measure of liberty and happiness to the great human family. I am My dear Sir with sincere Respect your friend & most obedt.

A: Butler

ALS, DLC (41). AJ replied on December 4 (below).

1. On September 29 Santa Anna had defeated government troops under José Antonio Facio at San Agustín del Palmar. Under congressional authority, interim president Melchor Múzquiz in October negotiated through commissioners with Santa Anna for a peaceful surrender, but they failed to agree on terms. Santa Anna then besieged the city before diverting in early November to meet Bustamante's approaching force.

2. On September 18 Bustamante had routed rebel forces under José Esteban Moctezuma at El Gallinero near Dolores Hidalgo. On October 4 and 5, Santa Anna defeated government troops under command of Juan José Andrade (1796–1843) and captured Puebla. Santa Anna and Bustamante fought a series of engagements in November before signing the Plan of Zavala that ended the war on December 23. It declared a general amnesty and restored Manuel Gómez Pedraza, elected president of Mexico in 1828 and subsequently deposed, to serve the remainder of his official term. Gómez Pedraza and Santa Anna entered Mexico City on January 3, 1833.

To Andrew Jackson Donelson

Mrs. Kincaids, 3 miles west of Lewisburgh, va, October 10th. 1832

Dear Major

I am thus far on my return to Washington accompanied, alone, by Mr. Breathitt, both in good health. My horses a little jaded by the long journey & rugged hills over which we have passed. We leave early tomorrow morning, if fortunate we will lodge that night 15 or 20 miles in advance of the White Sulphur Spings, passing the swift run gap, we hope to reach Culpepper court House on Tuesday evening next, and centerville or Fairfax court House on next—Thursday week, where I would be happy to see, or hear from you—perhaps I may reach the city on thursday night, as I am anxious to be with you.

On the receipt of this, I wish you to direct the Steward, Mr justa, to have fires made daily in my bed room & office, and all the rooms that will be occupied on, and after my arrival.¹

We have not had any intelligence from the city since we left Lexington K.y, we have not seen a Globe since we left Lexington—not one is taken on this rout, to Guyendott. The Extras of the Tellegraph are to be found at every post office, & no subscribers to take them out²

Present me to the heads of Departments who may be in the City & their families. I hope to be with them on thursday night week—present us to Blair, and Kendall and their families. Mr Breathitt joins me in kind salutations to you, Emily, Mary McLamore, Mr. Earle and the sweet little ones, and believe me affectionately yours

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Being much fatigued I write to no one but yourself, Mr Breathit will write to Mr. Blair. The political horison is bright as far as we have seen or heard K.y. will not give her vote to Mr Clay, as all our friends believe & so declare. say to Mr. Earle to meet us at centreville if you cannot, and perhaps it will be better for him to come in the stage & we can take him in our carriage—we will have room for you or him or both A. J.

ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (21-0073).

1. Michael A. Giusta was AJ's White House steward.

2. From September 3 to October 23, Duff Green published thirteen numbers of a *United States Telegraph Extra* opposing AJ's reelection. A subscription for ten copies cost \$5.00.

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 10. October 1832.

My dear Sir,

The departure of the British Messenger allows me but a few minutes for a hasty letter; but a report which has just reached my ears makes it proper for me to communicate the facts upon which that report is based, in order that you may not be imposed on by misrepresentations made in the U.S. in regard to my conduct here.

The first fact is that Mr. Alaman late Secretary of State, has withdrawn from Mexico upon the approach towards the Capital by Genl. Santa Anna, from apprehension of personal danger should he be arrested by the opposite party—and the second fact is, that since his departure, my attention has been occasionally given to Mrs. Alaman, with a view to lighten her distress and revive her hopes of a speedy settlement of the present political disorders. The report however is “that I have or am to occupy Mr. Alaman’s house during his absence, that the Arms of the U.S. are to be placed over the door, and that the sanction of my official character will be given to protect Mr. Alaman’s house & property from injury by the Santa Anna party when they enter Mexico and thereby commit my Governmt. by my ill judged aid afforded to an unpopular man.”

There is no truth in any part of the report—whatever assistance I may be able to afford Mrs. Alaman during the absence of her husband would be rendered cheerfully, guarding carefully not to commit myself as a public agent; and that Mrs. Alaman understands perfectly.

In order that you may understand fully the position I occupy, and how it come that I am placed there, you will receive enclosed herewith a transcript of ~~the note of~~ Mr. Alaman’s note to me written just before he left the City—placed in the hands of one of my Servants after I had retired to rest, and delivered to me on the morning after. Mr. Alaman’s note will speak for itself and is a *literal* transcript except in one sentence and the meaning there is exactly preserved although it was necessary to alter the form of expression.

You have long known the very intimate and friendly relations that subsisted between this Gentleman and myself, and it will not therefore surprise you to find that he committed his family to my charge on his leaving the City. The connections of both Mr. & Mrs. Alaman, are numerous wealthy, and occupy distinguished rank in the Community, but they are all of that party ~~that~~ who are at present going down, and were from that circumstance not only unable to afford protection to Mrs. Alaman, but might require it for themselves. I had not seen Mr. Alaman for some time before he left the City, and was completely a stranger to his intended movements untill I received his note—he is said to be personally timid—and the success of Gen. Santa Anna in the battle at Puebla, and the occupancy of that City so near Mexico induced Mr. A. to move immediately. As soon as I recd the note I waited on Mrs. Alaman, and found her in Tears surrounded by her children—the appeal was irresistible—All was said to her that occurred to me as likely to cheer and encourage her—I promised my services to every extent, that did not commit me as a public Agent, and felt happy to see that she had gained confidence, and became composed during the interview. I have made a daily visit to the House since Mr. Alaman's departure and shall continue to do so—believing that whilst discharging my duties as a Man towards an unprotected, amiable and most exemplary Matron, there could be found nothing in such a course inconsistent with the relations I sustain towards this Government in my official character, and that I should put nothing more at hazard than perhaps my own personal safety should there be amongst Mr. Alamans enemies any one so infuriated as to seek revenge on me—and I indulge the confidence moreover that my conduct on this occasion will meet your decided approbation. Mr. Alaman was no stranger to the fact that I stood well with both the political parties who divide the Country—that most of the leading members of opposition held me in great regard, and between whom and myself a very cordial, social intercourse was maintained, and no doubt but this circumstance, as much as his personal regard for me conduced to the determination of confiding his family to my protection.

I beg you will reply to this letter and tell me under your own hand whether you approve the course I have pursued in this matter—for next to the satisfaction I derive from a consciousness of having done my duty, will be that of knowing my conduct has received the sanction of your approbation.

I have just been informed that by Gen. Santa Anna's delay in Puebla, he has enabled Gen. Facio to gain two marches upon him, and that the latter is now within 14 leagues of Mexico, thereby interposing his Force between St. Anna and the Capital. This will evidently produce another battle should Gen. Santa Anna decide on advancing upon this place immediately, so that I may see a fair Mexican fight yet.

The Council of Government in consequence of Facio's arrival it is said will suspend their design of presenting terms of Capitulation[.]¹ with great Esteem & perfect Respect Dear Sir yours

A: Butler

ALS, DLC (41). AJ replied on December 4 (below). Lucas Alamán's wife was Narcisca Castrillo de Alamán (1804–1858).

1. After his defeat on September 29, Facio regrouped and marched to defend the capital. Santa Anna invested Mexico City after surrender negotiations failed. On November 5 Butler reported to Livingston that in his view the talks had been "a mere *ruse* to gain time, and enable the Government to collect and concentrate their means" (DNA-RG 59, M97-7).

[Enclosure]

Copy of Mr. Alaman's note to me *without date* but written on the night of Saturday the 6th. October 1832

My dear Sir,

I am gone far from this City: I take the liberty of recommending to you my Lady and family. I beg of you to devise with her some measures of security for our House before she leaves it. Do not speak I intreat you of my having left Mexico untill it shall become generally known. ever and truly your friend

L. Alaman

Copy in Butler's hand, DLC (41).

From John Rowan

Bardstown Octr. 10th 1832

Dear Sir

I have often, since I left the political Theatre, been almost tempted to write you. The occurrences within the last two years were of a character to excite in your friends the deepest solicitude. I felt strongly in reference to several of them, and woud have obtruded upon you my feeble sentiments, had it not seemd presumptuous. The Georgia Missionary, and the Bank question, were subjects of that class. In them, I feel the most intense interest. The former was a deep & deadly blow; aimd at the sovereignty of the states, and the latter was but the same blow, with the same aim, struck with a mightier hand.

I was rejoiced to find, that in each you displayd that intuitive wisdom, and that unparralled firmness, which had excited the admiration of mankind, upon a different Theatre—you have savd your Country, & Its free Institutions; and are entitled to the gratitude of all good men.

That the Monarchists and the votaries of consolidation, shoud be your Enemies, and oppose yr. reelection, is natural. By your veto upon the

Rechartering Bill, you have thrown them *all aback*—you have parralysd thier Energies, and stupefied them with astonishment—daring as they knew you to be, they did not believe that you woud Dare to oppose that Giant of Aristocracy. And yet had you signd the Bill, they woud have derisively proclaimd, that you had *truckled* to Its power. Their Folly in pressing the rechartering Bill at this time, in the veiw to Entrap you, has made them (by the event, (*the veto*)) the unwilling Caterers, and Ministers, to your Fame. The have furnishd you with Materials for a richer and more splendid fame, Than were furnishd to Washington during his administration. You have improvd the occasion to their utter anihilation, as I hope, and to the delight and admiration of the friends of Civil Liberty every where—posterity while they It will admire your Military ~~Trophies, will not~~ atchievents and acknowledge them worthy of unqualified admiration, will nevertheless, unless I am greatly mistaken, postpone them to your Civic. The Enemies of our Country afforded an occasion for the farmer, and The Enemies of our Free Institution the occasion for the latter. You have Foiled both, and saved your Country twice. With veiws like these while matters wer in progress, I was often tempted by my feelings to address you, and was only restraind, as I have before hinted, by the consideration That I might be Thought presumptuous—nor woud I now invade the province of yr. important public duties by any reference to those subjects which have given me so much anxiety, and in thier event, so much delight, and you so much Fame. But That I feel constraind to address you upon a different subject, and one which concerns me as a Father very intimately. My Son A H Rowan, from some kind intimations which you were pleasd to make to me—to some of his friends, and to himself, has cherishd the hope that the period was not remote, when those sentiments so kindly expressd in his behalf, woud be realizd. He has of Course, with-drawn very much his attention from professional, & directed it to diplomatic studies. For near four years his reading has been almost altogether with an eye to a diplomatic appointment. At first, he hopd to obtain the appointment of Secty of Legation to the Court of St James, or St Cloud.¹ He now thinks of a *Chargé Des Affairs*. He is ~~now~~ in the 29th year of his age, and I am extremely anxious That he shoud be either Thrown back upon his profession—or employd according to your kind intimations in his regard. I have no doubt that he is highly qualified for the place of *Charge Des Affairs*, at any of the Courts of any of the Countries with which we sustain that kind of relation. But it does not become me to recommend him. (Besides this is a private letter). My *anxiety* is that he shoud be *engaged in business*. His *anxiety*, is to be *engaged in diplomatic business*. The object of this letter is to request yr. Decision upon this (to me) very interesting question. Will their not shortly be a vacancy at Columbia, or Mexico, or at Constantinople, or at Naples? Have we no relations of requiring an Agent of that Character with Rome, or Austria? You Sir can easily comprehend the anxiety which as his father, I feel must feel that he shoud

rescued from his present dubious & hesitating situation—and you can, & let me request that you will, by the answer which I hope you will make to this letter, either drive the young man back to his profession, or quicken his hopes and his studies in the direction of his *aspirations*. Be assured that whatever you may choose to do in this to me ~~very~~ interesting matter, will not in any degree alter or vary the admiration & Esteem, with which, I am your political and personal friend

John Rowan

P S. I had hopes that I woud see you, as you passd through Kentucky upon yr return to the City of Washington, and went to Louisville, where you were expected, in that veiw. But you passd Lexington, and I with many other of yr friends was disappointed. R

P.S. I feel very confident that you will again receive the Electoral vote of Kenty—R

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] judge Roan—to be answered A. J.

ALS, DLC (41). Rowan (1773–1843) had been a Kentucky U.S. senator from 1825 to 1831. His son Atkinson Hill Rowan (c1804–1833) had been sent to Spain by the State Department in 1830 as special agent to retrieve documents concerning disputed land claims. He died of cholera in July 1833.

1. St. James and Saint-Cloud were the royal courts of Britain and France.

From Enoch Parsons

Claiborne 12th October 1832

Dear General,

The other day from Fort Mitchell, Col Crowell, Major Parsons, & myself, made to the Secretary of War, our report, touching our business with the Creek Indians, and I believe it to be my duty to communicate as fully as possible all matters relative to the Indians, so that the Government may pursue in regard to them the best practicable policy. The Indians, had an idea of reacting toward the chiefs who signed the Treaty of March last the McIntosh operations, which are suppressed for the present, and I hope forever.¹

The generality of the Indians, did not understand the Treaty, and were not of opinion their Country was sold to the United States.

The Chiefs had suppressed the information in order to secure their safety.

We explained the Treaty as fully as we could, and their situation as a people, and their prospects in the country offered to them, and I think after they have time to consider they will emigrate in mass. I am certain that their removal, will be sooner effected by removing them in such companies as may be ready.

A considerable part of the expence of removing them heretofore has been created by keeping them in embodied before they started, and by not having provisions ready at certain places on the march, all of which might be saved by the action of proper agents.

The utmost liberality compatable with interest of the Government in allowing selections of the reservations secured by the Treaty will be best, and I will submit the request that the 20 sections allowed for the benefit orphan children shall be made of the best land, and turned to the best possible account.

One locating agent cannot soon accomplish the work. But of all things the certifying agent when the Indians sell to individuals, if they must their reservations, must be a man above all price, and of sufficient Intelligence (and how is such an one to be obtained for the price)

Every effort ought to be made by the Government to purchase the reservations, and prevent the poor Indians from swindling operations.²

At the Counsel we had with the Indians as I believe amongst other means to prevent our success large quantities of spirits were introduced, and so managed as to prevent our obtaining a meeting for three days of the chiefs. Many gamblers were present and had their Banks in operations. As the laws of Alabama had been extended over the nation, and a justice of the peace of the proper County was present, I obtained the names of as many white men engaged in the retailing spirits, and gambling as I could, and demanded and obtained warrants for each, and by the time I had some six or eight arrests made, the others had fled, and we had no more trouble with such characters, and were I to be concerned in another Counsel with the Indians, I would request the Government to authorize me to procure the attendance of a justice of the peace.³

Spiritous liquors is the bane of Indians, and in any country where they are, all possible means ought to be used by the Government to prevent the introduction of such poison amongst the Indians.

If the Government should determine to remove the Indians in such numbers as may be ready, I respectfully ~~submit~~ suggest that Major Parsons, (my brother) and Major Abbott, will be found faithful agents. And if you have a sub agency in the present Creek Country to make, that B. S. Parsons would be glad to receive the appointment, and I hope act well his part.⁴

It was fortunate that you revoked Philip Fitzpatrick's appointment. A greater rascal cannot be found. The Annuity paid at the counsel will be, or has been, divided amongst the Indians. I have no doubt, the Indians were so generally present, and so well informed how much money there was, and who had it, that death would be the lot of the chief who failed at the appointed day & place to divide out money fairly.⁵

If the settlers in the nation have to be removed, it will produce the entire ruin of many valuable families of our people, and is a measure which ought to be avoided if practicable.

The settlers did not aid the Government at the counsel it is true but I made known to them that we would report their conduct, and the effect was great, and I think they will hence forward act differently.⁶

With my stiff fingers wrist, and elbow, I write so badly, that I concluded to address this to you, and that you could and would make the proper use of it, and the proper allowance for my situation. I believe I shall be unable to pursue my profession.

Please to accept the respect of Mrs P. & myself & remember me to my friends.⁷ Yours respectfully

Enoch Parsons.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Referred to the Secretary of War, for his consideration. The writer can be relied on. A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-223). Parsons, his brother Benjamin S. Parsons, and Creek agent John Crowell had been appointed by the War Department as commissioners to implement the Creek removal treaty of March 24. Their instructions were issued on June 27. Elbert Herring of the War Department's Office of Indian Affairs replied to Parsons on November 5. He promised "liberality" to the Creeks in the selection of treaty reserves and due precaution against "imposition and fraud" in approving their private land sales, and he approved exertions to protect them from the "evil" of ardent spirits (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 853-54, 947-48, Serial 245).

1. On September 29 the three commissioners reported to Lewis Cass that they had met the Creeks in a general council beginning September 20, and that the Creeks were not yet ready to emigrate, disbelieving commissioners' assurances of the value of the western country and of future protection there against state interference. The commissioners enclosed an address signed by six leading Creek chiefs on September 26, declaring "there is not a dissenting voice among us who wish either to sell or move west of the Mississippi" (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 467-70, Serial 246). Fort Mitchell, site of the Creek agency, was on the Alabama side of the Chattahoochee River several miles below Columbus, Georgia. Creek chief William McIntosh (1775-1825) had been put to death under tribal order for signing the disputed removal treaty of Indian Springs.

2. Article 2 of the treaty reserved a square-mile section within the Creeks' ceded Alabama domain for each of ninety principal chiefs, a half-section for every other Creek family head, and twenty sections, to be selected under presidential direction, for the benefit of Creek orphans. Article 3 allowed private sale of the individual reserves "for a fair consideration," if each sale was first certified by a presidential appointee and then approved by the president. In their September 29 report, the commissioners opined that many Creeks might be induced to emigrate promptly if the government itself were to purchase their reservations for \$1.25 per acre. Herring replied on October 12 that this was not possible without legislation (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, p. 936, Serial 245).

3. Alabama had extended jurisdiction over its Creek domain in 1829.

4. Thomas J. Abbott was serving as secretary to the commission. The eastern Creek agency was reduced to a subagency on December 31, with Leonard Tarrant as subagent.

5. The War Department had first appointed William R. Pickett of Alabama to join Benjamin S. Parsons and Crowell on the Creek commission and also, with Parsons, to take a census of Creek chiefs and family heads. Pickett declined and recommended former Alabama legislator Phillips Fitzpatrick (1788-1835). The Department appointed Fitzpatrick, then on July 19 instead appointed Enoch Parsons to both posts. Parsons declined the census job on August 3 (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, pp. 882-84, Serial 245; vol.3, pp. 389-90, 412-13, Serial 246; DNA-RG 75, M21-9). At the September council the commissioners, as instructed, distributed the year's annuity as directed by the Creeks.

6. The commissioners' September 29 report and a letter that Parsons wrote Cass on October 12 complained that white traders were obstructing removal by plying the Creeks with liquor, entangling them in debt, and turning them against the federal government. Parsons recommended evicting the traders and allowing farmers to stay. Article 5 of the treaty ordered all white intruders out of the Creek country until the individual reserves had been located. The War Department issued emphatic orders for their removal on October 26 (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, p. 944, Serial 245; vol. 3, pp. 483–84, Serial 246).

7. Enoch's wife was Kitty Kain Parsons.

From James Buchanan

St. Petersburg 1/13 October 1832.

Dear General,

I avail myself of the present opportunity of writing to you with the more eagerness, as I know not when I shall again enjoy that pleasure. The last Steam Boat for the season will leave here in about a fortnight, & after that period no safe opportunity may soon offer. To put my letters in the Post office here would be most certainly to expose them to the Russian Government. Indeed they scarcely think it necessary to do up the seals decently of those which I receive.

Both the Emperor & Count Nesselrode have returned to this Capitol: I may therefore expect a final answer to ~~my~~ our propositions in a few days. I dined with the Count yesterday, who treated me with marked attention. I suppose he thought it incumbent on him to do so, as it was the first time he had invited me. The dinner was given to the French Ambassador—the Duke of Treviso—who leaves here to day in the Steam Boat on leave of absence. Whether he will ever return ~~here~~ is I think doubtful.¹ I do not express this opinion, because I believe there is danger of immediate hostilities between the two Countries. On the contrary, I am satisfied they will remain at peace, whilst Louis Philip shall continue on the throne & pursue his present course of policy. How long the present state of things may last in France is the question.

I think you may rest satisfied that Russia will not go to war for the King of Holland. She will suffer France & England to carry into effect the decrees of the London Conference against him. This however will cause much irritation here & in Prussia. Indeed from my intercourse with the Russian nobility, I believe a war with France to preserve Belgium for the King of Holland would be highly popular. The Emperor however has, I am almost confident, determined it shall not be for the present. This is wise, for I am persuaded that Russia has not yet sufficiently recovered from the four wars which she has sustained since the accession of the present Emperor to enable her to be as formidable & efficient as the world believes her.² As long therefore as things remain as they are in France there will not be war. An attempt on her part to interfere forcibly with either Germany or Poland would instantly change the aspect of affairs.

News of the death of King Ferdinand of Spain arrived here a few days ago, but ~~was~~ has since been contradicted. In the mean time it produced a great sensation. It is considered that his death, without a son, must almost necessarily produce a civil war in that ill fated country, & perhaps make the rest of Europe parties ~~to it~~. His imprudent abolition of the Salique law in favor of his daughter, it is thought, will not be submitted to by Don Carlos in favor of whose succession the whole of the Apostolical party will be found ranged.³

The Government here ardently desire the defeat of Don Pedro. Indeed any change in Europe in favor of liberal principles would be disagreeable to them, & they even occasionally publish ill natured articles concerning the United States. This you will perceive from the last St. Petersburg Journal; a file of which I shall send by Mr. Mitchell, for whom I have obtained a Courier's Passport. The articles contained in News papers here have the more meaning, as the Press is under a most rigid censorship. I am well acquainted however with the chief Censor Count Laval who is one of those noble men who have been the most polite to me, & I shall take some opportunity of conversing with him on this subject.⁴

England is I think fast losing her consideration on the Continent. The present ministry are not believed to possess much ability, at least for conducting the foreign affairs ~~of the country~~; & ~~there are~~ they have so many embarrassing domestic questions on their hands, independently of the national debt, that they cannot without the most urgent necessity involve the Country in a war. They have negotiated & paid for making Belgium a virtual province of France—Greece of Russia; & I think they are in a fair way of losing their commercial advantages in Portugal by an affected neutrality between the hopeful brothers of the House of Braganza, for which they receive no credit at least in this Country.⁵ Although Lord Durham was treated with the most distinguished attention by the Emperor, he received almost none from the nobility: & they indulge in a bitterness of remark both against him & his country which shews what are their feelings towards England. Besides he was an eccentric nobleman & is the subject of as many ridiculous stories as my predecessor. I am sincerely glad that he has in some degree taken the place of the latter in the gossip of this City. But this is a subject to which I would not advert in writing to any other person. They have no free press here; but they make up for the want of it in private scandal in relation to all subjects on which they can talk with safety. The present British Minister Mr. Bligh is a plain agreeable & unassuming gentleman, with whom my relations are of the most friendly character.⁶

Within the last six weeks I have had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of several noble families of the very highest rank, & I am beginning to receive many attentions from that class. Their coldness & jealousy towards strangers generally are fast disappearing in relation to myself. Some accidental circumstances which it would be useless to detail

have contributed much to this result. I consider this a fortunate circumstance as the nobility exercise great influence in this Country. I think in my Despatch of the 9th. August last I spoke rather too harshly of them as a class: and although, with a few exceptions, I by no means admire them, yet this shews how dangerous it is to form opinions too hastily.⁷ The influence of the example of the present Emperor & Empress, in the correctness of their private deportment, ~~has done them~~ is doing their nobility much good.

Too much care cannot be taken in selecting a minister for this Court. Indeed it would be difficult to find many suitable persons in our Country for this Mission. In ~~other countries~~ London & in Paris, our ministers enjoy the consideration to which they are entitled from the exalted character of their Country; but here the character of the Country must depend, in a considerable degree, upon that of the minister. The principles of the American Government—the connexion between our greatness & prosperity as a nation ~~with~~ and the freedom of our institutions are a sealed book in regard to the Russians. Their own Press dare publish nothing upon the subject, & all foreign papers unless those of the most illiberal character are prohibited. The higher classes here must in a great degree receive ~~all~~ their information concerning our Country from our minister. This sufficiently points out what ought to be his qualifications, & I regret my own deficiency in some important particulars. Great talents are by no means so requisite, as an easy address, insinuating manners & a perfect knowledge of the French language. (In the latter I have already made considerable advances.) Above all he ought to have a genuine American heart in which I know I am not deficient, always anxious to seize every favorable opportunity, & many such occur, of making an ~~favorable~~ impression in favor of his Country.

There is one great disadvantage however under which a minister here labors; & that is the total inadequacy of the salary. These people are fond of extravagance & show, & have not the least taste for Republican simplicity & economy. In order that a minister may hold a high place in their esteem, he must be able to ~~enter~~ return their civilities. They judge much by appearances. The want of this reciprocity will be attributed to the meanness of the minister or that of his country or both. Even the Representative of his Sardinian Majesty receives \$16.000 per annum. Now if I had \$100.000 per annum I would not pursue any course of conduct in this respect which I should be ashamed to exhibit to my countrymen; but surely if they were aware that their minister could not return with republican simplicity & dignity the civilities which he cannot avoid receiving, without giving offence, they would consent to an increase of salary. I think \$15.000 per annum would be sufficient for this purpose *without the outfit*. Perhaps it would be better to fix it at \$13.000 per annum with the expense of a furnished house. At all events, I must give some large dinners.

I make these remarks without feeling the slightest personal interest in them; because nothing short of your express command would induce me

to remain here longer than two years from the time of my arrival; & I trust something may occur to justify my return to my native land in within a shorter period. I feel however, if I had such a salary, I could leave a much more favorable impression of my country behind me. Bye the bye, I do not know yet what I am to receive. If I should have to lose the exchange between this & Amsterdam at its present rate my salary will but little exceed \$8000. ~~Whenever~~ If ever a change shall be made the salary of the minister here ought to be fixed in Silver Roobles.

I have lately seen much of Mr Poletica who is still attached to the Foreign office. His feelings towards our country appear to be very friendly. From his conversation I have reason to anticipate a favorable issue to our negotiations; but I shall not allow myself to confide much in unofficial conversations. I have no doubt that they feel it would be their interest to negotiate with us & they appreciate highly the advantages of our trade, yet they entertain such strong prejudices against commercial Treaties & there are so many wheels within wheels in the complex system of their policy, that it is safest not to expect a Treaty with too much confidence. I have no doubt, should they conclude one with us, England would insist upon being placed on the same footing. Besides Count Cancrene the minister of Finance is understood to be opposed to all commercial Treaties.⁸

I ought to state that I believe the omission to invite Mr. Barry to the reviews was unintentional, & Count Nesselrode expressed his sorrow to Baron Krudener for this neglect before the latter left this city.⁹

I shall soon be looking with great anxiety for news concerning our elections. I read your veto message with very great pleasure. Although rather inclined to be friendly to the re-charter of the Bank of the United States; yet I am now free to say I should ~~now~~ vote for no Bill for that purpose liable to the objections of that which passed both Houses of Congress. I am glad to observe the spirit which seems to animate the Republican Party of Pennsylvania in relation to this subject. I entertain no apprehensions concerning the result of your election; but I wish to see you come into office for a second period with that triumphant majority which you are entitled to receive both from the wisdom & success of your foreign & domestic policy. I cannot think that the unnatural union between the Clay men & the Anti-masons will reduce your majority; as I believe the mass of both these parties is honest & ~~will~~ cannot approve such a political partnership.

Pardon me for not taking the trouble of correcting & re-writing this long & rambling letter. I should do so, did I not know it was only intended for friendly eyes.

I now receive my newspapers with tolerable regularity, through the kindness of my friends in Hamburg & Lubeck. This regulation, will cease at the close of the present month, when the Steam Boats will be discontinued.

Please to present my best respects to the members of your Cabinet. I have been for some time expecting a letter from Major Barry. Remember

me kindly to your family, & believe me to be, wherever my lot may be cast, your faithful devoted & grateful friend

James Buchanan

ALS, DLC (41). Copy, PHi (21-0085). *Works of James Buchanan*, 2:237–41. AJ enclosed this letter to Livingston on December 31 (below).

1. In January 1833 Nicolas Joseph Maison was named to replace the Duke of Treviso as French ambassador to Russia.

2. Russia's four wars since Nicholas I's accession in 1825 were the Decembrist uprising (1825–26), the Russo-Persian War (1826–28), the Russo-Turkish War (1828–29), and the Polish rebellion (1830–31).

3. In 1830 Ferdinand VII had revoked the Salic law barring females from the Spanish royal succession. His daughter Isabella (1830–1904), born later that year, thus displaced Ferdinand's brother Carlos (1788–1855) as heir to the throne. Her succession as Isabella II on Ferdinand's death in September 1833 prompted the First Carlist War, in which Spain's clerical and absolutist conservatives backed Carlos against Isabella and the liberals.

4. Born in France, Jean-Charles François de Laval de la Loubrerie (1761–1846) had entered Russian service, married an heiress, and become a Count.

5. Following the successful Greek war for independence against Ottoman rule, the three powers Britain, France, and Russia had undertaken to frame a government for the nascent Greek state. In May 1832 they signed a convention at London to make Greece an independent hereditary monarchy, install King Ludwig of Bavaria's second son Otto or Otho as king, and guarantee him a loan of up to 60 million francs. The warring brothers Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel were members of Portugal's royal House of Braganza.

6. Lacking a resident ambassador at St. Petersburg, the British government had dispatched John George Lambton (1792–1840), then Baron (later Earl of) Durham, on a special mission to Russia in the summer of 1832 to consult on several pressing issues. John Duncan Bligh (1798–1872) was appointed interim minister in September.

7. In his August 9 official dispatch to the State Department, Buchanan remarked on the Russian nobility's extravagant habits and observed that "the Nobles, with but few exceptions, have acquired all the vices of French civilization in it's highest state without any of it's redeeming qualities, except politeness" (*Works of James Buchanan*, 2:229).

8. Pierre (or Petr Ivanovich) de Polética (1778–1849) had been Russian minister to the U.S. from 1819 to 1822. Egor Frantsevich Kankrin (1774–1845) was the Russian finance minister.

9. At Buchanan's first official audience on June 11, Nicholas I had promised that his secretary John W. Barry could attend military reviews (*Works of James Buchanan*, 2:197–98).

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

private & confidential

Charleston 16th. October 1832

Dear Sir

You will have seen by the public papers, that the Union party throughout the state of So. Carolina have been beaten at the ballot box; and you must be prepared to hear very shortly of a State Convention and an act of Nullification.¹

Our party met last night, the first time after our defeat, and past resolutions expressive of our firm determination to oppose nullification and

to adhere to our allegiance to the United States.² But allegiance implies protection and we rely upon the government acting with vigor in our behalf. The impression on the minds of the Nullifiers undoubtedly is that no measures will be taken against them, and that they will be left to carry out their designs with impunity. If so we have nothing to do but witness the triumph of Mr. Calhoun. I have on every occasion told my fellow Citizens that the Executive of the United States would act decidedly and vigorously. What that action ought to be I have not the presumption to hint at; but it is right you should know, that it is believed the Nullifiers intend to proceed first by process of law agreeably to an act to be passed. They will proceed by replevin, and I suppose if the Collector refuses (as he surely will do, for he is a firm determined man) they will either imprison him or break open the Custom stores.³ If the government in addition to any other measures they may chuse to take, think proper to aid the collector in resisting this illegal and unconstitutional act—Measures ought to be taken immediately. Col. Lindsey ought to be ordered to take up his residence in the Citadel. He is now on the Island. I do not know what number of men he has, but more could be sent, by sending full companies and withdrawing such as are deficient, so as not to excite distrust—two or three hundred muskets and a number of hand grenades ought to be in the Citadel with their corresponding ammunition.⁴ Indeed whether the government is disposed to resist the replevin and protect its Stores or not—the precautions I propose ought to be taken. We are not disposed to make any riotous or tumultuary resistance; but we are ready to support the laws if legally called upon so to do at the hazard of our lives. I am sure I speak the sentiments of the party when I say so. Judging from the late conduct of these men we may have to defend ourselves against lawless violence, and we ought not to be left entirely defenceless. I mean without arms and ammunition. I am exceedingly anxious on this subject. The party in the city look to me for precautionary measures and I would not have them disappointed. All the officers ought to be men on whom you can rely and in whom we can place our confidence. Major Belton has, I believe, been sent away very properly. Mathssias pay master ought not to be suffered to remain here taking the part he does agt. the government. Lining, Surgeon, ought to be removed.⁵ The custom house where the battle will be fought is crowded with Nullifiers—ought they not to be removed? I shall send Mr. McLane a list of them. The post office is filled with the Enemies of the government. I am advised even not to put a letter into the Post office of Charleston directed to you! Ought such things to be at such a crisis? If the executive should resolve to remove these officers I hope Col. Drayton or some leading Union men will be consulted as to their successors.⁶

On the issue of this contest between the federal government and a faction in this state depends the permanency of the Union and the future character of this nation. We feel therefore a deep interest in the measures

which will be adopted by the Executive and an earnest desire to lend our aid to render them effectual. I am, dear Sir, respectfully yours

J. R. Poinsett

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr. Poinsett—recd. Novbr 18th. 1832 2. P. M—A. J.

ALS, DLC (41). Poinsett, a Charleston native, was a former South Carolina congressman and U.S. minister to Mexico. AJ wrote him on November 7, before receiving this (below).

1. In South Carolina elections held on October 8 and 9, the State Rights Party, favoring nullification, defeated the Union Party, winning more than two-thirds majorities in both houses of the state legislature. Governor James Hamilton Jr. immediately called the new legislature into special session for October 22.

2. The Union Party of St. Philip's and St. Michael's parishes in Charleston met on October 15 and adopted resolutions calling nullification "an unconstitutional political heresy" and pledging to resist it "by all legal and constitutional means" and to "be firm in their allegiance to the United States" (Charleston *Courier*, October 17, 1832).

3. Unionist James Reid Pringle (1782–1840) was the customs collector at Charleston.

4. Colonel William Lindsay (d. 1838) of the Second Artillery Regiment commanded U.S. troops stationed at Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island, at Castle Pinckney in Charleston harbor, and in Charleston at the state arsenal, or the Citadel. On October 16 he left on an inspection tour of regimental artillery posts, and Brevet Major Julius F. Heileman assumed command.

5. Captain Francis Smith Belton (1791–1861) had been sent in June with a detachment of troops to establish Camp Armistead at Tellico Plains in Tennessee. Abraham A. Massias (c1772–1848) was an Army paymaster and a longtime resident of Charleston. His four-year commission expired on December 12 and was not renewed in consequence of his alleged nullification activities. Massias protested to Lewis Cass on December 19 that the charges were untrue, and AJ ordered him transferred rather than removed (DNA-RG 107, M222-31). Army assistant surgeon Thomas Lining (1799–1868), a Charleston native, resigned on December 1 (DNA-RG 94, M567-72).

6. Perhaps prompted by Poinsett, Treasury secretary McLane wrote Charleston customs collector Pringle on November 19 directing that he immediately report the names of untrustworthy subordinates for removal. Pringle sent him a list on December 4 (DNA-RG 56, M178-32). William Drayton (1776–1846) was a Unionist South Carolina congressman.

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Octr. 20th 1832

My dear Sir.

I understand that when Mr Rea's letter was received it was read over to him again and again and paragraph by paragraph & that he then replied to it His reply being reduced to writing in the presence of his friends It would have been fair if this answer had been communicated to Mr Rhea which it might well have been done It is upon this statement that Mr Gouverneur as I am told founds his assertion

We are all busily engaged in the approaching contest in which I must express if not entire certainty much confidence of success.

I hope you have returned with renewed health and in good spirits. I remain with my great regard Your sincere friend &c

James A Hamilton

ALS, DLC (41). Before he died on July 4, 1831, James Monroe had signed a statement on June 19 declaring that the claim that he had privately authorized AJ's 1818 Seminole campaign, made in John Rhea's letter to him of June 3, 1831, was "utterly unfounded & untrue" (*Jackson Papers*, 9:286–88). No reply was then made to Rhea himself. Rhea died on May 27, 1832. On June 9 a *Globe* article stated that AJ in Florida had been "acting under the secret orders" of the government. On June 15, Samuel L. Gouverneur, Monroe's son-in-law and executor, privately wrote *Globe* editor Francis P. Blair denouncing the statement as slandering Monroe's "purity and honor" by "imputations of the most decided duplicity, and of the most contemptible evasion." He demanded a correction or investigation. Blair replied on June 20, denying an intent to malign Monroe's character and adding that if Monroe disputed Rhea's contention, he should have done so directly to Rhea. Gouverneur replied on July 3 that he had proof that Monroe had, in fact, contradicted Rhea's account, and that the truth would eventually come out.

On September 20, the *US Telegraph* ran a long vindication of Calhoun's course in the Seminole affair, which included the first publication of Abner Lacock's June 25 letter to AJ (above). The *Globe* in reply on September 22 repeated its June 9 claim that AJ "*was acting under the secret orders of the government.*" Alluding to Gouverneur's unpublished exchange with Blair, it denied intending to impugn Monroe's character. The *Telegraph* responded on September 25 by challenging Gouverneur to produce his proof against Rhea, suggesting that he had let fear of being removed as New York City postmaster "intimidate him from discharging a solemn duty of vindicating his honor at all hazards, enjoined upon him as the dying command of" Monroe.

In response, Gouverneur published his earlier correspondence with Blair in the October 1 *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*. In a separate October 1 letter, he also divulged the fact of Monroe's receiving Rhea's June 1831 letter on his sickbed and branding it "utterly false" (*Courier and Enquirer*, October 3, 1832). The controversy continued some days, with Gouverneur likening Blair to a cur, a viper, and a "mischievous donkey" (*Courier and Enquirer*, October 8, 1832), and the *Globe* on October 9 branding Gouverneur "a good special pleader."

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

(Private)

Washington Octbr. 21rst 1832

My Dr Son

On my arrival here on the evening of the 19th. instant, I had the pleasure to receive yours & Sarahs affectionate letters of the 6th & 7th. instant. I was truly gratified to learn that every preparation had been made for Sarah's confinement, and her health continued good, which gives us a right to hope, of Sarahs doing well. I shall be more than anxious to hear of her safe delivery, for which I shall continue to offer up my prayers.

I am happy to learn that you are succeeding so well with the farm but I beg of you to be careful of your health. I am fearful of your exposing

yourself to the dews, of which you must be careful. I am pleased that you have got your wheat & rye *well* in the ground & that you have been able to save the two colts—let them remain with their mothers until you get them in good order, then wean them—when you take them from their mothers keep them in a stable for eight days, having their water given them in the stable, & out of the view & hearing of their mothers—then have them turned into the lot you intend for them & have the motherless colt put with them & well fed on oats & some corn during the winter, it will require this to give them size from being so badly treated & stunted. They are worth taking care of—Sarahs filly & my Stockholder you will keep in good order thro out the winter you must push the Stockholder to give her size & in the spring have her trained if you can—after the crop is up if you can have her well broke, and give her some short exercise to give her heels it will be of great service to her.

Major Donelson has written you about your filly—altho she got beat, she has obtained high credit & if she lives will make you a handsome sum of money. I have seen William, he will be with you soon by whom I will write you.¹

I rejoice that you progress so well in getting your cotton out, I hope it will be a medium crop—keep the hands picking when the weather is good and there are sufficient open, but if leisure will permit have the corn pulled in the field next Col Wards or cany field as a pasture for your Cattle—have your Hogs put up early so that they may be fatted before the cold weather fattening none that will not weigh 120 lb. keeping all under as stock hogs by which next year you will have anough of large hogs for the family I advised you in my last of the engagement with Mr Dismukes for 10,000—at \$2.25 pr hundred to be taken on foot & delivered at the hermitage—weighing the largest & smallest & averaging the ballance by them. This will give you a stock of good hogs that next year with attention, will average 200 round

I hope from the open fall yr cotton will be more productive than was calculated when I left you—have it well handled & well sunned & dried & sent to markett in good order

My health continues good, and the Colera has subsided here, and will disappear if the Citizens continue to regulate their diet for a while; I have recd. a letter from yr brother John & will answer it to night or tomorrow—present me to him kindly to Thomas & Emma, Mr Breathit Earle Andrew Emily & Mary McLamore all unite with a tender of our kind salutations to you all, and to all our connections say to Mr McLamore & Betsy that Mary is in fine health

I will endeavour to send Jame out by William & keep Byron until you & Sarah arrives & returns—they boys are all in good health.² In haste yr affectionate father.

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Mr Leiper has just reached here, says Mr & Mrs. Weatherall & family & Mrs. Farquar & all friends are well.³ The newspapers will be forwarded. I have given Mr Earle directions so to do. A. J.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. The filly Polly Baker was sold to Alfred Ingraham of Pennsylvania in 1833 for \$1,500. William was trainer William Alexander.

2. Byron and Jame, or Jim, were Hermitage slaves sent to Washington with the racing colts in April.

3. George Gray Leiper (1786–1868) was a former Pennsylvania congressman.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington Octbr. 21st. 1832—

My Dr Sarah

I reached this place on last friday evening & received yours & Andrews, affecti[onate] letters of the 7th [& . . .]th instant. I would have replied to them yesterday, but the croud was such, that I could not get one moment to myself.

I am gratified to learn, that Mr Chester was with you. It was my Dr Sarah a source of much regret to me, that whilst I was at the Hermitage I had so little of your company—but altho the continued concourse of company, deprived me of that quiet & social intercourse with you & Andrew & the family, that I anticipated, still the visit was a pleasant one to me. I sincerely regretted the course ~~the~~ of the overseer, & the destitution of every thing which depended on him, & which I expected him to have had in abundance, as had been heretofore the case, but I am sure from the industry and care of Andrew, this will, for the future, ~~remedied~~ be prevented. My dr. Sarah, I regretted most of all, being prevented from the continued company of the melancholy pleasure, which I fondly anticipated of visiting, with you & Andrew *alone*, the tomb of my Dr. departed wife. I had a wish to have had some conversation with you both upon that subject. There was no fit opportunity, but when you visit me in the winter I trust we will be more to ourselves, when the subject will be recollected by me.

I am happy to learn from your letter & that of Andrews, that all the necessary measures have been taken to prepare for your confinement. your health continuing good, with the preparations made, I trust to the beneficence of a kind providence for your safe deliverance of a perfect child endowed with all its faculties, and bestowed by providence to be a comfort to its parents, & a blessing to me in my declining years, for all which, my fervent prayers are offered up to him who has the power to give.

I am happy to be informed of Andrews industry, & that he is likely to become so good a farmer. I fear, with you, that his constitution will not be able to the task, but if he can hold up under the fatigue until christmas

next, Mr Holtzclaw will relieve him from the laborious & onerous part of it, and all that will be necessary for him, will be, to overlook, direct, & learn what may be necessary, & of which he cannot without experience well know.

The church bell is calling us to divine service, & admonishes me to close. I will write Andrew to night more fully. We found Major Donelson Emily Mary McLamore Mr Earle & the children all in good health and all join, with me & Mr. Breathit in kind salutations to you & Andrew Thomas & Emma; Emily unites with me in prayers for your safe delivery, of which I will with great anxiety await to hear. I am Dr Sarah your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

Present us to John Donelson jnr.¹ and all our connections—²

for yourself & Andrew—

P.S. I have just returned from church, and having a moment I cannot forbear to say how much I am gratified to find that you are pleased with yr. filly; and that the two sucking colts have recovered, I hope you will urge Andrew to have them *all kept in good order*.

I am happy that you have had procured all necessaries for the kitchen &c &c—and that Andrew has assumed a proper command over the servants, that Steel had ruined.

I had written Steel often on the subject of having, a good supply of Turkies, chickens &c &c, and an abundant supply of vegetables, and I am sure he did it intentionally to vex you & Andrew and disgust you with the place & drive you and Andrew from it that he and his favorites might rule there—fortunately he is gone, and I have directed Andrew to have a good chicken coop made, turkey, Goose, & Duck houses, and then there can be no excuse made by the servants to whom their superintendence are given, & they must be made to know that they must be faithful & do their duty—put Andrew in mind of having these houses made—when they are, and system again introduced with the servants you will have but little trouble with them.

Since my return from church I opened your room which brought to my view feelingly your absence, but was cheered with the idea that you & Andrew with the sweet little cherub that I trust providence will bless you with, will occupy it ere long.

Mr. Leper has just arrived & says two days since he saw Mr Weatherell & your sister, all well, & friends well. your affectionate father A. J

ALS, TU (mAJs) and ALS postscript, DLC (45; 21-0128).

1. AJ likely meant AJ Jr.'s brother John Donelson rather than his cousin, the surveyor John Donelson Jr.

2. The text of the ALS ends here. The separated postscript begins on the next line.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington October 22nd. 1832.

My Dr Andrew

I have this moment received the within Invoice, inclosed in a letter from Mr Toland informing me that the goods have been forwarded to his friend in Pittsburgh to ship to the care of Mr Josiah Nichol Nashville for me—you will have to pay the freight on their arrival. These goods will be with you by the time this reaches you.¹

Should you have made the purchase of the bay from Mr Pryor advise me of it, that I may be prepared to meet your draft.

My Dr Son, have the monument ~~of~~ over your dear mothers grave finished—do not permit this to be neglected.

I hope ere this Sarah has presented you with a fine child. Kiss Sarah for me, & present her with my blessing. With my respects to Emma & Thomas & John I am affectionately yours

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NjMoHP (21-0132).

1. AJ had ordered these goods from Henry Toland on September 12 (above).

To Martin Van Buren

Washington October 23rd. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

I returned to this City on the 19th. instant in improved health, & found Major Donelson with his family & Col Earle, all in good health. I was charged by my son & Sarah, when I left them, with their kind salutations to you & sons, please to accept them. Sarah was not in travelling trim, and much to my regret, I was obliged to leave her—they will be on in the winter, & I hope present me with a grandchild.

Col Earle goes on a visit to his friends in Newyork, has promised that he will hand you this; you know his worth—he is your undeviating friend; and I am sure you will receive him kindly.

I have twice passed through Virginia at different points on my journey to & from the Hermitage. I have no hesitation in assuring you, that it is my opinion that you will get the vote of every state that I will, except So. Carolina, and it is doubtfull whether she will give her vote to either of us. She is in a state of perfect excitement—& the Nullifiers in a ~~perfect~~ state of insanity I still hope the Unionists, will have sufficient strength to check them in their mad & wicked career, and preserve the State from civil war, & bloodshed. Mr. Barber will not be sustained by his own State—his best friends say there being no hope of his election they will not jeopardise the election by the people, therefore drop him. Mississippi & Louisiana

is said to be safe, so is Tennessee, K.y. ohio, Indiana, Elanois & Missouri, and when Pennsylvania sees that her favorite Wilkins cannot succeed she will not separate from the democratic ranks. These are the results of the information derived from my friends, & I have no doubt but they will be realised.¹

I will be happy to hear from you on the subjects I have heretofore named to you. I have seen & read with much pleasure your reply to the Committee of N. Carolina. It breaths the same principles and opinions I assured your friends you always possessed & advocated—all my pledges on this score you have redeemed Your reply meets the approbation of all your friends, & must silence your enemies.²

I expect our mutual friend McLane, will have to go on with his sons to school, & may see you on his passage should you be in his rout.³ Write me by Mr Earle or McLane and accept assurances of my continued respect & esteem

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0143).

1. AJ carried all these states but Kentucky in the 1832 election. Philip Barbour received no electoral votes for vice president. Every Jackson elector voted for Van Buren except the thirty from Pennsylvania, who voted for Senator William Wilkins (1779–1865). South Carolina voted for Virginia's governor John Floyd and Henry Lee of Massachusetts.

2. A political meeting at Shocco Springs, N.C., on August 25 had addressed queries to Van Buren and Barbour for their views on the tariff, internal improvements, the BUS, and nullification. Van Buren's October 4 reply avowed the constitutionality of tariff protection but opposed "oppressive inequality" or sectional advantage in taxation, and endorsed AJ's policy of reducing revenue to the wants of the government. He also endorsed the Maysville Road veto and AJ's policy of curbing federal internal improvement expenditures until the constitutional power was clarified. He declared himself "unreservedly opposed" to rechartering the BUS and "equally opposed to the principle of Nullification" (*Albany Argus*, October 13, 1832; *Globe*, October 17).

3. Louis McLane's sons attended a boarding school run by Charles Dillingham in Pittsfield, Mass.

Nathan Towson to Lewis Cass

Paymaster General's Office
Washington City
October 23d. 1832

Sir

I have the honor to lay before you a copy of a letter from Paymaster Wright addressed to me and enclosing a St Louis news-paper in which is an article headed "Molinero to his Paisanos," with a certified copy of the original manuscript, from which it appears that the article was written by Paymaster Wetmore. You will perceive by Maj Wright's letter that his object in transmitting them, was to request that the subject should undergo an official investigation: As the charge against Paymaster

Wright's official conduct was of a serious character I considered it proper to have it investigated but as that could not be done without your sanction I concluded to furnish Wetmore an extract of Wright's communication, and to require from him the grounds on which he made the insinuation against the latter, in order that when the subject was submitted, you might have a view of the whole. Enclosed is a copy of my letter.

I have, by this morning's mail, received Wetmore's answer of which a copy is also Enclosed.

I will make no comment on his attempt to shew that, in the course pursued by this department to have an investigation, there was a political object, further than to state, that I did not know what was the political opinion of either of the Paymasters. I have always believed Wright to be a warm friend of the President, and you will do me the justice to say that I was indifferent about Wetmore's being ordered to St. Louis, and so stated to you at the time the arrangement was made. It is due to Paymaster Wright and Genl Ashly to say that neither of them ever said or wrote a word on the subject of his change of station, to my knowledge, before the order was given.

I add my request to Maj Wetmore's that the subject may be laid before the President. Respectfully Your Obt Servt

N. Towson
P. M. G.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Wright, & Wetmore

It is due to the good of the service and the character of the Army that a full investigation be had, into the conduct of both. If Wright is Guilty, then it was the duty of Wetmore to bring the charge openly & under his proper name against him, by laying the facts before the proper authority. If the charge is without foundation, the conduct of Wetmore is improper in giving the slander publicity thro an inonimous publication A. J.

LS, DNA-RG 153 (21-0199). Nathan Towson (1784–1854) was paymaster general of the Army. Thomas Wright (d. 1834) and Alphonso Wetmore (1793–1849) were Army paymasters in Missouri. On August 23 the St. Louis *Free Press* printed a satirical piece titled “Molinero to his Paisanos.” It attacked Missouri congressman William Ashley and his connections, including his brother-in-law Thomas Wright with this line: “Brother Wright pays off the militia, but they say he keeps more than a tenth.” Wright sent the article to Towson on September 7 with evidence of Wetmore's authorship, and demanded an official inquiry into this “outrage” on his character. Towson wrote Wetmore on September 18, requiring the grounds of his “insinuation” against Wright and an explanation why he had not lodged it through proper military channels. Wetmore replied on October 5 that “neither you or I have any thing to do officially” with the essay, which was “exclusively political” and written in the exercise “of the rights and privileges” of a free citizen. He said he had good witnesses that Wright had withheld militia pay and otherwise misused his office to further Ashley's recent reelection. He further accused Wright and Ashley of pursuing a “system of persecution” against him for opposing the BUS recharter and supporting the president. This included procuring his transfer away from Franklin to St. Louis, a decision on which Wetmore demanded an appeal to AJ (Court-Martial case files, DNA-RG 153).

Pursuant to AJ's directive, General Alexander Macomb on October 27 ordered a court of inquiry to investigate the conduct of both paymasters (DNA-RG 94, M1094-3; 21-0200). The court convened at Franklin, Mo., on November 28. After some days of testimony, Wetmore addressed the court on December 17, acknowledging that Wright had "acted both officially and unofficially, in the most honorable manner" and regretting his "wrong" of believing and publishing false charges against him. The court cleared Wright on all of Wetmore's charges, opining that his official performance had been "faithful, disinterested and efficient" and that Wetmore had been "guilty of conduct highly reprehensible" in attacking Wright's official conduct in an article "based on unjustifiable rumour." An Army general order of January 28, 1833, summarized the court's finding and announced a decision by AJ, in light of Wetmore's "frank and manly letter" of December 17 and his prior "services and sufferings," not to pursue the case further (Court-Martial case files, DNA-RG 153; DNA-RG 94, M1094-3).

To Lewis Cass

Octr. 25th. 1832

The President presents his respects to the Secretary of War and requests that he will cause a report to be made to him of the real situation of the office in the Ordnance corps to which Majr. Wade was nominated at the last session of congress. It is reported to the President that Majr. Wade has declined accepting that appointment, and that the office is open.

A. Jackson

NS in AJ Donelson's hand, Sotheby's (mAJs). Army officer William Wade (1789-1875) had been promoted to captain in 1815 and brevet major for ten years' faithful service in one grade in 1825. AJ had nominated him as a captain in the new ordnance department on April 26 and the Senate confirmed him on May 30. On June 25 Wade wrote Lewis Cass, declining the appointment as an unacceptable demotion in rank (DNA-RG 94, M567-77). Adjutant General Roger Jones explained to Wade on July 5 that appointment to the ordnance service superseded his present appointment in the artillery, and that declining the commission would leave him without any at all. Jones offered a chance to reconsider. Wade again refused, and Jones informed him on September 11 that the War Department considered him out of the Army since April 5, the date of the law creating the ordnance department (DNA-RG 94, M565-8). On February 12, 1833, AJ nominated James Wolfe Ripley to replace Wade, with rank dating to May 30, 1832.

To Charles Gratiot

[Printed here is Jackson's draft, followed by the sent version.]

Genl Gratiot attention is ~~drew to~~ requested in the examination of the appropriation in the bill entitled &c &c and report what the appropriations are

1rst. for improvements of harbors on the sea coast board or

2nd. for the removal of partial & tempory obstructions in a river *already navigable*, lying between a port of entry established on said river and another such port on the ocean, or

3rd for the improvements of the harbours on such rivers, and within such places, or on the great Lakes which are themselves directly traversed by vessels engaged in our foreign commerce and

4th. set forth what does not ~~be~~ come within the above rule ¹restrictions, but embraces ~~places on~~ water courses (or places thereon) that are not navigable ~~the direct line~~ that are not the direct line of communication between one port and another established by law, and improvements which do not pertain to the established harbours or ports of Entry and that are to be made in rivers on which no such harbour or ports of entry exist, or at points on the Lakes that are not situated at one of or between the different ports, established by law, to afford facilities to our Foreign commerce.

AD draft, DLC (41; 21-0161).

1. The text from here forward is in George Breathitt's hand.

General Gratiot's attention is requested to the examination of the appropriations contained in the Bill "for the improvement of certain harbours, and the navigation of certain rivers," which I retained, at the close of the last session of Congress, for consideration, and he is desired to report, at as early a day as practicable, what appropriations are for

1st. Improvements of harbours on the Sea board, or for

2nd. The removal of partial and temporary obstructions in a river *already navigable*, lying between a port of Entry established by law on said river and another such port on the Ocean, or for

3rdly. The improvements of the harbors on such rivers, and within such places, or on the great Lakes which are themselves directly traversed by vessels engaged in our Foreign commerce.

He will also set forth for what ~~does~~ improvements appropriations are made that do not come within the above restrictions, but embrace water courses (or places thereon) that are not navigable, that are not the direct line of communication between one port and another established by law, and which do not pertain to the established harbours or ports of entry, and that are to be made in rivers on which no such harbor or ports of Entry exist, or at points on the Lakes that are not situate at one of or between the different ports established by law to afford facilities to our Foreign Commerce, ¹and particularly the same included in the bill—A. J.

DS in George Breathitt's hand, DNA-RG 77 (21-0157). Gratiot reported on October 27. He listed twelve projects in the bill that fell into AJ's first category, two in the second, six in the third, and twenty-one in the fourth. AJ wrote Van Buren about Gratiot's report on November 3 (below) and appended it to his veto message to the House of Representatives on December 6 (*HRDoc* 17, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 233).

1. The text from here forward is in AJ's hand.

To Philip Lindsley

Washington City Octbr. 26th.

My Dr Sir

I reached here on the 19th. instant in good health, and now have the pleasure to enclose you a Cadets Warrant for your son, for next june, in the mean time your son can be preparing himself for his academic studies, and the examination for admission.

Our City is healthy at present, and the Colera has passed away & is visiting with its scourge various places on the ohio, & atlantic. I hope Nashville may escape its ravages.

With my best wishes for your heath & happiness I am very respectfully your friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. The appointment of Surgeon for the Penitentiary was made before my arrival here, & the Partner of Dr Sims selected who had charge of it at his death.¹ A. J.

ALS, Heritage Auctions sale 611, April 2005 (mAJs). Philip Lindsley (1786–1855) was a Presbyterian clergyman and president of the University of Nashville. His son Nathaniel Lawrence Lindsley (1816–1868) entered West Point in 1833.

1. Thomas Sim (1770–1832) had been appointed physician and surgeon by the inspectors of the District of Columbia penitentiary in 1829. He died of cholera on September 15, 1832, and his partner, John McGill Thomas (1801–1834), continued in his place. Philip Lindsley's brother, Washington physician Harvey Lindsley (1804–1889), had been an aspirant for Sim's position (*Jackson Papers*, 7:199).

To Anthony Butler

Washington, Oc[. . .]

My Dear Sir,

Being absent from th[. . .] the 19th. Instant, I did not receive [. . .] letters of the 18th. of July, 12th. & 30th. of [. . .] my arrival here, all which I [. . .] pleasure to acknowledge.

That of the 27 July was neglected [. . .] receive it untill to day, and upon its [. . .] time to lay it before the Secretary [. . .] have no doubt, will promptly attend to the request you have made on behalf of your young friend—Master Daniel.

I was pleased to find from your letters [. . .] prospects you had of settling *permanently* our boundary with Mexico. The lasting peace and friendship of the two Republics depend upon it, as also do the prosperity and safety of both. I was filled wi[th] regret to hear [of] the [. . .] state of that distra[. . .] and that the spirit of revolution will [. . .] not before can

a pure representative [. . .] exist there and the people boast of the [. . .] freemen.

[. . .] reports, first of Bustamente's victory over [. . .] on the 18th. and then Montazuma's victory [. . .] into on the 22nd. keep us in great doubt. [. . .] situation of that unhappy Country and [. . .] prevail. Surely these bloody scenes of [. . .] must soon cease. All must be [. . .] blood, and, I would suppose, ready for [. . .] the wealth of that Country must be exhausted. As ~~the~~ soon as the new Executive is firmly seated I have a hope that you ~~will~~ may renew the negotiations with success.

One of our sloops will be directed to be upon the coast, touch at Vara Cruz and Tampico, communicate with you, and, if you are successful, to land you at New Orleans, from whence a Steam Boat will soon waft you to [. . .] the mail stage [. . .] state and ensure [. . .] nations and our [. . .] pled.

[. . .] of the South, it is to [. . .] endeavour to disturb [. . .] a civil war among [. . .] but I have no fear of the Union [. . .] much blood and treasure to be per[. . .] destroyed, and with it the liberty of [. . .] and only hope of freedom in [. . .] And all this by a few ambitious and disappointed Demagogues who [. . .] destroy the peace and happiness of [. . .] rather than not to rule.

The laws will be executed and [. . .] shall be preserved. Be assured of [. . .]

The opposition [. . .] election approach [. . .] malignity can [. . .] series a [. . .] not succeed. The v[. . .] attachment to the [. . .] for to bribery, and [. . .] boxes, on the 2nd. & [. . .] will not sell the [. . .] of pottage. [. . .] succeed.

[. . .] sir, I am truly gratified at your [. . .] You know how much I have [. . .] at heart, as I do believe the [. . .] harmony of the two Republics depend [. . .]ed, before I retire, or pass to the Grave, [. . .] such friendly arrangements made [. . .] and Mexico, that our peace and harmony [. . .]s lasting and durable as I hope the [. . .] enjoy may be [. . .]

[. . .]s and write me [. . .] two months [. . .]s so much [. . .] labour day [. . .]

L fragment in George Brethitt's hand, TxU (21-0205). The date October 29 is noted on the manuscript.

To Lewis Cass

[Printed here is Jackson's draft, followed by the sent order.]

(Confidential)

Washington October 29th. 1832—

The Secretary at War will forthwith cause secrete & confidential orders to be Issued to the officers commanding the Forts in the harbour of charleston So Carolina to be vigilant to prevent a surprise in the night or by day, of against any attempt to seize & occupy the Fts. by any set of people under whatever pretext the Forts may be approached. Warn them that the attempt will be made, and the officers commandg. will be responsible for the defence of the Forts & garrisons against all intrigue or assault, and they are to defend them to the last extremity—permitting no armed force to approach either by night or day. *The attempt will be made to surprise the Forts & garrisons* by the militia, and must be guarded against with *vestal vigilance* and any attempt by force repelled with prompt & examplary punishment.

Andrew Jackson

ADS draft, DLC (41).

(Confidential)

Washington October 29th. 1832

The Secretary of War will forthwith cause secret & confidential orders to be issued to the officers commanding the forts in the harbour of charleston, So. Carolina, to be vigilant to prevent a surprise in the night or by day on the part of any set of people whatever who may approach the Forts with a view to seize and occupy them.

The Secretary of War will warn the officers that such an attempt is apprehended and that they will be held responsible for the defence of the Forts and garrisons against all intrigue or assault to the last extremity, permitting no armed force to approach them either by night or day. *The attempt will be made to surprise the forts and Garrisons by the militia*, and it must be guarded against with vestal vigilance and repelled at every hazard.

Andrew Jackson

DS in AJ Donelson's hand, DNA-RG 108 (M1635-2; 21-0209). This same day, General Alexander Macomb sent orders closely paraphrasing AJ's directive to Brevet Major Julius Frederick Heileman (1787–1836), commanding U.S. troops at Charleston. Heileman was to show his orders to the commanders at Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie and otherwise keep them "strictly confidential" (*SDoc* 71, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 4, Serial 230).

From John Overton

Travellers Rest October 30th 1832

My Dear Genl.

I have taken the liberty to enclose to you a letter of Mr Clayton Attorney at Law of Clarksville

He has lately lost an amiable wife which leaves him in a disconsolate situation, and his friend and neighbour Mr Johnson, his member in Congress, has encouraged him to think, that as Tennessee in his opinion, has not had her proportion of appointments—he may be fortunate enough to get the appointment he desires.¹ Both Mr J. and himself are aware that the President in his appointments will have to attend to each state, so as to produce public satisfaction. In that and other respects you alone can possess the facts necessary to the formation of a correct judgment. Most probably you are acquainted with the character, if not personally with Mr Clayton. His moral character is perhaps as unexceptionable as any man living; and as to his legal knowledge, by reputation it stands higher than usual with men of his age. His industry is unquestionable

For the last ten days we have had dry weather, which opens to us some better prospect, than we had a few weeks ago—when, if the rain had continued three days longer we should have lost all. The probability now is that we may make half a crop cotton. I have not heard from the Hermitage lately, but presume things are going on as usual, or I should have heard

My health is much improved I shall be without an overseer soon, as Colo Love has imployed mine by giving him much more than I can afford, to assist his movements in turnpiking²

Notwithstanding all the coalitions of the most heterogenous materials that can be found—you will be elected there is no doubt, but how V. B. will come out is a little doubtful The chances however are in his favor

Mrs O. desires to be remembd to you. Present my best wishes to yr family—and believe to be Respy yr. frnd

Jno: Overton

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). *TPUS*, 21:568. Travellers Rest was Overton's plantation near Nashville. Alexander Mosby Clayton (1801–1889) was a lawyer in Clarksville. His wife, Mary Walker Thomas Clayton (1804–1832), had died on July 20. Clayton had written Overton on October 25 asking his recommendation for the Arkansas Territory judgeship vacated by the death of Charles S. Bibb. Overton returned that letter with this one to Clayton, who sent them both to AJ with his application on October 31 (*TPUS*, 21:569, 571–72). AJ nominated Clayton on December 11 and the Senate confirmed him the next day.

1. Cave Johnson recommended Clayton to AJ this same day.

2. In December 1831 AJ's friend and neighbor Charles J. Love had been designated a commissioner to build a turnpike heading west from Nashville.

To John Coffee

Washington Octbr. 1832—

My Dr. Genl.

We reached here on the 19th. and found the family all well. I am anxious to hear from you, and whether you have or can do any thing with the chockisaw Indians.¹

I hope Mary will be on either with Mary Ann Lewis, who comes with her father or Col & Mrs. Polk.²

I present herewith a small memento to Mrs. Coffee of my kind regard for her—say to my namesake that I will prepare something for him soon—and I hope to hear that he is fast improving in his education.³ I am & will be pressed with business until congress meets to prepare for them. The opposition you will see are reckless, all kinds of slander but the virtue of the people will meet the crisis and resist all the power and corruption of the bank. I am in haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (21-0060).

1. Coffee signed a treaty with the Chickasaws on October 20. AJ wrote him about it on November 6 (below).

2. James Knox Polk (1795–1849), later president, was a Tennessee congressman. His wife was Sarah Childress Polk (1803–1891).

3. The namesake was Coffee's son, Andrew Jackson Coffee (1819–1891).

November



To Andrew Jackson Jr.

spring—

I hope before this reaches you Sarah will be safely delivered, and you the father of a beautiful babe. Present my kind wishes to her & prayers for her safety. We are all in health here and all join in kind salutations to you, & Sarah, Thomas & Emma—and all our connections[.] your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS fragment, DLC (60; 21-0261).

To James Alexander Hamilton

[An October 6 proclamation by South Carolina governor James Hamilton Jr. called the state's newly elected legislature to meet in special session on October 22. His opening message to the session denounced the new tariff law as oppressive and unconstitutional, and urged a state convention in response. On October 26, the legislature passed by the requisite two-thirds majority an act authorizing election of delegates on November 12 for a constitutional convention to meet at Columbia on November 19.]

Washington 2nd. Novbr. 1832—

My Dr Sir

I have just received your letters of the 31rst. ultimo, with the inclosure, for which I thank you.

I am well advised of the views & proceedings of the great leading Nullifiers of the south, in my native State (So C.) and weep for its fate, and over the delusion into which the people are led by the wickedness, ambition & folly of their leaders. I have no doubt of the intention of their leaders—first to alarm the other states ~~& to unite them~~ to submit to their views rather than a dissolution of the union should take place. If they fail in this, to cover their own disgrace, & wickedness, to nullify the tariff, and secede from the Union.

We are wide awake here—the *Union will be preserved, rest assured of this*. It there has been too much blood & treasure ~~to~~ shed to obtain it, ~~for~~ it to let it be surrendered without a struggle—our liberty and that of the whole world rest upon it, as well as the peace prosperity & happiness of these U. States, *it must be perpetuated*. I have no time to say more. My health is good, improved by the travel. With a tender of my kind salutations to you & your amiable family, I am sincerely yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Major Lewis & Mary with Major Eaton have this moment arrived all well A. J.

P.S. present me to Mr V. Buren. I will write him by Mr McLane.

[*on wrapper:*] I write in haste, the mail closing & you must excuse the interliniations as I have no time to copy it. A. J.

ALS, NN (21-0265). New York *Evening Post*, September 23, 1864. *Hamilton Reminiscences*, pp. 247–48.

To Henry Toland

Washington Novbr. 3rd 1832

My Dr. Sir,

This will be handed to you by my young friend & nephew Samuel Donelson, brother of my adopted son, with whom I wish to make you acquainted, & to ask for him your kind attention

Mr Donelson goes to your city to attend the medical lectures, and whilst there, should he want any funds, please to advance them & draw upon me for the amount. You will find him modest, diffident & retiring, his morals pure, & habits good—will you have the goodness to make him known to the professors as he is a stranger in the city except to Mr Leiper who he was introduced to here. Mr. Donelson wishes to become the private student of Doctor Chapman, who I believe is one of the medical professors. I have recommended him to the attention of Mr Leiper, and I now ask you for your paternal care of him.¹

Expecting the pleasure of seeing you soon here I remain your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS facsimile, Early American History Auctions, August 25, 2001 (mAJs). Samuel Rucker Donelson received a Doctor of Medicine degree from the University of Pennsylvania in March 1833.

1. Nathaniel Chapman (1780–1853) held the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania.

To Martin Van Buren

(Private & confidential)

Washington Novbr. 3rd. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

I have postponed writing you & enclosing the reports herewith sent, believing your whole time would be occupied with your friends, and the busy scenes of the approaching election. I now enclose them, and request your views on the report of Genl Gratiot & that of the 3rd. Auditor, on the Interest bill—you will find enclosed a synopsis of my objection to the latter, and for which it was held for consideration; and You will find that the entire cases under the 4th. class in Genl Gratiots report, are in palpable violation of my reasons given in the veto of the Maysville road bill & the Harbour bill heretofore rejected by me. I wish your views on both—and I wish your objections to any of the points I have made, with your usual frankness, and at as early a day as yr. leisure will permit.

I stated to you in my last note, my opinion that you would get the same vote that I would—of this I am, from late advices more confirmed. If the people of South Carolina elected their electors I might get that state & you might not—as it is, if I should be in need of the vote of that state I will not get it, as the Legislature choose the electors, should I not need it, it will be given to me to save the pledged members from the ire of their constituents.¹ The west & south except So. Carolina, will unite on us both, as will Pennsylvania, as I believe, when she finds judge Wilkins will only get that state. Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama are, as my advices state, safe. K.y. and the other western states *sure* as every friend advise.

I have just recd. a letter from my son & daughter, they both desire to be presented to you. Sarah was not in travelling trim or I would have brought her on with me. The Major Emily & family are in good health, & request to be presented to you, as does Major Lewis & daughter who have just arrived.

Let me hear from you soon—present me to Col Hamilton & family and believe me very respectfully yr friend

Andrew Jackson

This is enclosed under cover to Mr Camberling.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0305). AJ enclosed copies of Charles Gratiot's October 27 report on the river and harbor improvements bill (Van Buren Papers, DLC; 21-0172) and Peter Hagner's October 20 report on the state claims bill (Van Buren Papers, DLC; 21-0121). Van Buren replied on November 18 (below).

1. In South Carolina, alone among the states by 1832, the legislature still chose presidential electors without a popular vote.

[Enclosure]

The Interest Bill.

The following are considered good reasons for rejecting it.

1st. The impossibility of ascertaining from the Bill what ~~sums~~ amount of money may be drawn from the Treasury under its provisions.

2nd. The novel principles introduced into our legislation by it by opening all the old settled accounts with the states, and allowing to many states a compound interest on the advances made, by applying the payments made “first to the extinguishment of the interest accrued at the time,” and then to the principal, and then calculating interest up to this time on the balance then remaining, & no interest on paymt.

3rd. Innovating on the established and correct principles of our government in not paying interest on demands against it on the fair presumption that it was always ready to pay its debts when called for by accounts properly authenticated & presented.

4th. The same principles that would require the settled accounts of the states to be reopened, and interest allowed for advances made, except for ~~actual~~ interest actually paid by the states on such advances, would in justice lead to the reopening of all accounts with individuals for advances made, or where payments were postponed by the Govt. This would produce such a drain upon the Treasury as the Revenue at present would be unable to bear.

5th. The impossibility of equal justice being done by the provisions of the Bill to the states. The refundments being made at different times, and whether they were, respectively, sufficient to pay the interest which had then accrued being points relative to which no two states may be in like condition the act may operate very unjustly.

6th. It is inexpedient, and ~~what~~, it is believed that Justice does not require that these old accounts with the states should be reopened. If done the same justice should be extended to individuals, and, as it appears that the interest on the claims that can be ascertained under the Bill amounts to one million three hundred and thirty four thousand dollars, it may be inferred, ~~that~~ from the report of the 3rd. Auditor hereto annexed, that twice that sum may be required under further legislation which would necessarily grow out of the principles in the bill, and more than three times that amount, if extended to individuals, would be required.

Draft in George Breathitt's hand, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0461).

From John Overton

Travellers Rest 5th Nov 1832

My Dear Genl

Amidst the immense pressure of your concerns, Mr Poinsetts speech may not have attracted your notice. If it has, throw aside the enclosed, which contains it. But if it has not, it may deserve a passing notice, as a faithful delineation of truth and experience.¹ No man living but yourself can bring to a calm the perturbed spirits of the Southerners, respecting this unfortunate Tariff. Your reelection will greatly tend to allay the heat, which Calhoun has contrived to produce; and what that does not do, will be effected after a while, by an armed Vessel to take care of the Revenue of the genl. Govt.

Attribute these remarks to an anxiety for the happiness and Union of our beloved Country which never can be endangered but by the unconciliating exercise of congressional power in relation to the Tariff

The prospect of our Cotton Crop is not much better. From 80 acres I have only been able to pick out 21.000. It is now raining, and if it continues long, as seems probable, I shall not be able to get as much more, which is the highest calculation. It is our duty and the part of wisdom to submit to that which we cannot control

We are all in usual health May God grant you health to preside over our destinies in the prayer of yrs. as usual

Jno. Overton

ALS, DLC (41).

1. On October 5, Poinsett gave a speech in Charleston condemning nullification as “absurd in theory” and “dangerous in practice,” a recourse “infinitely worse” than the protective tariff it sought to remedy. Denying the constitutional legitimacy of nullification or secession, Poinsett acknowledged a natural right of revolution, but warned from personal observation in Latin America of its inevitable “dreadful consequences” in civil convulsion, despotism, and war. Further, as an independent nation shorn of the Union’s protection, South Carolina would “be exposed to the united efforts of the Evangelicals of Great Britain and the Northern Abolitionists.” Poinsett exhorted his hearers “to sacrifice all selfish feeling on the altar of liberty, and to preserve this Union, which is the bulwark of freedom throughout the world” (*Greenville Mountaineer*, October 27, 1832).

From John Pemberton

Philada. Novr. 5—1832

Mondy mornig

Dear General,

I have the sincere pleasure of informing you that Penna. is true to her first love and not provid veriant like this degraded city. You have a triumphant majority in this state, of not less than Twenty thousand, and from

present apperances from Thirty, to Thirty five thousand. Even in this city, the pure Democracy have done their Duty—notwithstanding the exertions of the monster, the Bank of the US. using every means it possessed through its advocates to intimidate and controle all with in its power.

Enclosed you have the returns of last evening. I am Dr sir your friend & servt.

John Pemberton

ALS draft, PHi (21-0332). Pennsylvania's presidential balloting was held on November 2. AJ won the state by 90,973 votes to 66,706, but lost the city of Philadelphia by more than 2,000 votes.

To John Coffee

Washington Novbr. 6th. 1832

My Dr. Genl,

I have just recd. your favor of the 26th. ultimo, and finished a hasty reading of the treaty—all things considered I think it a good one, and surely the religious enthusiasts, or those who have been weeping over the oppression of the Indians will not find fault with it for want of liberality or justice to the Indians. The Secretary of war who has just left me and Major Eaton are pleased with it.

The secretary of war unites with me in the propriety and necessity of your coming on and to be here early in December that you may explain to the senate the difficulty you had to encounter as well as the whole policy of the treaty and the views of the chikisaws. The want of a designated home for the chikesaws can be the only objection made to the treaty. The stipulation that they remove at their own expence and on their own means, is an excellent feature in it. The whole treaty is just—we want them in a state of safety removed from the states & free from colision with the whites, & if the land does this it is well disposed of and freed from being a corruption source to our Legislation. I shall expect you to come on and to bring Mary with you. I will provide room for you both

I regret to hear of your severe attack, but rejoice you are recovered & presume your family are well as you do not say any thing to the contrary.

I have just heard enough from Old Pennsylvania—she will give a majority in my favor of from 15 to 30,000—the majority as now heard from is upwards of 12,000—all well and desire our kind regards to your family[.] yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (21-0343). Coffee replied on November 30 (below). On October 26, Coffee had sent to Secretary of War Cass a removal treaty and supplemental articles he concluded with the Chickasaws on October 20 and 22 at Pontotoc Creek, Mississippi, to replace the unimplemented 1830 Treaty of Franklin (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, p. 510,

Serial 246). By the new treaty, the Chickasaws ceded all their territory east of the Mississippi. The government was to survey and sell the land in its usual manner, taking steps to ensure it brought the best price. The Chickasaws were to renew their search for a suitable new home in the West. If they did not find one by the time their present domain was ready for sale, they were to receive temporary reserves within it, of one square-mile section for each single adult and two or more for families. Upon the Indians' removal, these tracts were to be sold by the government like the rest, at an advanced price of at least \$3 per acre. All costs of the land operation and also of the Indians' removal and reestablishment in the West were to be funded from the land sale proceeds, and the remainder used to establish a permanent fund for the Chickasaws (*Indian Treaties*, 2:356–64). Levi Colbert and other Chickasaw chiefs wrote AJ protesting the treaty on November 22 (below). AJ submitted it to the Senate on December 12.

To Levi Woodbury

Novbr. 6th 1832—

To the Secretary of the Navy—

The President has hastily looked over the appeal of Lt Shambaugh—he can see no serious objection but one against the proceedings of the court, and that if correctly stated is substantial, and one which the accused has a right to avail himself, altho he has omitted to do so by plea. The Defendant states that the officer preferring the charges, was the same who ordered & detailed the court

If this fact be correctly stated, the law is positive on this point, and if the fact be true that Col Henderson was the accuser, and detailed the court, the proceedings are void. I refer the case to you for a state- of the facts as they appear of record which you will please to report with your opinion on the law

Andrew Jackson

ADS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-24). In September 1832, Marine Corps commandant Archibald Henderson (1783–1859) ordered a court-martial of Marine second lieutenant James Wilkinson Schaumburg (1806–1886) on charges that, while a patient at the Philadelphia naval hospital, he had assaulted his doctor and kept a “coloured woman” in his room overnight. The board found Schaumburg guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer and disorderly conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline. Schaumburg was already suspended from rank and duty until July 6, 1833, under sentence from previous court-martials for misconduct. The September court sentenced him to be cashiered from the service, but also recommended that he be restored at present rank upon the expiration of his current suspension. AJ approved the sentence of cashiering on October 20 (DNA-RG 125, M273-28).

Schaumburg appealed the sentence to AJ, claiming that the punishment was unduly severe, that an exclusion of evidence by the court had hampered his defense, and that his conduct at the hospital was amenable to the rules of naval rather than Marine military discipline. He complained of AJ's failure to act on the court's recommendation for restoration to duty, of Henderson's double role as complainant and detailing officer of the court, and of his manner of publishing the sentence.

Woodbury replied to AJ on November 8 dismissing Schaumburg's objections. He held that AJ had not refused to reinstate Schaumburg, but had merely deferred that decision to its proper time. Schaumburg himself had invited official inquiry by complaining to the Navy

Department about assistant surgeon George B. McKnight, who had treated him at the naval hospital. His complaint and McKnight's response raised issues "proper to be investigated," and Henderson had accordingly convened the court not as the accuser, but as the officer required by law to order inquiry into complaints preferred by others (DNA-RG 45, M472-1). Schaumburg was not restored to the Marines, but in March 1833 was appointed a second lieutenant in the new Army mounted rangers, soon reorganized as dragoons. At this period he spelled his name "Shaumburgh," but by 1836 had changed to "Schaumburg."

From Henry Selden Crabb

U.S. Navy Yard Philadelphia
6th. November 1832.

Sir,

I trust you will pardon the intrusion of this letter for the sake of the writer's motive. Accident has revealed to me a circumstance, which I feel it my duty to communicate to you, in order that if such a deed is to be attempted, your Excellency may be prepared to avert it's effects.

Be pleased Sir, to bear with the minuteness of the statement, as it is necessary to give the particulars, in order that you may know how much evidence or importance to attach to the matter.

Late last night, on my return from a meeting of Hicory Club No. 1., of this city, I stopped into an oyster house, in Southwark, which at that hour, 12 at night is little frequented.¹ After I had finished my meal, quietly seated in a box with the screens drawn, reading a newspaper, two men came into the adjoining apartment, and for some time carried on a conversation in animated terms, relative to the result of the recent election in this state. Gradually however their manner became more severe, and their topic narrowed down into the probable state of the country, in the event of your reelection. Their conversation was very energetic, particularly on the part of one of them, who at length lowered his tone to a whisper, which, owing to the kind of partition that separated us, I could distinctly hear. *He declared to his companion, that two men of high standing in this place had assured him that a sum of 50,000 dollars was ready, at any moment, to reward the man, or set of men, who would remove your Excellency out the way—Or in other words, ASSASSINATE You!!!—and that if that sum was not a sufficient inducement, a greater one could be had!!!* The subject was here broken off, by a proposition to go to a place, the name of which I could not understand. I followed as quickly as prudence would permit, my design being to observe their movements, but owing to the darkness of the night & rain, which fell heavily, I lost sight of them, notwithstanding my exertions to keep within view.

Whether you will deem it necessary to attach any consequence to this communication—I know not—but be your determination what it may I at least feel better satisfied that I have discharged my duty—by revealing the facts to you—as they came to my knowledge.

I have not communicated what I have here stated to any one—deeming it to be the most effectual method to prevent the perpetration of such a deed, by revealing it to you only.

To you I am a stranger Sir, & consequently *my* assertion of such a horrid design—unsustained by any positive testimony—may appear to be unworthy of your attention—but for God’s sake Sir be not too secure in the idea of yr safety nor trust too much to the virtue of man. The malignant & fiendish venom of the partisans of the Bank: is almost beyond the reach of probability and I solemnly believe that they would stop at nothing

I am a Son-in-law of Col Duane, and had the pleasure of a slight acquaintance with Maj. Barry at Mr Toland’s of this city. I am also intimately acquainted with Mr. Markoe of the State Department, and if you deem the enquiry necessary, you can learn from these sources—how far this statement coming from the source it does—can be relied upon.²

My only object is your safety, and may God in his mercy place within your power—the means to avert such a calamity, as the loss of your life, from your country. I am with Sincere Resp[ect] Your Excellency’s Obt [Srvt.]

Henry S. Crabb

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr Crabb. Phil. warning me, of combination to assassinate me—\$50,000—offered A. J

ALS, DLC (41). Crabb (1803–1866) was employed at the Philadelphia navy yard.

1. Philadelphia’s Hickory Club No. 1, active since AJ’s 1824 presidential campaign, met in 1832 at Anderson’s tavern at Sixth and Carpenter streets.

2. Crabb’s wife, Elizabeth Duane Crabb (1801–1870), was the daughter of famed Republican editor William Duane (1760–1835). Francis Markoe Jr. (1801–1871) was a State Department clerk.

To George Breathitt

(*Confidential*)

Washington Novbr. 7th. 1832

Dear Sir

The recent movements in So Carolina have awakened in my bosom the most painful sensations, and, altho nothing of serious and dangerous character may result from them, it becomes my duty to ascertain, as far as practicable, to what extremity the nullifiers intend to proceed, and to counteract, to the extent of authority vested in the executive and the high obligations incumbent upon him, such of their movements as tend to defeat the collection of revenue imposed by the United States, and thus render null and void the laws of congress on this subject. You will be able fully to comprehend the views of the Executive by the perusal of

the instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Collector of Charleston, which are herewith intrusted to your care for safe delivery, and the instructions herewith inclosed to you.¹

Having entire confidence in your fidelity and capacity, it is desired, in addition to your other instructions, that you make the enquiry how far the Civil Jurisdiction of South Carolina extends over the bay and harbour of Charleston, and whether, before the date of the Federal constitution, that State had established courts of admiralty, and whether the State now has Courts of admiralty jurisdiction.²

You will observe the real situation of Sulivans Island, and see whether it could be assailed and carried in its rear. You will also observe the situation of the armament of Castle Pinckny, and what space of dry land surrounds the Fort.

You will collect all the information touching the subject intrusted to your inquiries that you can obtain, which may be serviceable to the government.

Perceiving, as you must, the highly delicate & confidential character of your business, it is not necessary to give you a caution as to your conduct.

Wishing you a pleasant journey and a speedy return I am very respectfully your friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Secretary McLane issued confidential instructions to Charleston customs collector James R. Pringle on November 6. He directed him to strictly execute the customs laws, while adapting their stipulated procedures to exigent circumstances as necessary and refraining as far as possible from using force or offering provocation to violence. If South Carolina nullified the revenue laws, Pringle was authorized to use revenue cutters and employ additional inspectors to intercept and board incoming ships, prevent their unloading without payment of duties, and in the event of nonpayment to seize and sell their cargoes. He was also authorized to remove the custom house from Charleston to Castle Pinckney if safety required it (*SDoc* 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 92–97, Serial 230).

2. Breathitt put these questions to Poinsett, who replied to AJ on November 16 (below).

[*Enclosure*]

Washington City Novbr 7th. 1832—

Mr. Breathitt during his visit to Charleston on the business with which he is charged by the Treasury & Post office Departments, will collect all the information he can obtain from correct sources on the following points

1t. What foundation there is for the statements he has seen that several officers employed in the revenue service are aiding the views of the party that have declared the Tariff laws inoperative and void within the limits of the State of South Carolina. If they are well founded Mr. Breathitt will collect the evidence and bring it with him, specifying the names of all officers so engaged.

2d. What foundation there is for the report that the Post master of the city of Charleston and his clerks or deputies are aiding the views of the same party, and that communications from the Government passing thro' that office at this time are subjected to examination before they reach their address. The evidence of this charge and the names of the persons implicated Mr. Breathitt will collect.¹

3d. Should it appear that there are any other officers holding commissions from the General Government, aiding or countenancing in any form the scheme of the Nullifiers to thwart the execution of the laws of the Union, Mr. Breathitt will make it his business to ascertain their names and the evidence of their misconduct in this respect. He will also by consultation with Col. Drayton & Mr. Poinsett and other discreet friends of the Union obtain all such information as may be useful to the Government to enable it to take timely steps towards the counteraction of the effort of the Nullifiers to render inoperative the laws of the Union:

Andrew Jackson

[*Endorsed by AJ Donelson:*] Letter of instructions from the President to Mr. George Breathitt

DS in AJ Donelson's hand, DLC (41).

1. Thomas Wright Bacot (1765–1834) was the postmaster at Charleston.

To Joel Roberts Poinsett

(Confidential)

Washington, Novbr. 7th. 1832—

Dear Sir,

This will be handed to you by my young friend George Breathitt Esqr, brother of the present Governor of Kentucky, in whom every confidence may be reposed. I beg leave to make him known to you as such.

Mr Breathitt goes to your state & city as agent for the Post office Depart—he bears instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury to the collector of charleston, but we want him only known as agent of the Post office.

I wish him to see the Fts. and revenue cutters in your harbour and to visit sulivans Island. This to be done merely as a stranger having curiosity to examine your capacity for defence and facilities for commerce, to your polite aid I recommend him for this object.

I have instructed him to obtain the real intentions of the nullifiers. Whether they mean really to resort to force to prevent the collection of the revenue and to resist the due execution of the laws—and if any so, what proof exists to shew that the imputations against important individuals

and officers of the government in being engaged in advising, aiding and abetting in this threatened nullification and rebelous course are true.

It is desirable that the Executive should be in possession of all the evidence on these points, and I have refered Mr. Breathitt to you & Col Drayton believing that you will afford *him* all the knowledge you possess.

Mr Breathitt is charged with the enquiry what officers, if any, in the Customs or Post office Department belong to or have adhered to the nullifiers—and the character of Mr Preeson Simpson, from whom I have recd. a long letter to day, and all & every information of the views & measures of the nullifiers which they mean to adopt.¹

We have been looking for some information from some friend of the Union in that quarter but have hitherto been disappointed, but it appears a crisis is about to approach, when the Government must act, & that with energy. My own astonishment is that my fellow citizens of So. Carolina should be so far deluded, by the wild Theory of and sophistry of a few ambitious demagogues, as to place themselves in the attitude of rebellion against their Government, and become the destroyers of their own prosperity and liberty. There appears in their whole proceedings nothing but madness and folly. If grievances do exist there are constitutional means to redress them. Patriots would seek those means only.

The duty of the Executive is a plain one, the laws will be executed and the Union preserved by all the constitutional and legal means he is invested with, and I rely with great confidence on the support of every honest patriot in So. Carolina who really loves his country and the prosperity and happiness we enjoy under our happy and peaceful republican government.

By the return of Mr Breathitt I shall expect to hear from you. With my sincere regards I am yr mo. obdt. Servt.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PHi (21-0347). Poinsett replied on November 16 (below).

1. Preeson Simpson was a Charleston dentist.

Memorandum on Nullification

Nullification in the South to be carefully watched.

After playing off the farce for several years, Calhoun & Co, at length succeeds to obtain a majority, an extra Session of the Legislature is called (the new members elected who under the constitution of their state had no right to seats until the constitutional day for the anual meeting compose it) and the edict recorded for the call of a convention on the 19th of October 1832—¹

On the 7th. instructions sent to the Collector on this subject how the revenue laws are to executed, and two companies of regulars ordered to reinforce the garrisons in the Port of Charleston and George Breathit Esqr, sent with the instructions to Collector, and instructions from the President—to enquire into the real views of these nullifiers, and whether any officers of the Genl Govt. are aiding advising and abetting in this wicked plan, that proper steps may be taken for their prosecution & conviction²

A J.

ANS, DLC (64; 21-0346). This memorandum is in AJ's memorandum book.

1. Governor Hamilton had called the newly elected South Carolina legislature into special session for October 22. Under South Carolina's constitution, the legislature was to meet annually on the fourth Monday in November. AJ mistakenly wrote "19th of October" for the convention date of November 19.

2. On November 6 and 7, two artillery companies were ordered from Fort Monroe in Virginia to Fort Moultrie (*SDoc* 71, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 5, Serial 230).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Novbr. 8th. 1832

My Dr. Son,

I have experienced the greatest pain and anxiety this morning from not hearing from you, in consequence of a letter recd. by Major Donelson from Stockly of date 29th. ult, in which he says "Sarah has been unwell for two or three days past, and he is fearfull she is not doing well, but hopes she may pass thro' her travail in safety."¹

Why do you not write me—her fate must be sealed ere this, I pray god that she has been well delivered, and the infant doing well—but I shall be miserable until I hear from her. Present her with my blessing and prayers for her and the infants safety & health, & kiss them both for me. Byron & Jame has been on their way home eight days. I got disappointed in the blacksmith &c after I had been at the expence providing for their passage out. take Byron in the House & learn him neatness & industry—yours affectionately

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Stockley Donelson was AJ Jr.'s cousin and AJ Donelson's cousin and brother-in-law.

From Edward Livingston

Sir

In submitting to you the representation of Mr Henry late Consul at Gibraltar I think it necessary to remind you that he was removed in consequence of the representation made by Mr. Riley and others that he resided principally in England. he seems to think that actual residence is a condition newly imposed of which he ought to have had notice before it was enforced. it is on the contrary a necessary result from the nature of the office and whenever there has been any long absence it has always been on leave. The circumstances stated by Mr. Henry would I have no Doubt have induced you to grant him the permission of a leave [*or*] to have excused it on account of the urgency of the case if he had thought fit to communicate it to the Department which he did not Do.

I can not therefore think he can be restored, but submit to your consideration whether they do not afford some ground for appointment to another vacancy elsewhere[.] Respectfully yr mo obdt. Ser

Edw Livingston

Mr. McLanes absence prevents my having recourse to some Documents necessary for preparing the statement & opinion you directed in the case of Smith

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] The documents in the case of Smith, Mr McLane has left with me—your opinion is asked in writing that I may communicate my approval to Mr Smith. I would like to see you this evening. A. J.¹

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] The case of Mr. Henry has been considered. The duties of a consulate like that of a judge &[c] requires that he should always be found at his post—and like all other officers never ~~ought~~ to leave it without the permission of the Government. Mr. Henry has no right to complain, when the health of his family required his presence with them, he ought to have notified the Govt. The circumstances were such that would have induced leave of absence to have been granted—having not done his duty, & having been reported absent so long, he was superceeded and another appointed.

There is but one rule, and that is that all officers are required to remain at their post, and not to leave it without the permission of Government, and if consuls has been in the habit of leaving their posts without leave, it is time to put an end to the custom. If Mr. Henry had done his duty and reported his absence with the necessity for it, absence would have been granted, and this would have been a sufficient answer to the complaints made, as he did not, he cannot be reinstated whatever else may be done for him hereafter Novbr. 9th. 1832. A. J

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (T206-4). On March 28, 1832, famed sea captain James Riley (1777–1840) had written the State Department protesting the inadequacies of the consular system. He complained that Bernard Henry (1783–1863), U.S. consul at Gibraltar since 1816, had really lived in England for years, and proposed replacing him with Horatio Sprague (W. Willshire Riley, ed., *Sequel to Riley's Narrative* [Columbus, 1851], pp. 39–45). AJ had nominated Sprague to replace Henry on April 24 and the Senate confirmed him on April 30. On May 4, Livingston informed Henry of his removal “in consequence of representations, that you were no longer a resident of that place, but had removed your family to England and passed the greater part of your time in that country” (DNA-RG 59, M78-3). Henry wrote back on July 8 that he had gone to England only to attend to an ailing daughter and that the cholera had delayed his return. Arguing that his “temporary absences” violated no “*established rule*” and that his vice-consul had ably discharged his official duties in his absence, Henry asked Livingston to lay his case before AJ (DNA-RG 59, T206-4).

1. John E. Smith of Baltimore had sought the government's aid in obtaining recompense from Britain for damage to his ship *Portsmouth*, seized at Sierra Leone in 1805. Louis McLane had unsuccessfully pursued Smith's claim while serving as U.S. minister to Britain in 1830–31. Livingston reported on the case on November 22, and AJ rendered a decision on it on or near November 27 (below).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

[Balloting for presidential electors in 1832 was held on dates set by the various state legislatures, mostly in early November. Pennsylvania and Ohio voted on November 2, and twelve states including New Hampshire, New York, Maine, Virginia, and New Jersey between November 5 and 7. Jackson's victory in all these seven named states made his reelection certain. In Washington, the Telegraph conceded the result on November 12 and the National Intelligencer the next day. In all, Jackson won 16 states and 219 electoral votes to Henry Clay's 6 states (Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky) and 49 electoral votes. Anti-Masonic candidate William Wirt won Vermont for 7 electoral votes, and South Carolina's 11 electoral votes went to John Floyd of Virginia.]

Washington Novbr. 12th. 1832

Dear Andrew

your letters of 29th. of Octbr. and 1rst instant has this moment reached me, and has relieved me from great anxiety & solicitude about your dear Sarah. I rejoice that she and the dear little daughter is safe, & doing well—a little good attention will soon I trust have her free from all danger and up, kiss her & the dear little Rachel for me, & present them both with my blessing for their health long life & happiness. I am and will be anxious to see them both, and should I be spared, it will be a great pleasure to watch over & rear up the sweet little Rachel, and make her a fair emblem of her grandmother for whom she is called. I feel greatly indebted to you & my Dr. Sarah for giving to me a daughter & calling it for your dear mother, a name that is dear to my heart, and a child that will be a I hope a great comfort in my declining years

· November 1832 ·

I write by the return mail & have to close. The elections in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Newyork, New Hampshire, Main & Virginia & New jersey have *all* terminated favorably to the present administration, against all the corruption & power of the Bank. We have not heard from the other states in the south & west—Tho my friends calculate on a large majority. New Jersey was counted certain for the opposition.

I am happy to hear that you are in good health & progressing so well with the farm. I calculated that our cotton crop would be small but we must only be a little more economical, & hope for a better crop with industry another year.

When you have leisure write me fully, & be sure to write your cousin Andrew J. Donelson, he says he has wrote you several times & has not recd. one letter in return. you must be more attentive to your friends, my respects to all friends. I am your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

P. S. My health was good when I returned, but the labour & confinement has impaired it a little—but am still able to labour & my health is better than last year.

Partial facsimile of ALS and printed extracts, Christie's (Forbes sale #3), November 15, 2005 (mAJJs). Typescript, the Forbes Magazine Collection (21-0392). The child, born on November 1, was Rachel Jackson (1832–1923).

To Levi Woodbury

private

Novbr. 13th. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

I enclose the within, that you may forthwith enter upon a strict enquiry into the charges made against the Navy Commissioners—you will give the pledge asked for by the clerks who are refered to as witnesses. Should the charges made against the Clerks in the Navy Board be sustained they must be forthwith removed. I wish you to have the enclosed copied, & return the original that I may refer it to the War Dept, that a full & strict enquiry be entered into with regard to the charges against the ordinance Department & Captain Wade. I wish to see you tomorrow on this subject—yours in haste.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Woodbury Papers (21-0399). AJ enclosed a November 12 letter from Washington hardware merchant Hanson Gassaway (c1792–1854), charging fraud and favoritism in the awarding of contracts by the Board of Navy Commissioners. Gassaway accused the Board of steering business to suppliers who had failed on previous contracts and were not the lowest bidders. He charged that two clerks known to “exercise undue influence over the President

of the Board” (Captain John Rodgers) took bribes and held concealed interests in contracts, and promised that other clerks would confirm his charges “if an assurance is given that they shall be protected.” He also charged former Army captain William Wade with renegeing on a contract with Gassaway for gun railing, and with condemning and disabling serviceable ordnance in order to profit by its replacement (DNA-RG 107, 21-0384).

Woodbury began his investigation on November 15. On November 23 he informed Gassaway that the Navy Board would hold a hearing on November 26 on the charges against its clerks. He invited Gassaway to appear and present evidence, promising protection for innocent witnesses. Gassaway declined appearing, protesting that the Board could not impartially investigate charges that implicated the Board itself. Woodbury assured Gassaway on November 26 that a Board hearing was standard practice in such cases, that his appearance was entirely optional, and that he would have opportunity to present his evidence directly to the Navy Department if dissatisfied with the Board’s report (DNA-RG 45, M209-7).

Meanwhile Secretary of War Cass had begun his investigation. On December 10 he sent Gassaway statements from Wade and from ordnance Captain John Symington defending their conduct, and asked Gassaway to present his proofs (DNA-RG 107, M6-13). Gassaway instead wrote AJ again on December 11. He accused the Navy Board of practicing “a system of intimidation” against potential witnesses among the clerks, said that his proofs against Wade also involved the Navy Board, and asked for an independent investigating commission as “the most correct method of arriving at the truth” (DNA-RG 107, M222-31). AJ wrote Cass and Woodbury on December 12 (below).

Peter Sadberry to Edward Livingston

Prison of New Orleans 13th Novr 1832

Sir

I humbly beg pardon for intruding on your time and attention, but your Known benevolence and humanity so strongly afford me hope that I have ventured to state to you my miserable situation. I am one of the men of colour, convicted of and sentenced to ten years imprisonment for mutiny on board the Schooner La Fayette, whilst on her passage from Norfolk to this place. I do not deny the charge of mutiny, but in extenuation adduce one of the most powerful reasons that ever impelled the breast of Man, for committing the crime. the La Fayette was bringing a number of Slaves for sale, the owner of them had expressed his determination to sell me (I being the only free man among them) with the rest. I therefore took an active part in the resistance shown, to the authorities of the vessel, and was punished accordingly.

Singular to state, I am the only survivor of Eight—in the short space of three years, death has commuted *their* punishment. the last of my companions was a victim to the Cholera—the dreadful ordeal of which I have perhaps, passed through.¹

Sir, I earnestly entreat you to use your interest to have Extended to me, if possible the Executive clemency—to restore an unfortunate Being to the blessings of Liberty—that your Kindness may be rewarded shall ever be the fervent prayer of your Most Obedient Humble Servant

Peter Sadberry

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] The Petition returned to Dept. of State—pardon cannot be granted on the mere petition of the Prisoner. The record must be had, shewing his trial, conviction & punishment awarded by the court, and with it some reasons why the clemency asked ought to be granted, such as evidence of reform in the Prisoner—and the statement of the court or atto. for the District that the imprisonment already inflicted is fully commensurate to the offence committed—Novbr. 30th. 1832—A. J This to be sent to State Dept—A. J

LS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0395). On November 16, 1829, an insurrection occurred on the schooner *Lafayette*, carrying 197 slaves from Norfolk to New Orleans. The rebels reportedly planned to divert the ship to Haiti. The revolt was subdued and the voyage completed, with twenty-five suspected leaders ring-bolted to the deck and the rest confined to the hold. Twelve men were tried for mutiny in U.S. district court in New Orleans in December 1829, and seven were convicted. Four, including Sadberry, were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment at hard labor, and the other three to five years.

1. Cholera had reached New Orleans at the end of October and quickly swept through the prison, killing at least twenty.

From Martin Van Buren

Nyork Nov 14th 1832

My dear Sir

The enclosed note from Mr Van Schaick, one of our most reputable citizens, will explain the wishes of Mr Clintons friends.¹ ~~If upon It gives me sincere pleasure to add~~ If, as is supposed, it is your intention to make a change in this office ~~I sincerely hope you~~ it is my sincere & earnest wish that you should give it to Mr Clinton. You are ~~every day frequently often~~ frequently beset with applications ~~claiming~~ for office from this state claiming favor on the grounds of having been the friends of Gov Clinton but which ~~not infrequently~~ too often proceedings from individuals who ~~were~~ having been dead weights upon him in his life time would now as ~~soon apply in any other name~~ leave willingly place their applications on any other ground if they supposed it would ensure a better success and in whose success ~~makes no other impression upon his~~ his real friends here can take no sort of interest. The present affords a suitable & desirable an opportunity ~~in regard to which there can be no mistake~~ for evincing ~~your~~ that respect for his memory & regard for his family which I so well know that you entertain and at the same time to serve a young gentleman of much personal worth & who is perfectly qualified for the place which his friends ask for him. In respect to the ~~propriety of removing the present incumbent~~ question of removal my situation is not ~~entirely~~ free from embarrassment. The ~~present~~ incumbent is a near relative ~~of~~ by marriage of Mr Vanderpoel of this state who visited you last winter and who has

been recently elected to Congress. He takes a lively interest in the matter, is a very worthy man was a ~~very~~ warm friend of G as well personal as political of Gov Clinton & stands in the same relation to myself.² So far therefore as personal feelings can be permitted to ~~have~~ weigh in the matter the wishes of Mr VDerpoel are certainly entitled to much consideration. But he is I trust too liberal & ~~just~~ a man to take umbrage at the removal if you would deem it called for on grounds which are exclusively of a public nature. That matter stands thus as far as I am advised. At an early period in your administration the removal of Mr. Barnard was ~~re~~ explicitly recommended by Mr Rives for the reasons stated in his communication now on file in the State Department. ~~The pendency of the Such a~~ An A recommendation of that character would I presume under ordinary circumstances have ~~produced~~ been forthwith complied with but the pendency of the negotiation with France, the length of time during which Mr B. had resided in Paris and the possibility that if irritated he might throw obstacles in its progress were deemed by you sufficient consideration for a postponement of the question ~~at least~~. Since which applications for his removal have been renewed by others. Mr. Rives told me at Paris that a new petition was then getting up by the Americans resident in that City & there can be no mistake in assuming that he is & has for a long time been very unpopular with the Americans. I told Judge VanDerpoel an elder brother ~~of the~~ of the Congressman some time since that I was apprehensive that you would feel yourself compelled to remove Barnard & that in such an event ~~he~~ it was my intention to recommend Mr Clinton to you as his successor.³ He recd. & ~~would I am satisfied~~ it very well but knowing the ~~solicitude~~ feelings of his brother upon the subject point I have not thought it worth while to say any thing to him upon the subject.

AL draft, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0401). Charles Alexander Clinton (1798–1861), a lawyer, was the son of late New York governor De Witt Clinton. Isaac Cox Barnet (1773–1833) had been U.S. consul at Paris since 1816.

1. Myndert Van Schaick (1782–1865) was a New York state legislator.

2. Aaron Vanderpoel (1799–1870) had been elected to a New York seat in the forthcoming Twenty-third Congress. He wrote AJ in Barnet's defense on December 15 (DNA-RG 59, M179-74).

3. James Vanderpoel (1787–1843) was a New York circuit judge. On September 30, 1829, Van Buren had written U.S. minister to France William C. Rives with AJ's request to inquire into Barnet's "conduct character & pretensions" and "communicate the result with your views as to the propriety of a change" (DLC-Rives Papers). Rives replied on December 8 urging Barnet's removal. He said Barnet was "in extremely *bad odour* with our countrymen here" and had misused his office to profit at their expense, interfering with the settlement of decedents' estates and exacting exorbitant fees (DNA-RG 59, M34-27). On March 19, 1832, fifteen American merchants in Paris sent Livingston a petition urging Barnet's removal. Livingston forwarded it to Barnet for answer on December 19. Barnet replied on February 3, 1833. He demanded the specific charges against him, impugned the complainants' credibility, and enclosed a letter in his defense from James Fenimore Cooper. On February 22 he wrote again, branding the charge of profiting from his office "wickedly false" (DNA-RG 59, T1-7). Barnet died on March 8, 1833. Daniel Brent succeeded him as consul.

From John Johnston Donaldson et al.

Washington, Nov. 15th, 1832.

To the President of the United States.

The undersigned having been appointed by the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, a committee to wait upon the President and Heads of Departments, and invite them to join with their fellow citizens in showing the last testimonial of respect to the remains of the late CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON, have the honor to state that they are at present at Gadsby's Hotel, and desirous to know at what time it will be agreeable to the President to receive the invitation of which they are the bearers.

JNO. J. DONALDSON	}	Committee on the part of the First Branch. Com. on part of second Branch
ISAAC F. LIGHTNER,		
JOB SMITH, Jr.		
SAMUEL MOORE.		
FRANCIS H. DAVIDGE,	}	

Printed, *Washington Globe*, November 16, 1832 (mAJ; 21-0405). Donaldson (1788–1866), Isaac Ferree Lightner (1794–1836), Job Smith Jr. (c1794–1871), Samuel Moore (c1777–1845), and Francis Hathorn Davidge (1796–1861) sat on the Baltimore City Council. Members of the Council's First Branch served for one year, and Second Branch members for two. Charles Carroll (1737–1832), the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, died at Baltimore on November 14. Mayor Jesse Hunt (1793–1872) immediately convened the City Council “to adopt such measures in relation to this mournful event, as they in their wisdom may think proper” (*Globe*, November 16). AJ met the committee at 3:00 PM on November 15.

To John Johnston Donaldson et al.

Washington
November 15th 1832.

Gentlemen:

I am filled with emotions of the most heartfelt sorrow at the death of our friend, the sage and patriot, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, which you have announced to me in your note of this date. My sympathy with my country, and with the relatives and neighbors of the deceased on this melancholy occasion, is rendered more poignant because it will be deprived of the gratifying relief, which, a participation in the funeral honors that are to be paid him by the authorities of Baltimore, is calculated to afford

Please assure the friends of the deceased that nothing but the most imperious public duty, demanding all my time at this moment, could prevent my taking a part in the proceedings which you inform me have been adopted by the authorities of Baltimore, in honor of his burial. No one

estimated, higher than I did, his claims, whilst living, upon the gratitude and love of his country: none will cherish more sacredly his memory now that he is taken from us by the Great disposer of the affairs of this world.

I have the honor to be with great respect yr. very obt servant

Andrew Jackson

LS copy in AJ Donelson's hand, NN (21-0406). *Washington Globe*, November 16, 1832. Livingston and Woodbury, the two Cabinet members in town, also sent regrets. Carroll's funeral was held on November 17 at Baltimore's Catholic cathedral, following a formal procession through the city.

Order on the Death of Charles Carroll

[Printed here are a manuscript draft and the published text.]

Washington, November 15th 1832.

The last survivor of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence,—he who for many years has been the last precious relic of the Band of July 4. 1776,—is no more. The death of Charles Carroll of Carrollton is announced to us. The triumph of the grave over this living monument of our Nation's birth-day, around which the gratitude and affection of a Nation loved to gather, will be the signal for a Nation's mourning.—As a mark of the respect due to the occasion, the Offices of the United States Government in this city, will be closed tomorrow, the 16th instant.

Signed Andrew Jackson

Draft in Nicholas Trist's hand, DLC (41). In 1860, a manuscript text similar to this was found in the California governor's office, on which a note at the bottom read: "Put this in conspicuous at the head of a column" (*Baltimore Daily Exchange*, April 4, 1860).

Washington, Nov. 15th, 1832.

The last survivor of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence,—he who for many years has been the precious relic of the band of July 4th, 1776,—is no more! The death of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, is announced to us.

As a mark of the respect due to the occasion, the Offices of the United States Government in this City, will be closed tomorrow, the 16th instant.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Printed, *Washington Globe*, November 16, 1832 (mAJs).

From Henry Baldwin

Philadelphia 15 November 1832

Dear Sir

Thinking that you would not be unwilling to know my sentiments on nullification and my views as to the most effectual as well as the most peaceful means of counteracting it I beg leave to submit for your perusal the enclosed in hopes you may find in it enough to pay for the trouble & time it may cost. You will observe that it is not finished but you will receive the remainder at the earliest time which my duties in the Circuit now in session will permit I intend also to send you my ideas on the Indian question as soon as they can be put into a better form than when they were given to Mr Blair¹ As these are the two most important subjects of present attention you will I am sure excuse the trouble given & put it down to the proper account my deep concern for whatever vitally affects the peace of the country the preservation of the Union & the course of your administration Matters merely political give me no trouble and will not induce to give you any but as much of my time has been devoted to reflections on these two subjects I submit the result for your consideration

I congratulate you most cordially on the renewed expression of public confidence so decidedly expressed in the late election[.] yours with esteem

Henry Baldwin

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Blair had printed Baldwin's dissenting opinion in *Worcester v. Georgia* in the March 28 and 29 *Globe*.

Nullification

South Carolina seems determined to oppose the execution of the laws of the United States for the collection of the duties on the importation of foreign goods into her ports but as yet has given no intimation of the mode of doing it. What course will she adopt is left to conjecture as to its details but there can be no doubt that something more is in contemplation than a mere appeal to the Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of the laws or to a Convention of the States for the purpose of so construing or amending the Constitution as to deny to Congress the power of laying & collecting impost for any other purpose or which can operate in any other manner than for revenue

A mere declaration that the law is unconstitutional & void must end in one of these two modes of appeal & involves no opposition to the execution of the law—or a suspension of their operations till the question is decided by the Court or the people of the States—it would therefore give no cause of apprehension for the peace of the Union would violate no law

or provision of the constitution and present no case calling for the interference of the National Executive

But if not content with declaring the acts of Congress null & void the State should pass a law prohibiting their execution & punishing the officers of the United States for acting in obedience to them or punishing their own Citizens for submitting to them and proceed to enforce such laws of the state the question assumes a different aspect.

The revenue laws prohibit the landing of any goods without first obtaining a permit from the Collector

Suppose Charlestown is declared a free port and an attempt is made to introduce goods without a permit by the authority of the State law.

By the 97. section of the Revenue law of 1799 the President is authorised to employ as many Revenue Cutters not exceeding ten as may be necessary for the protection of the Revenue¹

By the 99th section of the same act the President is authorised to appoint the officers of such revenue cutters who shall be subjecte to the direction of the Collector of the Revenue or other officer thereof as may be designated—the duty of the officers of the Cutters is defined and the law declares that they shall execute & perform such other duties for the collection & security of the revenue as shall from time to time be enjoined by the Secretary of the Treasury not contrary to law & the provisions of that act.

By the 101st. section the Collector with the approbation of the Secretary of the Treasury may employ such small open row and sail boats as may be necessary for the Surveyors & Inspectors in going on board of Ships & Vessells & otherwise for the detection of frauds—

Independently then of the fines penalties & forfeitures incurred by the introduction of illicit goods or the attempt to introduce them the President has a physical force at his command ample for the prevention of violations of the law—and to seise and detain any vessell not complying with its provisions. These provisions are

Sect 18. None but ships of the United States shall unlade at any other port in South Carolina than Charleston Georgetown or Beaufort

Sect 27. Goods unladen or unshipped before authority is given shall be forfeited

Sect 28. If put on board any other ship or boat the persons doing it shall forfeit treble the value.

Sect 29. If any vessell attempts to depart from any District within which she has arrived from a foreign port without entry except to some more interior District she may be seised & brought back to some other convenient port

Sect 30. The master must make a report within 24 hours after the arival of the vessell in any port & give a manifest take an oath—give bond for the duties &c—

Sect. 53. The Collectors may put one or more inspectors on board any ship on her arrival in any port

Sect 54. All officers of the Customs or Revenue cutters may go on board any vessels bound to the U.S. within 4 leagues of the coast who may secure the hatches &c of the ship—

Sect 68. Any officer suspecting goods to be concealed may enter any ship or building to seize & secure them—

Sect 70. They are authorised to seize any vessel or goods liable to seizure

All these provisions of the law can be enforced by the means placed at the disposal of the President.

He can therefore effectually nullify a law of the State authorising the entry of vessels into the ports of South Carolina without the paying or securing the duties on their cargoes

Thus far then nullification becomes harmless by the enforcement of the laws of the United States by peaceable means—the state must go farther before any serious difficulty arises—they have no naval force & cannot obstruct the execution of the Revenue laws on the Water

Suppose they pass a law prohibiting the custom House officers from doing their duty on the land

The Collector & other officers will be driven from the State or be imprisoned under the State law & thus be incapable of acting within their Districts on the main land

The 13. Section of the Revenue act provides That in the state of South Carolina there shall be three Districts to wit Georgetown Charlestown & Beaufort each of which shall be a port of Entry—comprehending all the shores inlets & Harbors formed by the different bars & sea Islands lying within each District respectively and a Collector Naval Officer & Surveyor shall be appointed to reside at Charleston and a Collector at each of the other ports.

The United States have by cession from South Carolina possession of Sullivans Island in the harbor of Charleston on which they have erected & maintain Fort Moultrie with a garrison.

If the Custom House should be removed to this Island & the Officers of the Customs should reside there there could be no difficulty in enforcing the Revenue laws there the law of the state would present no obstacles. The United States have or can have a force adequate to protect its officers as the President can order the troops of the United States to any point when he may think them necessary. But as the law requires the collector & other officers to reside at Charleston the objection occurs, that such removal would not be authorised by the law—admitting this objection to be good it must follow that the officers of the Customs must reside in Charleston and cannot reside on the Island if a law of the State prevents them from performing their duties where they must reside and they cannot be performed on the Island then no foreign goods can be imported into

Charleston according to law and the President has ample means of preventing their illicit introduction The Custom house business must be done at the Island or not done at all on either supposition the consequences to South Carolina are the same her nullifying law becomes annulled by its own inefficiency The same reasons would apply to Beaufort & Georgetown—and thus the only effect of nullification would be that no goods would be imported into the State & she would be the only sufferer by her operations the peace of the Union would not be endangered by compelling goods destined for her market to be entered & bonded in the ports of other States The United States would lose no revenue while their laws would be enforced—the free trade which could be carried on in the free ports of South Carolina would in its practical operations be more oppressive on Her planters & Merchants than any Tariff could be As the existing laws provide ample remedies for enforcing the Revenue laws within all the Waters of the United States & within four leagues of the coast there can be no direct collision of the force of the State with the officers of the United States they will not act on shore and state troops cannot act on the Water or on the Islands

Stopping at this point the course of the executive is a plain one bound by the Constitution to take care that the laws shall be executed he has only to bring into action the means placed at his command and to apply them with firmness and moderation he will thus meet all his duties with the approbation of the country without involving its peace or assuming any responsibility not imposed on him by law and the emergency of the case—

But a very different case may be presented whenever it may become necessary to enforce the laws of the Union within the body of the State of South Carolina by calling in military force in aid of the civil authorities to enforce the execution of process from the Federal Courts or to protect the revenue officers in the discharge of their respective duties against the opposition of the State by force. The Constitution gives to Congress power “To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the Union suppress insurrections & repel invasions”²

Congress has provided “That whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed or the execution thereof obstructed in any State by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of Judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the Marshalls by this act it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the Militia &c—Act of 28. February 1795. & 3 March 1807.”³

This is the case in which the President is authorised to act and he is the sole judge whether such a case has arisen whenever he shall be of opinion that the exigency has occurred which brings his power into action he may proceed to its execution on his high responsibility to execute the laws in the case provided for by Congress but on the same responsibility not to act in a case not provided for and when he acts to confine his action by the rules it prescribes

When a law of the Union is opposed or obstructed in its execution by a lawless combination professing to act by their own impulse & authority the case is a plain one the power & duty of the President arise at once he has no discretion but as to the means by which he will act & the extent to which he will employ them

But when a combination extends through a whole state of this Union and acts in obedience to its laws with its highest Officers at its head its proceedings sanctioned by an express authority from the Legislative power of the State acting pursuant to the directions of a Convention of the people assembled for the express & sole purpose of devising and authorising the most efficient means of opposing & preventing the execution of the laws of the United States—When a State thus acts as she professes in defence of those rights which she reservd on becoming a member of the National confederacy and as she contends in accordance with the Compact of Union disclaiming her movements as those of rebellion insurrection or revolution the question becomes one of a different nature—1. As to the power of the President.

The law embraces all combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary means of the civil authority of the United States it excepts none in terms and it will be difficult to assign any good reasons why a combination of the most powerful and dangerous kind involving the integrity of the Union & the existence of the Government should not be demed as much within the meaning of the Constitution and laws as one more partial in extent & in defiance of all laws state or Federal

The Constitution contains no exception the power of Congress to provide for the execution of the laws & the suppression of insurrections is general plenary & *[unlimited]* the 6th article of the Constitution declares that “the laws of the United States made pursuant thereto shall be the supreme law of the land and that the judges in every state shall be bound thereby any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding⁴—it contemplates therefore a collision not only between the laws of the U.S and those of a state enacted by its Legislative power but with the Constitution of a state its fundamental law emanating directly from the people themselves in Convention. A law of Congress is declared Supreme over both. Congress may provide for its execution the President is bound to take care that it be executed, its obligation extends to all officers and the judges in every state are absolved from obedience to the Supreme law of any state and declared to be bound by the Supreme law of the land. No law of South Carolina whether enacted by their Legislature or ordained by the people in Convention can be of higher authority than their Constitution and no combination however extensive acting under color of such law can assume any other character or designation in opposing the laws or obstructing their execution than such as is embraced in the laws referred to

There is therefore no doubt that the Power of the President arises on an emergency such as is contemplated but a question of more delicacy &

importance occurs when and how shall that power be exercised tho the case is provided for tho he is authorised & it may be his duty to act by calling at once on the Militia under the act of 1795 or the Army & Navy under that of 1807.

The enforcement of the provisions of the Revenue law is but an exercise of the ordinary powers of the executive tho applicable to an occurrence of an extraordinary character it involves no considerations arising from a fear of its effects on the peace & integrity of the Union but when the President is called to suppress a combination coextensive with a state & acting under its laws by the exercise of his highest powers within the body of a state considerations of prudence & expedience may become imperative in the incipient stages of the opposition

If the President should have good reason to believe that the combination could be suppressed without a resort to the dreadful alternative of a military force he would be fully justified in suspending it till all other means have failed.

It is not to be doubted that the people of the state finding the entire impotence of their attempts at practical nullification would suffer so severely under the effects of a stoppage of all commercial intercourse with their ports would of themselves call for a repeal of their own law—the scenes of distress which would soon pervade the State from the want of custom houses at which to enter their articles for export as well as import would have a more salutary effect than the employment of physical force No evil is so effectually stopped, no error is so well & permanently checked, & no opposition can be so completely prostrated, as by its own consequences—its natural tendency & its own acts; when put down by force it may rise again with renewed strength but self defeat forbids the hope of recovery.

If South Carolina will wholly annul the Revenue laws or prevent their execution no vessels can enter or leave their ports—be it so—who suffers the most, the people of that State or the people of others States, and who will sonest give way to the other, the Government of the Union or of the State twenty three states or one. If that State chuses to submit to the privations attendant on the suspension of a direct commerce in her own ports her Citizens must pay the increased expences of an indirect intercourse through other states where the revenue laws are in operation. Conceding to South Carolina that the number and valor of her sons would suffice to repel any attempt by the United to put down any opposition made under a law of the State, the most confident of her leaders would not be rash enough to attempt to compel the United States to repeal their own laws to suspend their execution or refrain from their enforcement in a manner & at places when the state could not bring its force to bear however overwhelming it might be on land within the body of the State If the people of that State are so justly confident of their own strength & the weakness of the United States on land and the President acts on such belief, there is

the greater necessity of vigilance on the water by the active employment of Revenue cutters & the Navy there the power of the Union is as Supreme as the obligation of its laws is on the land and without a hostile tread on the soil of South Carolina all the evils of nullification will recoil upon its authors & the sufferings of her Citizens will prove the best remedy for their present & afford the strongest guaranty for their future conduct.

If such should be the opinion of the President his course would seem to be a plain one to carry rigidly into effect the laws for the collection of the revenue and wait a reasonable time to ascertain the effects before he resorts to the only remedy which will then remain The shedding of the first blood in a direct collision between the laws of a State & the Union may involve consequences the extent of which no one can foresee or calculate the attempt to put down one combination may lead to new ones which will be extended beyond the State in which it originated and lead to a new confederacy which may dissolve the old other States may see or fancy they perceive in the contest some principle or the germ of one which may affect themselves a feeling of sympathy for the weaker may become stronger than respect for the right of the more powerful and political reasons may lead to an union of sentiment and action The Southern States are peculiarly sensitive on the subject of State rights & the powers of the general Government they guard the one and watch the exercise of the other with a vigilance which never sleeps or intermits a State right must be clearly unfounded and the power of Congress clearly conferred the exigency must be plainly within the law and the necessity for executive interference apparent or they will be unwilling to witness its exercise by military force on a sister State More predisposed to side with a state than with the general Government on questions of its delegated powers they cannot forget that there is among them a community of feeling & interest in their population property productions & prospects & political affiliations the South are especially connected and one Southern state will not be left alone to contend with superior force unless she is clearly wrong both in the origin progress and termination of the controversy. As yet South Carolina stands alone no state has approved her course adopted her principles imitated her example or promised her support she has assumed an attitude in which she has not received and cannot expect to meet with either countenance or approbation in public opinion without her boundaries the universal sentiment is one of unqualified censure and this sentiment will become the stronger as time more fully develops the projects of those under whose unwise counsels the state has forgotten what she owed to her own high character & what she yet owes to the nation The government cannot be too anxious to avoid every measure which will change the attitude thus assumed by this state to do nothing which may afford a reasonable or even a plausible pretext for an appeal to the sympathy or aid of other states she has chosen an insular position let it remain so, if she wants a trial of strength with the Union let her seek it, if nothing but

blood will satisfy her leaders, let them be the first to shed it; if there must be a civil war let theirs be the first overt act, & if the United States are to become parties to it let it be on the defensive, forced on them in the execution of their laws & in the protection of its officers in the performance of their duties A war thus begun will soon terminate in the last struggle of nullification South Carolina will be a beacon to warn other states of the folly and danger of becoming the dupes of the ambitious & the unprincipled aspirants to power and the example may abundantly repay all the agitation it has caused But there is a limit to forbearance & prudence may become weakness what that limit is may be ascertained in the exercise of a sound discretion on a calm view of the whole ground which no one is more capable of taking than the present Executive magistrate this will not be the first emergency on which he has assumed responsibility however deep & however severe the crisis may be & however painful it may he will meet it with the firmness and energy of character which he has heretofore so often exhibited in the trying scenes of an eventful life Conscious of the confidence of the country & supported by the renewed assurance of its continuance he will alike avoid premature action while time promises a remedy & forbearance is effecting it & inaction when hope is extinct—taking a firm stand on the laws of the Union he will not suffer him himself to be precipitated to the adoption of any rash measures or be deterred from prudent & energetick ones by a display of firmness not called for by the exigency or the imputation of weakness or indecision when a conviction of duty does not call for immediate action He need indulge no fear that his character for moral courage is not duly appreciated by an approving country.

How far it would be proper in the executive to invite the action of Congress on this subject is a matter of much delicacy & open to many considerations

On the one hand If the President should ask the advice of Congress on a case clearly provided for in the Revenue laws he would expose himself to the imputation of omitting a duty enjoined on him from mere personal or political motives or an unwillingness to carry into effect the provisions of laws which were odious in the Southern portion of the United States He might be answered Congress have legislated on the subject matter & can do no more than reenact their former laws—the authority now existing in the President is all that can be conferred & if there are any reasons why it should not be exercised under the existing laws they would operate with equal force under a new one On the other hand if the emergency is such that the President shall deem it necessary to act within the body of a state and should order out a military force to suppress an armed opposition to the laws under the authority of the State he would be censured for taking so decisive a measure without consulting Congress It would be said that hitherto there had been no occurrence of an obstruction in the execution of any law of the Union under color of a state law that the case was a

new one not contemplated by the acts of 1795 or 1807 and not embraced within it and even if it were that the President ought not act in a case so pregnant with danger to the Union without the deliberate concurrence of Congress or at least his having submitted it for their consideration & their declining to interfere

The President has strong reasons to expect a decided opposition to any course he may be inclined to pursue already he has been assailed for not exerting his executive authority to liberate the missionaries from their imprisonment under the laws of Georgia although it is most manifest that he is utterly without authority of law for so doing and the same distinguished individual who has thus arraigned him for not interfering deprecates & protests against his interference in the case of South Carolina So it ever has been is now & ever will be in times of high party excitement men of the greatest talents & greatest acquirements will sacrifice to party the means of usefulness which ought to be devoted to the country. In opposing an administration for opposition sake they are too apt to forget that their principles & conduct are at variance

This trait is strongly marked in the Character of the present opposition, while they profess to be the advocates of the Supremacy of the laws, they protest against their execution in a case confessedly provided for by the revenue laws in which the power & duty of the President are clear; but in another case where he can act only by an usurpation of power he is denounced for inaction. It is well that this feature of the opposition has been thus early developed, as it shews how little they are guided by any settled principle & how little they respect the laws when they think to catch the President in an error on the one case or the other: knowing how little they are guided by a spirit of patriotism, he will weigh deliberately every step in which there can be any doubt of its propriety; he must remember too that in both branches of Congress, especially in the Senate the opposition is formidable both in number and talents; there are too among the professing friends of the administration, many who would not be distressed if any course recommended by the executive should be open to objection or involve him in any difficulties. New parties will be forming out of the wrecks of the defeated coalition, new candidates will spring up who will be looking around for aid to any party or any men who will promise it; and the Senators from South Carolina will give no support to the President in any measure tending to defeat the operations of their state; open opponents sunshine friends, and political aspirants, will unite in endeavoring to prevent him from acquiring the credit of quieting the present excitement & putting down the spirit of nullification without a resort to military force. There are men who would sooner see it pervade the whole country than to have it put down by General Jackson, who would sooner see the Union dissolved, than that it should be preserved by his firmness & prudence; envious of his fame as a statesman, they will endeavor to work up his feelings and passions to some act of imprudence

which may embarrass him; preferring the seeing him indulge an inclination to hostile movements than peaceful efforts. There are many too who have long indulged & displayed a spirit of hostility to the Southern States, who would be more gratified at witnessing the termination of the controversy by a military chastisement on the state, than by permitting their errors to effect their correction; & there are some who from the purest motives believe that it is sound policy to crush the combination before it has become organised & more formidable by time: And there are still more who would rather that the peace of the country should be preserved by measures recommended from any other source than the executive—

As no question has alarmed the friends of the Union so much as this, the peaceful termination of it will be hailed by the country with blessings on the head of the man who shall effect it; if General Jackson shall be that favored instrument in the hands of providence to avert the pending evil, the opposition will become powerless at his feet—the result will be owing to his wisdom prudence & firmness & he stands before the nation as their Benefactor. But if the desired object is effected by the employment of military force he will have no other merit than strict obedience to a duty enjoined by the Constitution and laws, as the mere instrument by whom or through whose orders, the power of the Nation is brought to bear on its refractory parts; its safety will be owing to the laws & physical strength of the Union and cannot be passed to the credit of its chief magistrate. Hence arises the difference of opinion between his friends & his enemies, as to the measures he shall adopt; his friends are desirous that his course should be such as will produce the greatest public benefit with the highest honor to him self, but his enemies wish him to earn as little fame as is consistent with the general good; With the choice of means to bring about the same results they would select those on which he could display only the talents of a Soldier; his friends would advise those on which he could exhibit his qualities as a statesman and his feelings as a patriot, as such his country has twice awarded to him its highest honor; as such he enjoys the generous confidence of the people; assured of their support and with the measure of military glory full; his only aspiration must be, & the most ardent desire of his friends is, that he may calm this storm of nullification, & dissipate the dark cloud now impen over the land without shedding the blood of any of its Citizens—

In deciding on the propriety of asking the advice of Congress it is proper to ascertain, whether there is a majority of cordial friends of the administration; many who are ostensibly so, have been influenced solely by the fear of offending their constituents by opposition; and among those who have failed or succeeded in their reelection there must be some on whom no reliance can be placed. It is therefore much to be doubted whether there is not a majority in both branches, who would rather find reasons for differing than agreeing with the President in any matter admitting of a doubt; at any rate, is there any certainty that there is no danger in his

submitting his movements to their direction as to those subjects on which he has ample powers by the existing laws

If he invites their action, it may be said that he must wait for it before he moves; if he asks for a new power when the old is sufficient, it would indicate a disposition not to act under it, or to evade responsibility; as no other reason could well be assigned for doing so. It would therefore seem advisable that the President should promptly execute the provisions of the Revenue laws by all the means placed at his command when ever an occasion for their employment shall arise and to call on Congress only for the necessary appropriations

As the state may prohibit the payment and collection of the bonds for duties, it will be necessary for Congress to pass some law to counteract as well as to guard against the combination of individuals for the same object, for which the existing laws afford but partial remedies. The Collector has a discretion as to the sureties he will accept, by the 62d Section of the Collection act of 1799 the bonds shall include one or more sureties to the satisfaction of the Collector, this gives much latitude of discretion. Might not the Collector under instructions from the Treasury, refuse the bonds of any person who had entered into an agreement, or made a declaration of their intention not to pay them, or when there was good reason to apprehend that neither the principal or the persons offered as Sureties intended to pay.

The proviso in that section that no person whose bond as principal or surety shall have remained unpaid shall be allowed a future credit for duties, would tend to confine the mischief to a very narrow space. The difficulty however is not in enforcing the bond so far as to obtain a Judgment. The suits on duty bonds are brought in the Federal Court, who are not bound by the State law, and whose duty it is under the 65th section of the law to render a Judgment for the United States on the return day of the writ; unless the defendant makes the affidavit therein directed &c So that no jury is necessary to obtain a Judgment which is done by the sole act of the Court who will permit no issue to be taken on any matter not specified in the law

The difficulty will arise only when an execution issues to collect the amount of the Judgment—it may be opposed in making a levy, in removing the goods—in a sale, or giving possession to the purchaser. When the opposition assumes such a character, as to bring the case within the provisions of the laws authorising the President to call out the Militia; then the all important question arises—Shall the President proceed to the execution of the laws of 1795 and 1807 & put down the opposition by the military & Naval force of the Nation or apply to Congress to pass such laws as will enable the officers of the Government to collect the revenue bonds now due, or which may hereafter due, so as to give the executive the choice of means to be applied at his discretion. This seems preferable to

a resort to force, unless in the last extremity—let them pass a law on his recommendation providing—

That whenever any opposition to the execution of any process from any of the Courts of the United States, shall be authorised by a law of any state, or shall be made under color thereof; the Marshall or other officer to whom the same is directed shall certify the same on such process & make return thereof to the Court from which it issued; which return so made shall be demed & taken in all the courts of the United & to all intents and purposes to be a service of the same on the party or parties named therein, and the same proceedings shall be had thereon as if the same had been personally served. Provided that befor any judgment decree order or sentence affecting the right of the party or parties, shall be rendered or made; the Court shall direct such reasonable notice to be given as under the circumstances of the case they may think proper (For instance notice in the public papers—through the Post Office or posted up at the custom House or Fort Moultrie) That any execution or process in the notice thereof (so issued and returned) at the suit of the United States shall be a lien on all the personal property of the parties therein named from the time the same comes to the hands of the Marshall or other to whom the same is directed; which lien shall continue untill the amount of money due thereon shall be fully paid without any other or further act being demed necessary therefor

That such return shall be demed and taken to be a levy to all intents and purposes, on all the real & personal estate of the parties, within the district subject to the Jurisdiction of the Court whence the process issued, and a sale shall be made thereof at such time & place within the district & on such notice as the Court shall order & direct; and such sale shall be as valid & effectual to all intents and purposes as if the same was made in conformity with the laws & usages in such District at the time of passing this act—

When any real or personal estate shall be so exposed to sale the District Attorney of the United States is hereby authorised & required by himself or agent & in case of his absense disability or refusal so to do The Marshall other officer to whom such process of sale is directed, or the District judges shall bid for the same in the name & for the United States, such sum or price as he may think proper not exceeding the amount due them thereon; and the property shall be returned as sold to the United States, unless a higher sum or price shall be offered and paid on the demand of the Marshall &c at the time & place of sale; which return so made shall vest in the United States all the right of the parties in such process to the property so sold & specified in such return, provided that if within _____ months thereafter the debt due the United States shall be paid The Secretary of the Treasury be authorised to release all their claim to the same—

That if the parties named in such process cannot be found or have no property in the District wheron the same may be levied or where it is of such inadequate value as on such sale as aforesaid to be insufficient to pay the debt due the United States, the Court is hereby authorised & required on the application of the District Attorney to issue & direct a testatum execution or other proper process to the Marshall of any State or Territory where the party or parties or any of them may be found, or have property real or personal; and the same proceedings shall be had thereon, as if such process had been directed to such Marshall by any Court of the United States in the State or Territory for which he shall have been appointed That if any officer of the United States, shall refuse or neglect to perform any act or duty required of him by the existing laws or this act; the President is hereby authorised to remove him forthwith & as he may think fit appoint some other person to act in his place, or designate any officer in the service of the United States to perform & execute the same. That whenever any Judge or any Court of the United States in any State or territory Shall be in any manner obstructed, opposed, impeded, in the execution of any official duties in the place where such duties have been usually performed, or if any attempts have been made for such purposes on reasonable cause for apprehending such acts or attempts; he may act at such place within such State or *at Fort Moultrie*—Territory as he may silect with the approbation of the President or at such place as he may dirct And all acts and proceedings done thereat, shall be as valid & effectual as if done by such Judge or Court at the place prescribed by the existing laws

The same provisions to be applied to the officers of the customs & Post Office

Such a law would probably superced the necessity of any resort to any other remedy at least for the present

There is one other mode by which all difficulties respecting the duties accruing on importations hereafter to be made would be most effectually avoided—it is short & simple

Abolish Credits—

With the aid of such laws, and an appropriation sufficient to meet any exigency which may occur in the recess of Congress; the President would be placed in such an attitude as would enable him to meet the expectation of his friends & the hopes of the country. This much he ought to ask of Congress & it is doubtful whether he ought now to ask for more—in doing so he acts on the line of his duty to execute the laws now in force, but not to go beyond them unless Congress shall authorise him and direct his course The great object in view is this; as South Carolina has begun in wrong, she should be kept so in every stage of the controversy—so as to afford no possible pretext for an appeal to the surrounding States—with this object steadily in view there is every reason to hope for its speedy & happy termination But if the spirit of opposition should break out in

acts of violence and direct War with the United States to the imminent danger of its peace & the security of the persons of its Citizens & under a law of the state—the crisis would be of that solemn & momentous nature as to call for the advice of the legislative councils of the Nation If a military force must be called into action, humanity calls for an overwhelming one at once—the highest considerations require its sanction by Congress—

AD, DLC (41).

1. This and subsequent references are to the basic law governing customs operations, the March 2, 1799, “Act to regulate the collection of duties on imports and tonnage” (*Statutes*, 1:627–704).

2. Article 1, Section 8.

3. Baldwin quoted the February 28, 1795, “Act to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions” (*Statutes*, 1:424–25). The March 3, 1807, “Act authorizing the employment of the land and naval forces of the United States, in cases of insurrections” made it lawful for the president to employ “the land or naval force of the United States” for the same purposes as the militia (*Statutes*, 2:443).

4. Article 6.

From James Hamilton Jr.

Executive Department
Charleston 16th Nov 1832.

Sir,

This community has been as you may have seen by the public prints under some apprehension from Cholera, and although the specific causes of infection which occasioned this alarm may have been suppressed yet their occurrence has revealed to us the great danger this City and by consequence the whole State would incur in case a Vessel with numerous cases of this malady on board should ride at Quarantine without any safe place of deposit for the Crew or passengers on shore—

The only safe spot in the Harbor is Castle Pinckney, now occupied by a small garrison of United States troops. It is situate as you are aware on the opposite bank of Cooper river one mile from the City, completely insulated and only accessible by water, where a strict non-intercourse could be established between it and the City

In the event of Cholera the well and convalescent from the Vessels at Quarantine could be transferred to this receptacle. I am therefore induced to apply to you in the contingency of the occurrence of this disease to request you to loan the Castle to the public authorities of the City as a secure and most admirable hospital. The State will be responsible for the safe keeping of such public property as cannot be locked up in the public stores in the garrison and I should suppose the fragment of a Company

there might without detriment to the public service be transferred to Fort Moultrie.

In the event of your complying with this request a small guard for the maintenance of the quarantine, the enforcement of a precautionary police and the preservation of the public property will be stationed at the Castle under my authority—I have the Honor to remain Very Respectfully Your obd Servt.

J Hamilton Jr.

[Endorsed by AJ:] Govr. So. Carolina requesting the Ft. Pinckney, harbour, charleston for Hospital—

LS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-113). Secretary of War Cass replied to Hamilton on November 26 that AJ “does not consider it within the proper sphere of Executive discretion to withdraw the troops from the fortifications of the United States, erected armed and provided under the authority of Congress, for the purpose of their occupation by the local authorities where they are situated. Any measure the President could legally adopt in order to aid in checking the progress of that fatal malady, it would afford him great pleasure to take” (DNA-RG 107, M6-13).

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

Confidential

Charleston
16th. November 1832

Dear Sir

I received your very welcome letter by the hands of Mr. Breathitt yesterday afternoon, and hasten to reply to it, as that gentleman appears desirous of returning to Washington as early as possible.

His desire to return by the way of Columbia will prevent his examining the precise state of the forts and revenue cutters in our harbour; but I have undertaken to do that for him, and will from personal inspection give you all the details you require. This duty shall be performed as soon as the North Eastern gale now blowing passes over. I hope to be able to send the report so as to anticipate Mr. Breathitt's arrival¹ With respect to the real intentions of the Nullifiers Mr. Breathitt may be able better to ascertain them by a short stay in Columbia during the session of their convention; but in the mean time I will tell you what we believe them to be. The principal object of these unprincipled men has always appeared to me to be to embarrass your administration and defeat your election; but they have led the people on so far under other pretexts, that they must proceed—they are now somewhat divided. Mr. Mc.Duffie will probably urge the convention to secede from the Union in the event of the government using any means to coerce the state. Many of their party will be opposed to such a measure. They are however so organised that if the leaders of the political

club resolve upon this course it will be adopted. It is believed that Mr. Calhoun is against this measure and insists that the state may be in and out of the Union at the same time and that the government has no right to cause the laws to be executed in South Carolina. Both parties are anxious and indulge the hope, that the general government will commit some act of violence, which will enlist the sympathies of the bordering states: provided it be not their own they care not how soon blood is shed. It will be necessary therefore to proceed with great caution in counteracting their schemes. It is probable they will proceed by writ of replevin, served on the Collector. He will resist by refusing to give up the goods and I am at present of opinion, that it will be better to allow them to commit that act of violence; namely breaking open the public stores, which will rouse the indignation of the people of the United States against them. The custom house ought then to be removed to one of the forts, which can be decided upon hereafter. This decision will be made with a view to repel any attack which in the wildness of their folly the Nullifiers might attempt.

With respect to the officers of government who are aiding and abetting the nullifying party, I am sorry to tell you, that there are many. The Post-Office is entirely filled with them. The Post Master, His Deputy, his son and all the clerks are active agents of that party and clamorous Nullifiers.² I have no evidence however of any letters or communications between the government and any individuals in Charleston being opened or stopped, and I must in candour state that I very much doubt it, if I do not discredit it altogether. Such however is the common impression and I hesitate to act against the advice of my friends and to confide a letter on confidential business to the Charleston post office. I have reason to believe, that the merchants generally are not satisfied with the manner the business of the office is conducted by Mr. Bacot and I know that his dismissal will be acceptable to the friends of the Union in this City. He ought to be succeeded by an inhabitant of the State & a member of the union party.

In the Custom house there are many violent nullifiers, a list will be again furnished through Mr. Breathitt. The most active is I regret to say, Major Laval. He has proved extremely ungrateful to you and there is but one opinion among us of the urgent necessity of his removal. If you could offer him a place in New Orleans, his entire removal would be useful to the cause of the Union.³

The officers of the army had been seduced by the attentions of the Nullifiers. Major Belton and Major Massias were very properly removed: but I was very much surprised to see Major Massias in Charleston during the last election in October. He ought to be removed so far from this city that he cannot return to it on such occasions. I would not be unjust to Major Heilman. I believe him to be an honorable man, and do not think he has been concerned in any party matters; but he is on very intimate terms with all those gentlemen, so much so that we are and would be

afraid to open ourselves to him. If therefore you could send us an officer of the same rank, a southern man if possible, we should greatly prefer it. I say Southern because prejudices have been excited against Northerners, and as it is considered a Southern question exclusively it might be politic to have it settled by Southern men. I should have preferred therefore on that account and on that account only that a Southern Navy officer should have been sent here. I know Commodore Elliott & have a great personal regard and respect for him. I know of no one, who unites more firmness with consummate prudence than Elliott, but a Virginian who was true to the union would succeed better. If however Commodore Elliott does come no one will be more happy than myself to greet him and to aid him in the performance of his duties.⁴

You desire to know something of the character of a Mr. Simpson from whom you have received a letter. He is a very good man, a friend of the union; but is considered by us as an extremely weak man. The letter in question was not written by him. I heard the history of it after it was sent. He had, he said known you in Nashville and he asked a respectable gentleman who stands very high in our union ranks to write you a letter for him, which he accordingly did and availed himself of the opportunity to relate what he believed and what is the general impression.⁵ Mr. Breathitt has put some queries to me, which I will answer here. He wishes to know if the civil jurisdiction of So. Ca. extends over the bay and harbour of Charleston? It does. Sullivan's Island is attached to Christ Church parish the rest of the bay to St. Philips. Whether before the date of the federal constitution that state had established Courts of admiralty, and whether she now has any such Courts? The admiralty Court existed before the revolution and was continued until the adoption of the present federal constitution when it ceased altogether.

I mentioned to you in a former letter, that some arms and ammunition ought to be sent here. The union party require to be armed to repel lawless violence and I will endeavour to organise them for that purpose. Hand grenades and small rockets are excellent weapons in a street fight & I should like to have some of them. A few of the United States Rifles would be serviceable, say one hundred, and with one sent to me I would instruct the men in the use of that formidable arm. They must be furnished with bayonets. These arms can be kept in the United States forts and will only be called for for self protection and in defence of the laws⁶ I wish some of our small vessels of war would look into this harbour. If they should require repairs so much the better. They can be done as well as elsewhere and if they cost a few dollars more, it matters not to the govt.: the good such expenditures will do is very great. The discontent at no part of the revenue raised from among us being expended among our citizens is general and every opportunity ought to be seized of allaying this cause of discontent.

I hope you may be able to sooth the conflicting parties and to unite all the patriotic men in Congress in one effort to support the laws and to cooperate with you in your praiseworthy determination by every legal & constitutional means to preserve the union. You may rely upon the aid of all the brave & patriotic men, who compose our party in this city & state. I am Dear Sir, respectfully & with great regard, ever your mt. Obt. Servt.

J. R. Poinsett

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Poinsett—Private & confidential

ALS, DLC (41). AJ had written Poinsett on November 7 (above).

1. Poinsett wrote again on November 24 (below).

2. The assistant postmaster was Thomas Wright Bacot Jr. (1795–1851), the postmaster's son.

3. William Jacint Laval (1788–1865) was a former Army captain who had been breveted major for his part in AJ's assault on Pensacola in 1814. In 1830 AJ had appointed him measurer of salt and coal at the Charleston custom house. On December 3, collector James R. Pringle wrote Treasury secretary McLane recommending removal of Laval and two other customs officers "concerned in advocating the meditated resistance to the Laws of the Union" (DNA-RG 56, M178-32). He proposed replacing Laval with Theodore Gaillard, which McLane approved.

4. Under orders from Woodbury, Captain Jesse D. Elliott sailed from Norfolk in the *Natchez* on January 4, 1833, and reached Charleston on January 17.

5. AJ had inquired on November 7 about Charleston dentist Preeson Simpson.

6. AJ wrote Poinsett about the arms on December 2 (below).

*From Nathaniel Aspinwall Woodward and
Nathaniel Bailey Eldred*

Bethany Wayne Co'y Penna. Novr 16th 1832

Dear Sir

In behalf of the Democratic citizens of Wayne County this day assembled at Bethany to celebrate the recent victory of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania over the combined forces of the opposition, We have the honour of forwarding to you by L C Judson Esqr., a cane taken from the Hickory pole just erected.¹

The Democratic citizens of Wayne forward this cane as a token of their regard for the individual to whom it is sent, as an approval of the free principles that have shone so conspicuous in every step of his public career and an assurance of their attachment to an administration whose leading object is the preservation of our liberties[.] With sentiments of respect we remain your Obt. Servts.

Nath. A. Woodward
Nathal. B. Eldred

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Messshrs. Woodward & Judsdon presents a hickory staff in behalf of the democratic citizens of Wayne County, Pennsylvania accepted with gratitude for the sentiments of confidence in which it is conveyed, & a hope that no act of his life will be such as to violate the confidence reposed A. J

LS, DLC (41). Eldred (1795–1867) and Woodward (1806–c1845) were both sometime Wayne County members of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.

1. Levi Carroll Judson (1796–1865) was a schoolmaster, writer, and lawyer.

To Edward Livingston

Novbr. 17th. 1832—

Dr Sir,

I have just recd. a letter from Col R. Love, who was appointed surveyor to the commission for running our boundary line under the Mecican Treaty, asking the following question viz “can I appoint an assistant of my own choice, and a few confidential chain carryers & markers.” These being necessary for the completion of the duty assigned him, the power aught to belong to him

Col Love awaits an answer to the above before he addresses you his letter of acceptance, & I await your answer before I reply to him. He is amongst the most faithful & competant—respectfully yours

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Robert Love had queried AJ on September 1 (above). Livingston replied this same day that under the law authorizing the survey, Love had power to employ whatever subordinates he chose (DNA-RG 59, M40-23). Love nonetheless declined the office, and AJ nominated John Donelson Jr. in his stead on December 11.

To Martin Van Buren

[*The first text below is a draft and the second is the sent letter, both in Jackson’s hand.*]

City Novbr. 18th. 1832—

My Dr. Sir.

I have just received your letter of the 16th and am happy to find you have so promptly attended to it—the opposition would delight in getting the committees this session to embarrass me in every thing that might require their aid—and notwithstanding I vew the proceedings in So Carolina as a bubble still the present situation of ~~So. Carolina~~ that state & the reckless course of they leaders in nullification ~~might~~ may require some Legislative aid, and the sudden resignation of Mr Tazwell all

combine to strengthen a belief that some plan of policy has dictated this measure; & wisdom says, *be always guarded* against ~~the wicked councils~~ the council & combination of the wicked, ~~and~~ the precaution requested is one of safety & prudence.¹

As to nullification in the south, I mean to pass it barely in review, as a mere bubble, ~~that~~ view, the existing laws ~~are~~ as competent to check and put it down, and ask merely a general provision to be enacted, to authorise the Collector under the instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury to demand of all vessels entering ~~the~~ our harbours, where a state by law has authorised her citizens to oppose & resist the collection of the revenue, the duty to be paid in cash deducting the interest on the credits under existing laws to which they would be entitled. This is all we want peaceably to nullify the nullifiers.

On the subject of the Naval officer I ~~have~~ must with my usual candor ~~to~~ remark, and you must now be convinced that I can have no other view but to administer the government in such away as will strengthen the democratic party, unite the whole and produce the greatest prosperity to our beloved country, and restore the administration to the rules pointed out by the express grants in the constitution. The opposition is broken & scattered, still tho' scotched not dead, and it behoves us so to proceed as to unite & give energy to our democratic brethren prosperity to the whole union and bury as far as we can that jealousy that I have had so much trouble in keeping down in ~~the friends of Mr Clinton~~ your state. This can be done—you recollect how hard Hector Craigg has been pressed by his party upon me since the commencement of my administration, and from time to time it has been said to his friends that in due time he should be provided for—first his being a member of congress prevented his being brought into office, & when the Marshall was changed, Mr Waddell by your most confidential friends were presented. This Mr Craigg solicited—he now solicits the Naval office, or the Post, office—the latter I view the most important in your state. Now to put as prominent a character as the acting Governor of your State in an office subordinate to a collector, would be degrading to him & the great state of Newyork and be injurious to you. I would therefore suggest that he be placed in the Post office next 3rd. of March or brought here where a more honorable situation can be given him than a subordinate to a collector, and give to Mr Craigg the Naval office which will, with the office you ask for Col Clinton cancel & quiet all the claims of that party & unite them heart and hand to you. I am sure of this, & I am sure it is the proper policy to adopt, and one which *you* will find in the end will unite the Democratic party more than any other course—Gouverneur is Calhoun to the core, deceitful & treacherous, and on the 3rd. of March must go out—and some *of the old men here*—auditors &c &c &c.²

AL draft, DLC (41).

1. On November 9 the *Richmond Enquirer* announced that Virginia governor John Floyd had received a letter from Littleton W. Tazewell resigning his seat in the Senate. The legislature elected William C. Rives to replace Tazewell on December 10.

2. Hector Craig (1775–1842) had been a New York congressman in 1829–30. In November 1831, AJ had removed Thomas Morris as U.S. marshal in New York and replaced him with William Coventry Henry Waddell (1802–1884). On January 10, 1833, AJ nominated Enos Throop to be naval officer for the port of New York, and Craig to succeed Mordecai Noah as customs surveyor and inspector. Samuel L. Gouverneur remained as New York City postmaster until removed in 1836.

(confidential)

City of Washington Novbr. 18th. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

I have just recd. your letter of the 16th. instant, and am happy to find you have promptly attended to its suggestions. The opposition tho' scotched are not dead, & they would delight in getting all they committees in the senate, of such materials, as to embarrass me. Notwithstanding I view the wicked proceedings of the nullifiers as a mere bubble, still the present situation of that state, viewing the reckless course of its leaders, may require some little Legislative aid—the sudden resignation of Mr Tazewell, connected with other signs of the times, strengthen a belief that some plan of policy unseen may have dictated this measure—wisdom therefore says, be always guarded against the combination of your enemies, & our friends being in their seats will be ready for action.

The Naval officer, now draws my attention & with my usual Frankness & friendship I now address you. The great object now is to administer the Government in such away as will promote the great prosperity of the whole union, and pursue a course that will be best calculated to unite & strengthen the great Democracy in the union, & produce the greatest harmony by burying all cause of jealousy & distrust. In your state you are aware what difficulty I had to keep down that spirit of jealousy, that was constantly shewing itself from a belief that there was a disposition here, to prostrate the friends of Mr. Clinton. This has been measurably put down, & it is now in our power to put it to rest for ever—and this ought to be a primary object with a view to unite firmly the Democracy of your state.

you must recollect how hard Hector Craigg has been pressed upon me for office from the first moment of my administration, his friends are numerous & influential; and how clamorous they were that he was neglected because a known and boosom friend of Mr Clinton. My reply that as long as he was a member of Congress, from the principles adopted for my Government, a member of congress could not be taken to fill any but the highest offices, to wit, a seat in the cabinet, on the bench, or diplomatic corps, but whenever it could be done with propriety Mr Craiggs claims should be considered and satisfied. When the Marshalsea in Newyork became vacant, Mr Waddell being presented by some of your most confidential friends was selected & Mr Craigg applied & was

pressed for that, with the same reply as before, and with a positive negative to the suggestion that Mr Clintons friends could get no office. He Mr Craigg now solicits and numerous friends urge him for Naval officer, or the Post office, which is supposed must be soon vacated. For the former, you have presented Govr Throop. I would barely suggest for your consideration, whether it would not be degrading to your State to put your boosom friend & Governor of your State as subordinate to a collector—whether it would not tend materially to injure both. Would it not be better to provide for him in the Post office, a more conspicuous, honorable, & profittable berth, or bring him here at a proper time, and give him an Auditors berth. If Mr Craigg is not provided for by giving him the Naval officers berth, he will be pressed for the Post office, and if his claims are not satisfied someway, you may rely upon it, him and all his friends will unite against us, & make this the groundwork. By giving Craigg now the Naval office, and Col Clinton the consulate asked by you for him, you unite permanantly the whole party, and fully satisfy the claims of those so long & earnestly pressed upon us. I am sure that this will put to rest all jealousy on the subject, and that it is the proper course to adopt. I wish to serve your friend Troop, but in doing this I feel it due to you & the State to place him in a more conspicuous situation than as a subordinate to a collector, let it be at least to the head of a department.

Let me hear from you frankly & fully on all subject. Deleware is not ours, only the Governor. She is still in Noahs pockett. Virginia North Carolina, Indiana & Tennessee are *all safe*—a hard Poll in Carolina between Clay & Mr Barber. You will be elected without the aid of Dalaware or Pennsylvania.¹ Let me hear your views as to the individual to fill the Treasury, I am doubtful whether we could take the individual from N. York. Pennsylvania would be the most proper, but there are no prominent man with fiscal talents to fill it that I know of—we must look to the South of this, and I assure you it will be difficult—something will be done for Forsythe as soon as he can be spared from the senate, but his talents are not of the fiscal order.² ?Who possesses them in a proper degree, is the question? answer freely & fully—and believe me sincerely yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. I enclose this under cover to Mr Camberleng

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0426).

1. AJ narrowly lost Delaware to Henry Clay, while Jackson candidate Caleb Prew Bennett (1758–1836) was elected governor. In North Carolina, the two losing Clay and Jackson-Barbour tickets polled nearly equally. Van Buren was elected vice president with 189 electoral votes, receiving the vote of all AJ's electors outside Pennsylvania.

2. John Forsyth was named Secretary of State in 1834.

From Martin Van Buren

[With this letter, Van Buren enclosed drafts for Jackson's two messages explaining his previous pocket vetoes of the river and harbor improvements and state claims bills. Both drafts are printed below at December 6, the date Jackson delivered the messages to Congress.]

New York Novr 18th. 1832

My dear Sir

I send you herewith my suggestions upon the subject of Internal Improvements & the interest Bill. In regard to the queries put to Genl Gratiot & his report permit me to make a suggestion which I deem very important. On referring to your annual message of December 1830 you will find that you include as you ought to be the case ports of "delivery" as well as ports of "Entry." The reason for extending the line of improvement to the former is as strong as that for going to the latter. at all events such is the rule & in the queries and report ports of "Delivery" only are left out. It is possible that it may not vary the matter in many cases but in ours it does in a very conspicuous & interesting one. Albany is a port of entry Delivery only and upon the principle of the queries & report the appropriation for the "Overslaugh" or "Marcys farm" as they called it during the election and which we contended was included in your rule but failed through the insertion of the other clauses, would be excluded. It can be corrected with but little trouble.¹ The suggestion are not as short as I could have wished but the subject is the most important now before the Government & there were several points which it was extremely desirable to touch. Although the right to make roads & with the exercise of jurisdiction &c may not be again set up I thought it but just to place once more before the people the fact that a claim of power so obnoxious had been strenuously contended for & well nigh established by those who are now in opposition & that the country has been mainly rescued from it by your prompt & energetic interference. The occasion presented also an opportunity to vindicate you from the aspersions which have been cast upon you for recommending a distribution of the surplus funds by shewing to the Virginians what they appear to have forgotten that the proposition originated with Mr Jefferson. The disreputable conduct of Congress in regard to the subject last winter in their Mahons ditch & other appropriations deserved also a rebuke which you will find modestly but I hope not the less effectually done towards the close.² Of the interest bill I trust they will be heartily ashamed. All I regret is that you did not hold up the private bill which allowed interest also, as you were inclined to do. When I find how much oftener you prove to be right than your friends it amazes me that you continue so open to advice. The suggestions are doubtless susceptible of improvement which you will now have sufficient time to give to them.

I am very much at a loss to say whether it would be advisable for you to say any thing at this time about the Bank. When Mr McLane was here I thought not & so informed him and I still incline to that opinion. But the advantage which has been obtained for the Country & the constitution must not be lost. The people have thus far nobly & triumphantly resisted the corrupt influence of this Bank & it must not be our fault if they are ever again exposed to the dangers of another. Interested men are already caballing in this City to get up a new scheme & if your opinions are allowed to rest in doubt many of our friends will be tempted by their avarice & others by sincere convictions to set on foot applications and measures which can only serve to throw discredit upon the struggle through which we have passed. I have been so harassed by the canvass since I left Washington that I have not had time to look into the subject sufficiently to justify me in pronouncing definitively upon all the points involved in it. Of the general sense of the people there can be no mistake & it corresponding with my own feelings I mean to do all in my power to cause it to be respected. ~~My choice would~~ The idea of the establishment of *any bank in any of the States*, is, I take it, entirely done away with by the veto—the subsequent conduct of this institution, the certainty that any other however restricted would ultimately but inevitably fall into the same sort of hands & by the solemn judgment of the people upon the whole matter. My choice would be to make another fair effort to get along without a bank; & if experience should shew that one is indispensable to the safe conduct of public affairs then I ~~would admit of no other course~~ have not been able to think of a better allowable course than that which you suggested in substance in conversation when I was at Washington in July viz the establishment of a Bank in the District of Columbia leaving the institution if they think it necessary or useful to apply to the Legislatures of the several states to carry on banking business within their jurisdiction under the state laws upon the same terms which are granted to ~~others~~ their own Citizens or such others as ~~they~~ State Governments may choose to prescribe, and even in that case I would prefer to reserve a power in Congress to modify or repeal the charter as is the case with all our banks under a system which is literally now idolized by our people.³ If these views co-incide with your present impressions I think it would be useful that you should at least avow them freely in conversation.

You will see that I have carried your objections to making appropriations which are even of a national character further than you have before gone. This was in consequence of your letter from Nashville & I took the same ground in my North Carolina letter.⁴ The sketch about the interest bill I am obliged to send you as originally struck off for fear of loosing the mail.

McLane has explained to you our reasons for deferring the Cabinet arrangements which are I hope satisfactory. The case is not now a clear one & we must trust something to time & it is moreover desirable that

you should commence this Session with a steady cabinet & without the embarrassments of change. I must at all events stay here for the meeting of electors & Mr McLane concurred with me in opinion that it would be best for me not to come down before some time in Feby.⁵ I shall apprise you when I leave here—how to address me & we will keep up a constant communication. Mr Croswell has given Mr Kendall a statement of the difficulties of our friends at Albany with the Post Master there. The whole concern is doubtless at heart agt. us but our friends do not want to trouble you with it at this moment. All they ask is that Van Rensselaer may not have it in his power on his return from Washington to tantalize by parading forth renewed assurances of his safety.⁶ Don't forget my friend Throop. I cannot get along without what I have asked for him. Tell McLane he must make us some atonement for having stimulated us to puff off Delaware & then to loose it after all. Remember me most kindly to Major & Mrs Donelson Major Lewis & Mr Earle & the Major my son. I sincerely congratulate you on the birth of your grand child & pray that you may enjoy all possible happiness. I take the gold box here on Wednesday & will say something that will chime in with your general views[.]⁷ Yours

M Van Buren

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0430).

1. In the passage of his December 6, 1830, second annual message explaining his previous pocket veto of the so-called “lighthouse bill,” AJ had acknowledged constitutional sanction for federal navigational improvements located at or below “ports of entry and delivery upon our navigable rivers” (Richardson, 2:508). However, his October 26 instructions to Gratiot to classify the projects in the withheld river and harbor improvements bill (above) used the shorter phrase “port of entry.” Gratiot therefore placed a \$70,000 appropriation in the bill to improve the Hudson River below Albany into AJ’s fourth category of inadmissible projects. That improvement targeted a notorious sandbar called the Overslaugh. Following the bill’s failure, opposition papers in New York had sarcastically labeled the Overslaugh “Marcy’s farm” after Senator William L. Marcy, who had opposed the bill.

2. AJ had recommended distributing surplus federal revenue to the states in his first two annual messages and the Maysville Road veto. His third annual message in December 1831 silently dropped the idea, proposing instead “a reduction of our revenue to the wants of the Government” (Richardson, 2:452, 484, 514–15, 556). In his second inaugural address in 1805, Jefferson had suggested that surplus revenue might, after extinguishing the national debt, “by a just repartition of it among the States and a corresponding amendment of the Constitution, be applied *in time of peace* to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each State” (Richardson, 1:379). The withheld river and harbor improvements bill had included \$9,000 for a road to Mahon’s River in Delaware. The *Globe* on September 3 had savaged the appropriation, calling the project “*a country road*” and Mahon’s River a “*three foot ditch*.”

3. A New York law of 1829 had created what became known as the “safety fund system.” It established a board of commissioners to oversee the state’s incorporated banks and required them all to pay into a state-held fund to insure the debts of insolvent member banks.

4. AJ had written Van Buren on August 30 (above) that “I am determined in my message to bring to the view of Congress, the folly of appropriating money for internal improvements untill it establishes by law a general system and distinguishing between what is national, and general, from what is local.” A North Carolina committee had queried Van Buren on his

political views on August 25. Van Buren replied in part on October 4 that the distinction between national and local improvements was so nebulous and difficult to maintain that, in the absence of a constitutional amendment conferring the power, it would be “infinitely preferable” to avoid the “corrupting influences” of congressional “scrambles and combinations” by leaving all projects, except navigational improvements pertaining to foreign commerce, to “state efforts and private enterprise” (*Albany Argus*, October 13).

5. New York’s presidential electors met at Albany on December 4 and 5.

6. Solomon Van Rensselaer (1774–1852) had fought and was wounded in the War of 1812 and was later a Federalist congressman. He had been appointed Albany postmaster over Van Buren’s protest in 1822, and remained in office until Van Buren removed him in 1839.

7. On November 21, the Corporation of New York City ceremonially conferred the Freedom of the City on Van Buren and presented him with a gold box. Van Buren’s acceptance speech called for New Yorkers to lead in assuaging local, sectional, and partisan “jealousies and prejudices” so as to “preserve the harmony and secure the perpetuity of the union” (*New York Commercial Advertiser*, November 22).

From Levi Colbert et al.

Chickasaw Nation Nov. 22d 1832

My great and beloved Father

As the head of my Nation, my heart tells me it is right that I place truth before you and if you have looked me in the face and dealt with my heart often and long enough, to credit my words, you shall have truth in its nakedness. I had not lived and cast my senses, as you know, along the whitemans march, with my eyes shut, man from the hand of God can no more change principles fixed in him, than he can change his skin, so it is, with the Indian, and his native land, when he hears of a departure from it, his heart like the stricken deer, reels and falls but he may not die. I saw the white mans march—was to take my country. I prepared my mind and the mind of my Nation for it

I recieved Genl. Coffees message announcing the treaty on the 15th of September the annuity came on at the same time In one or two days Colo: Terrell—visited my tent, with a talk which I guessed (~~not~~ never knowing) was Genl. Coffee’s to induce from me a distinct proposition to sell our country. This Conference closed and I asked Colo. Terrell to say, that my Nation, had no proposition to make If any was made, it must come from Genl Coffee. This gentleman in general Council on the 24th handed to me the written basis, ~~on that day~~ of his treaty. Marked A and herewith sent, my nation from day to day untill the 29th consulted on this basis¹ On that day, handed to the Genl, the Copsy of a paper marked B consenting to consider the treaty, which was forthwith presented and with which my Nation was not satisfied, because the fourth article provided that the lands to be reserved for the residence of my people untill their removal, should be sold by the government, which is not, within the basis, ~~until their removal~~ and the chiefs universally desired, under proper regulations to retain that right themselves, and we were with one voice

opposed to any part of the proceeds of these lands, being vested with the United States, at all, which investment as pr. treaty, is not within, but out of the basis, see article four we wanted this money in our own power, to pay the debts of my nation, which must be done before we go. To meet expences in the search and payment for a country west. To remove my Nation to it and to feed and sustain my people on their new homes untill they can again build houses clear farms and get stock about them. There was in this treaty, no guard against speculation The selection of reservations, and the valuation of improvements, I believed, belong'd to our national council, and not to the President, because—exclusively, this is my nations interest and business, the national funds pays for it, and the solid interests of my nation verry much depends on it. This fourth articles pays to my nation all the net proceeds of these reserved lands, but the tenth, takes, without condition, three fourths of it and fixes it with the United States, to my nation this was disagreeable, as well also was—the establishment of two land offices with two extra clerks—with one register and reciever, we were content.² During the advisement of my nation, previous to the presentation of my note in reply to the Genl's basis. The great body of this Nation had in repeated and solemn councils, possitively determined, that not one reservation in the whole country should be allowed, except Colberts Iland. This determined fact Genl Coffee had from my mouth and Pitman Colberts, repeatedly, but he would not agree to it, and we all think, to give or not give reservations, was our own native question, often he sent for the Chickasaw commissioners to his quarters, and told us. If we did not allow reservations our great Father the President would not like it, and be disturbed with us, and would think it verry strange that we denied ourselves reservations. We told him that God gave the country to all the Nation, no one had better right than another. The half breeds got a wide field, they got more Inteligents than the Indians, and the treaty let them choose where they ~~choose~~ pleased will, they would take a great deal of the verry best land and leave the poor. we had a country to find we knowd not where to buy it. If we had to buy of the mexicans, a large sum of money must be ready, we had to move to this home pay our debts and live when we got there, let us do all these things of first necessity, then vest the balance with the government and draw on the interest. Genl. Coffee say no. on this question you must sleep one night more, he would get the Indians, the half breeds and white men with Indian families together next day, at the council house, among us. He will help settle this matter I tell Genl. Coffee it is not worth while to sleep on a question, so well considered and finally determined. He replied, we must all meet him tomorrow and so we did. The Genl and the half breeds made several talks, at last the Genl asked me if my mind was fixed not to allow reservations I told him the great body of my Nation was against reservations and my mind was with them. He asked me what was my mind about the Franklin treaty, if it was proper to revive any part of it, I asked him if that treaty lived. He

said the government had faild to fulfil its parts, it was void, but as the chickasaws were always ready and willing to fulfil all their contracts it might be proper to revive some part of it. I told him it was useless to talk about the dead. He said well, he would write out another treaty, such as he thought right if, we signed it—well—if not, he would go home, So we parted as we met except a litle more heat. In a day or two, he presented his treaty marked D the very same as before, on to the eleventh article, which revived a part of the treaty, of Franklin, allowing and giving to Indians, half breeds, and some white men not of Chickasaw families 39,360 acres of choice land in fee simple, among them was several Chickasaw commissioners then with the Genl in treaty, and by the 12th article, gave to four others 5,120 acres of choice land in fee simple to keep or to sell, in the same article near one hundred sections are given to half breeds and white men, with Indian famillys. The verry persons against whom the chiefs had been so long contending. To this treaty, all of us renewed our objections, the Genl. again insisted that the full and half bloods should again meet in council. The Genl Levi Colbert nor Pitman Colbert were not to be present. The parties meet, the half breeds after their talks, asked the chiefs one by one if they would allow them reservations, one by one the old chiefs answered no, and turnd to the warriors and asked them if they would defend them, in this Opinion, the warriors replied they would, so they parted as they met. The concluding article of this treaty give to me Levi Colbert, ten sections more, in all fifteen sections and a half, I recieved this news ~~in my~~ from Genl Coffee, by Col. Terrell in my tent before this treaty was public. The messenger explained to me with great clearness & force, the immence value and importance of 9,920 acres of well selected first rate land, which might be got in the verry bosom of steam navigation for the happiness of my nation I had struck my course, my stand was taken and Genl Coffee knew it, when Col. Terrell finished I said to him When Genl. Coffee attempts to buy my honesty, he must have a pile of money high as my head then I will keep my honesty still, and the money must come too from the United States Treasury and not from my nations pocket to put in mine, ~~and then my honesty stay with me still~~ mine, and then my honesty shall stay with me still. I cant tell what makes Genl Coffee love reservations so hard and so long. Three times he has been told no reservations can be allowed, most three weeks gone away, since he hang on this qustion and got so much heat in our Camps with the half breeds. I will tell him today if he does not quit these reservations, I will quit the treaty.³

The Genl. wrote another treaty, left out one land Office and made some unimportant amendments but still it seemd to us, the half Breeds on reserves from peculiar words in the treaty might remain on them a long time or give verry long leases, in spite of the nations actual removal. To the Genl by the chickasaw commissioners various amendments in respectful briefs were ~~postponed~~ proposed all of which, is herewith sent, and almost all, was rejected, an other objection is ¹⁵/₂₀ of my people are totally incapable

of selecting any land of worth, men of sense and honesty, we think ought to do this, my Nation also objects to the governments selling these reservations. To the President appointing the person to value them or the agent to pay for them and it is objected also, that both the surveyor Generals and land office, as to their duration is without limit. The investment of any part of the proceeds of the reserved lands—was—and now is—objected to. On the examination of my proposed amendments, to that treaty and of the treaty signed since and herewith sent, it will be seen whether the wishes of my ~~people~~ Nation were or are, right or wrong.⁴ I think the chickasaw commissioners with other Chiefs and warriors kept this treaty two or three days at my quarters, we could not, nor did we ever—understand or approve of it ~~I cant tell what makes Genl Coffee~~ My people were worn out, they Could not get their annuity till the treaty was done for the last week were verry badly fed and most of them gone home At the Genl.s request what chickasaws, were on the ground attended, a little before night, my health was verry bad, at candle light Genl. Coffee Called on the chiefs to sign the treaty. *This he done repeatedly.* They hesitated and said ~~nothing~~ there was something in it they did not understand and requested to postpone untill tomorrow, at which the Genl. got angry and accused the chiefs with ignorance, duplicity, and meanness, charged them with trifling with his official character as well as with his private Charae feelings. He told them if they would not sign the paper then he would leave them and got up off his seat and went off as tho he was gone, absent a few minutes, and returned and commenced his villifying the chiefs again, and told them ~~and told them~~ they must sighn the paper then or he would leave them and never return, ~~to them again~~ to try to make a treaty with them again, they might remain, ~~under the~~ suffer and die under the state laws for what he cared. After long contined abuse and menace from Genl. Coffee, ~~it was not~~ the Chiefs signed the paper or treaty⁵

The second paper signed on next day, was presented to the chiefs by Mr. Secretary Anderson in presence of Genl Coffee. It was not read. The Chiefs were told, that the paper had been read by Levi Colbert and others or read and explained to ~~them~~ to him and was well understood. therefore it was unnecessary to read it and interpret it to them. Levi Colbert was at that time absent and sick in his tent on these representations, the chiefs present, signed the paper without knowing what was in it, nor do they yet know its contents.⁶ On the third day the supplement was presented, read, and Genl Coffee told the Indians, that—that paper was to cure all the defects in the first paper as he had promised them Levi Colbert was still absent and sick. About the time Genl Coffee presented us with his treaty about government selling our lands and puting so much money in stock, my nation did not know what to do, we were disposed to ~~sell~~ treat, but we did not know how to do it. To our help, we invited capt. Cook Wm. Cooper attorney at law Col. Terrell and our subagent Major Allen. I had known these men long ~~time~~ and they all had the confidence of my

nation, & I thought had the confidence of Genl Coffee. These gentlemen explaind, plainly, the nature of government land sales—and bank stock, so that in less than two days we got along under good way, soon to finish the treaty, when this distracting reservation question came up. They viewing this matter purely Chickasaw, left us, untill we would settle it. The half breeds supported Genl Coffee and the Genl surported them. The alarm was common that the Genl would never treat without reservations. If the chiefs would not allow them, it was strongly impressed on us, that he would treat with the half breeds themselves. I said if he will he must, they have no power, When the half breeds and the Genl can't get reserves. He seemed to get mad and desperate, he desired my white friends to leave my quarters, leave the chiefs to him, our friends done so, and my nation was left *helpless and friendless*.⁷ This act in Genl. Coffee my nation took very hard and verry unkind. He was a man of experiance and education we were rude from the hand of nature. He had his secretary and other enlightend friends around him, we were deprived of the few friends on whom we could rely. He wished of my nation a treaty, new to us, in all its relations, we knew not how, to get along with it, our friends laboured as sincerely, to promote a treaty—and a treaty, strictly, within Genl. Coffees basis, as himself, Genl. Coffee did, and I told him if he would let them half breeds and two or three whitemen who were troubling his ears alone in four days we could finish a good treaty My Father, I beg you to listen I know Genl. Coffee stands near your heart, and I am among the last men, who would do or say any thing to wound your feelings but facts in this matter, your generosity will forgive—In the Franklin treaty, reservations were given, to Major Allen Col. Reynolds McClish and Magee, ~~others~~ with others, and to myself, five sections and a half.⁸ The renewal of any part of this treaty, and the allowance of reserves at the treaty of Pontetoc, the Genl well knew at an early day, would not be agreed to. He pressed these matters on us, so hard, & so long, and so rough, this was the foundation, and final loss of all confidence on both sides. I told him the nation had given strong helpt to enlighten our half breeds we wanted their help in our councils we had paid many thousands of dollars of their debts to save them from the white laws nothing paid back, they are the first of our nation to turn against—what the steady old chiefs believe, the most solid good for this nation—they seem to calculate for their own pockets forgetful of their country. I told him my nation was soon to be left alone to search a new an fair of home all the troubles, expences and evils of it, were ~~of~~ on our own backs—no help but the price of our country. It was my intention to vest largely, through the President in bank Stock let the old corn *stand and my generations—feed on the new, year by year*, but I wanted a good country first I wished he would shut his ears to this half people and let us make a treaty all satisfied old friends. I proposed to the general many amendments to his treaty, such as my heart tells me, was just for the government and my nation. He denies my words, I tell him, my words are the wishes

and words of my nation, (which he has long known very plain) he says my nation got no sense, I tell him, if my people make a bad bargain it will be our loss, not the governments, he says he knows best for us and would do it, so I know all confidence and good feelings is gone. This makes the treaty last five weeks, a few of my people signed those papers influenced by the impetus of the moment, and at that moment, hoping for that redress from our Father the President which we think the state of the Genl's feelings denied us, in treaty, for in addition to my former observations at the signing of the treaty When the Genl got up and went off he said as he had repeatedly said before, that if we did not sign the treaty then, that he was authorised by the President to say, that—that was the last time, he would ever send a commissioner to us, and if we did not sign then, he would directly leave us for ever, to the severity, of the state laws. We thought this gentleman was the friend of the President and brought to us, his heart, that he was the officer of a great government, mad with my nation, and my nation weak, we looked for all the furies on us, so we sign the paper. When my Father used to treat with us he gave to us, a copy of what was done I sent Pitman Colbert and my Son to the Genl the evening before he started from the treaty ground, requesting copies of all which had been done very harshly—he denied my messengers, the next day he sent to me the letter marked K but I should very much like to know, what was in that dumb paper because that paper gives me much uneasiness, as does the supplement, for I never saw either.⁹ In relation to the salt lick and lands on the river sandy in Tennessee I ask leave to say a few words I was down sick in my tent Genl Coffee came to me and said you have now sold your Country nothing have been done with the salt lick and land on sandy river in Tennessee I say to Genl Coffee I am too sick to talk about it, your honour and your justice for it do what is right, I was unable to do any thing, well—he went off, and I hear from all hands white and red that he put in the supplement, in this way, he cedes these 16 Sections to the government at one Dollar and twenty five cents the acre and binds the government to pay to Mr. Currin one dollar for every acre and the Chickasaws one—*twenty five cents for every acre* I cant see the reason or the justice of this way. Robert P. Currin has paid us but five hundred dollars, the treaty of Franklin is dead, this is all we can get. Why that gentle man should receive ten thousand two hundred and forty dollars out of our property for five hundred seems to my nation very strang indeed¹⁰

My father—I beg the President and the senate to consider of the losses, toils, expences and difficulties, my nation must meet in removing to the west, this question now from its nature can't be Counted, but to a whole nation is appalling. The Chickasaws feel a native born attachment for their Country and it seems to me true, that nature presents nothing in the west, which can make the Chickasaws more happy there—than here, their native and beloved land. It is true, that my nation became willing to sell their Country, to put down that bitter question of State sovereignty, to

keep peace in the white family, to preserve the Union of the United States whose friendship and protection we want, and our selves, to get away, from the troubles ~~our~~ which our white brothers fixed upon us. It is the result of our weekness and we surrender our Country to cure the evils we never created. The whole question considered, to us it seems right, that the United States pay to the chickasaws one hundred thousand dollars, as asked for in thier treaty, we hope Our father the president and senate will think with us and afford their powerful aid, this will help soften the Chickasaws hearts, convince them of the liberality ~~of~~ and Justice of the United States, and promote the brother hood of the white and the red man in the west. My great and beloved father, the whole Chickasaw nation, by my heart and my mouth, in this last attempted bargain, for their last foot of land within the United States, beg leave to speak as they feel, my whole nation, is deeply dissatisfied with Genl Coffees treaty, for remedy, we do not Cast our selves into the arms your Enemys, but like true and faithful children, we come first to you and bring our complaints to our fathers wisdom and justice, we ask of him to except of our treaty of this date, with which my whole nation will be satisfied and strong friends as they always have been. My father, at the treaty at pontetoc, we were shorn of our friends, of our ~~Country~~ lands and of the government we always loved, our country, loved for ages, by one treaty or the other, is gone, Soon to blaze with the white mans fires and my nation again must kindle a feeble light, in wildes where the ax nor the hoe has never been heard, but my father will do us justice now, and let us part in peace, so that I may have truth in my mouth, and say to my people in the west, altho it was necessary ~~of~~ for the happiness of United States, to have our old Country, yet General Jackson and the senate, has been honest Just and liberal. I want my father, to lay a foundation now, to keep down the tomhawk, in Chickasaw hands for ever. Will my father listen, my Chifs and warriors heard the Presidents talks which he made to us, at Franklin in the house of Gods-house Remember my Father, the true and living fires, which caught in your breast flowed, in your eyes, and imparted, a heavenly flame into all our bosoms—can my nation now, in the midst of its difficulties, look to this president and the constitution which rules him, for a protecting guardian. Can the injured, in their weakness, find in this man, a never failing friend. A broad field my father is ~~president~~ presented, it is the cause of—Justice, humanity and weakness. It is not the voice of restive men, which ought to awake, the sensibilities of the President and Senate, but a ~~it is~~ the cry, of a naked nation, contending with one man for their national rights, will arm those authorities to defend the powerless, and show to the world, that—that spirit of liberty and Equality, which distinguishes the United States from all the Empires in the world, is not as many might imagine, a jealousy and defence of thier own particular rights, an unwillingness to be oppressed themselves, but a high respect for the rights of Others—an unwillingness, that any man high or low should be wronged.

This—is the living shadow of the great spirit. The inside dress, which the Almighty cherishes, and gives to true greatness, all its action and all its immortality, these in the American character tells—to the world that—that liberty which God gave and Washington left has no security, any further, than this uprightness and Just benevolence actuates and governs community[.] Truly your old and constant friend

Levi Colbert his X mark } principal chief of the Chick
Ho to pa King of the Chickasaws X
Tish Sho min go his X mark
George Colbert his X mark
Saml. Sealy his X mark

[Fifty-six additional signatures follow.]

Signed in the presence of the following persons

Dougherty Colbert Secty. for the Chickasaws
John L. Allen
John A. Bynum
Wm. H. Allen of Miss
Jno. D. Terrell of Alabama
Alexander Colbert

DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-136). Ishtehotopa (d. 1846) was the hereditary Chickasaw king. Tishomingo (c1736–1838), Levi Colbert's brother George Colbert (c1764–1839), and Samuel Sealy, son of trader Benjamin Sealy, were prominent chiefs. Dougherty Winchester Colbert (1810–1880) and Alexander Colbert were sons of Levi Colbert. John L. Allen (d. 1865) was the government's Chickasaw subagent, and John Dabney Terrell (1775–1850) had been an Alabama legislator and special agent to the Chickasaws. John A. Bynum (1788–1836) was Levi Colbert's nephew-in-law, and William Hodges Allen (1789–1837) was a native Tennessean married to a Chickasaw.

This memorial was accompanied by itemized documents from the negotiation for the October 20 Treaty of Pontotoc Creek (DNA-RG 75, T494-2; DNA-RG 75, Entry 1058) and by a new draft treaty and supplementary articles proposed to replace it, which were likewise dated November 22 and bore the same signatures as the memorial (DNA-RG 75, M234-136). A delegation was appointed this same day to carry the papers to Washington. Its credentialing address appears immediately below. John Coffee wrote AJ about the delegation on December 12, and Terrell wrote AJ on December 20 (both below).

Like the Pontotoc treaty, the substitute enclosed with this memorial ceded the entire Chickasaw domain east of the Mississippi, which it stated at roughly 6.5 million acres, while providing temporary reserves for Chickasaw individuals and families to reside on pending removal. However, it provided that the reserves, to total 2,500 square-mile sections (1.6 million acres), should be selected by quarter-sections rather than full sections, and it vested title to them not in the U.S. but in six Chickasaw trustees headed by Levi Colbert. The trustees were charged to sell the reserves at time of removal, giving the U.S. the right of first purchase. Other provisions not paralleled in the Pontotoc treaty included a guarantee of fee simple title for any domain the Chickasaws might purchase from other Indians in the West, a statement of their right to remain in place if they could not find a suitable home elsewhere, and a reservation of lands to be sold for an education fund. The attached supplementary

articles guaranteed the Chickasaws an independent homeland in Texas if they settled there and the U.S. acquired the province, and engaged the U.S. to pay the Chickasaws \$1.25 per acre for the 16-square-mile Tennessee salt lick reserved in 1818, less \$500 to refund Robert Currin for his first paid installment under the voided Treaty of Franklin. Also, when the Chickasaws were ready to remove, the U.S. was to pay them \$100,000 to requite their losses, expenses, and sacrifices (DNA-RG 75, M234-136). Documents enclosed with this memorial showed that the Chickasaws had repeatedly asked Coffee for the \$100,000 proviso during the negotiation of the Pontotoc treaty and again after its signing (DNA-RG 75, T494-2; DNA-RG 75, Entry 1058). Filed with these documents is an undated tabular comparison of that treaty with the proposed substitute, endorsed “Indian Treaty” by AJ and probably drawn up in the War Department in mid-January 1833 (DNA-RG 75, T494-2).

1. Informed by agent Benjamin Reynolds and subagent John L. Allen that the Chickasaws were ready to treat for removal, Coffee had arrived on September 20 at their national council house on Pontotoc Creek, Miss., where the Chickasaws were gathering to receive their annuity. John Eaton, who had been commissioned with Coffee to treat for their removal, had planned to attend but did not. Coffee met the chiefs on September 22 and invited their proposals for a treaty to replace the voided Treaty of Franklin. They replied on September 23 that they had no terms to offer but were willing to receive his. On September 24 Coffee proposed a five-point “basis” for a treaty. It provided, as did the final Treaty of Pontotoc Creek, for a cession of the Chickasaw domain and its survey and sale by the U.S., with net proceeds pledged to the Chickasaws’ benefit. It also provided for temporary reserves but, unlike the final treaty, stipulated that at time of removal those Chickasaws who wished to remain could obtain full title and become state citizens (Coffee, “Journal of the proceedings at a treaty held with the Chickasaw nation of Indians,” DNA-RG 46). Colbert appended a note on the copy forwarded to AJ, pointing out that in the proposed substitute treaty, which vested title to the reserves in the Chickasaws and allowed them to remain indefinitely if no suitable western home could be found, “we ask no more” than this provision in Coffee’s basis had promised (DNA-RG 75, T494-2).

2. On September 29 the Chickasaws had replied to Coffee, agreeing to treat on his basis. On October 3 he presented a written project for the major points of a treaty. The Chickasaws considered it in council until October 13, when Coffee gave them a full draft for a treaty (Coffee “Journal of the proceedings,” DNA-RG 46). The draft’s fourth article, retained in the treaty signed on October 20, vested title to the reserves in the U.S. The fifth article established two land offices to sell the ceded lands, and the tenth pledged at least three-fourths of the net proceeds to “a perpetual fund for the use of the nation forever,” to be invested by the president in “safe and valuable stocks” with the Chickasaws having access only to the interest (DNA-RG 75, T494-2). The treaty signed on October 20 reduced the two land offices to one. It allowed the Chickasaws, with consent of the president and Senate, to draw for necessary expenses from the principal of the perpetual fund, but required its replenishment from the next ensuing land sale proceeds. After fifty years, and again only with the president’s and Senate’s consent, the Chickasaws were to gain access to the principal (*Indian Treaties*, 2:356–62). The proposed substitute treaty accompanying this memorial retained the provision establishing a fund from government sales of ceded lands—not including the reserves—but granted the Chickasaws unfettered access to its principal after twenty-five years (DNA-RG 75, M234-136).

3. Pitman Colbert (c1797–1853), adopted son of George Colbert, served Levi Colbert as interpreter at the negotiation. The defunct Treaty of Franklin had recognized George’s private title to Colbert’s Island in the Tennessee River and had granted private fee simple reservations of one or more sections each to some thirty named individuals, including Levi and George Colbert. The eleventh article of Coffee’s October 13 draft treaty renewed all these grants. Its twelfth article granted two sections each to four young men, including Pitman Colbert, and the thirteenth article provided fee simple reservations of a section or more to up to forty-five families of “half breeds or mixed bloods of the Chickasaws & white men with Chickasaw families,” for which they were to pay the nation \$1.25 per acre by deduction from their share of its annuities. Eight more families, wishing to separate permanently from

the Chickasaws and become state citizens, were to receive patented reservations outright. Coffee's fifteenth and final article designated Levi Colbert to seek a new Chickasaw homeland and granted him ten additional sections in fee simple (DNA-RG 75, T494-2).

Coffee's treaty journal recorded the division over reservations, and that the "full blood Indians, and all the Chiefs were opposed to giving any reservations whatsoever, to any one." Coffee said he had summoned all the chiefs on October 11 to air the dispute, but that only the "half bloods" and George, Levi, and Pitman Colbert attended. The Colberts "opposed any reserves whatever, and declared that to be the voice of the nation." On October 13 Coffee delivered his full draft treaty, and on October 15 Levi and Pitman Colbert again told him "that they had determined not to grant one acre of reservations to any person whatsoever." Coffee asked that the question be put before the national council for reconsideration, and Colbert agreed. On October 16 a delegation of chiefs of both camps informed Coffee that they had reconsidered and again determined against reservations "by a very large majority," and he agreed to drop them from the treaty (Coffee "Journal of the proceedings," DNA-RG 46). The treaty signed on October 20 omitted all the private reservations.

4. On October 18 Coffee had produced a new treaty draft. The Chickasaws submitted a list of proposed amendments, which Colbert enclosed with this memorial. The first provided for selecting the temporary residential reserves by half or quarter as well as full sections, and placed their selection and disposal under Chickasaw national control. The second objected to steering any more than half the net land sale proceeds into the perpetual fund. The third postponed the opening of government sales for three years if the Chickasaws had not removed sooner, to prevent the infiltration of white settlers among them. The fourth lowered the age of eligibility of single males for reserves from 21 to 17, and extended it also to single females. The fifth requested a reservation of lands to fund schools and the search for a new home. A note appended to the list by Colbert explained that Coffee at the negotiation had promised to "make all straight to our wishes" in supplemental articles if the Chickasaws signed the treaty, but then he did not. "This is our greatest complaint. The Genl knows this was our last struggle, and one that we never give up." Had the Chickasaws known the supplement would not resolve their concerns, "we should have quit" and immediately sent a delegation to AJ (DNA-RG 75, T494-2).

Coffee's journal recorded that the chiefs on October 20 told him "they were satisfied" with his October 18 treaty "so far as it was written out, but they had some small items and explanations which they wished added to it—all of which was admissible, but as the treaty was then closed and ready for signing," he proposed "that if they would then sign the treaty as it was," he would add a supplement "and insert all that they then wished—to this the nation agreed," and the treaty was signed. The supplement was then drafted and signed on October 22 (Coffee "Journal of the proceedings," DNA-RG 46). The supplement did not vest control of the reserves in the Chickasaws, but it did include provisions to safeguard their value for the nation. It prohibited leasing "to preserve the land and timber," placed a \$3 per acre minimum on the reserves' eventual sale price, and required that all the reserves be given up and sold for the nation's benefit if or when the Chickasaws removed. Reserves were allowed for single males and females aged 17 or over. Other items on Colbert's list were not addressed (*Indian Treaties*, 2:362–64).

5. Coffee had directed agent Reynolds to defer disbursing the annuity until the negotiation was finished. He produced what became the treaty's final draft on October 18. His journal related that on the 19th the Chickasaws met in council, sending him several proposals for "additions, and some slight alterations," which he "rejected as not properly appertaining to the subject." On the 20th he called them in and "informed them that his patience was exhausted, that if they did not then understand the subject fully, they never could get to a knowledge of it, they had been deliberating on it, thirty days, and if they did not then determine to sign the treaty, he would not wait any longer on them—they were then at liberty to sign it, or reject it, as they pleased but he would not wait on them an other day." It was at this point that the chiefs said they were satisfied with the treaty as far as it went (Coffee "Journal of the proceedings," DNA-RG 46).

6. Along with the supplement, Coffee had the Chickasaws sign a second copy of the treaty on the evening of October 22, to leave behind in the nation. Coffee's journal said that before signing, the copy was "carefully examined" by Pitman Colbert and his own secretary Nathaniel Anderson. The signing concluded the negotiation, and "they took leave affectionately, and parted; all in fine spirits, and seeming good feelings." Coffee left for home the next morning (Coffee "Journal of the proceedings," DNA-RG 46).

7. Colbert's narrative has returned to an earlier stage of the negotiation. Henry Cook (1782–1850) was a Tuscumbia, Ala., merchant and William Cooper was a Mississippi lawyer. Coffee in his journal accused the Indians' white counselors of "working for their own interest" and scheming "to introduce some feature in the treaty, which would open the way for speculation." He blamed their "interference" for encouraging the Chickasaws' recalcitrance and prolonging the negotiation. Coffee said he had first asked Cook and Terrell to withdraw and then threatened them with forcible expulsion. On that they departed, and the treaty was then concluded within a few days (Coffee "Journal of the proceedings," DNA-RG 46).

8. Among the private reservations granted in the Treaty of Franklin and its supplement, and renewed in Coffee's October 13 draft treaty, were two sections to Chickasaw national secretary John McLish (1780–1838), one to interpreter Malcolm McGee (1756–1848), five quarter-sections to agent Reynolds, and one quarter to subagent John L. Allen's wife (*Indian Treaties*, 2:1037, 1039). McLish, whom Coffee called "the principal half breed," had been their spokesman in the dispute over reservations (Coffee "Journal of the proceedings," DNA-RG 46).

9. Pitman and Alexander Colbert called on Coffee the night of October 22, after the final signings, and asked for the second copy of the treaty. Coffee recorded in his journal that he refused on grounds that agent Reynolds was its proper custodian, and that if handed around it risked being "defaced, and mutilated, and altered, so as to destroy its true meaning." Coffee suspected that Pitman Colbert was "in concert" with Cook and Terrell, who would mutilate and misrepresent the treaty if it came into their hands. Coffee left behind a letter for Reynolds to read to the chiefs next day, explaining that it would be wrong to consign the copy to a chief who could not read it, that it was not meant for one man but for the whole nation, and that anyone wishing to know its contents could have it read to them (Coffee "Journal of the proceedings," DNA-RG 46). This letter was the memorial's enclosure K. Pitman Colbert noted on it that he had not requested the treaty "for any chief who could not read, as Genl Coffee means, but for Levi Colbert and the use of all the nation" (DNA-RG 75, Entry 1058).

10. While on the treaty ground, Coffee had received letters from Robert P. Currin addressed to him and to Levi Colbert and James Brown, Chickasaw lessors of the 10,240-acre Tennessee salt lick reserve under the treaty of 1818. Currin said he was now sole owner of the lease, on which he had expended above \$7,000. Since the government was now contesting his ownership, Currin proposed to "put an end to all strife" by inserting an article in the treaty (detachable, so that its possible rejection by the Senate would not imperil the whole), by which the Chickasaws would cede the reserve to the U.S., Currin would relinquish his title, and the government would pay him \$1.25 per acre, the minimum sale price for federal lands. Coffee's journal recorded that he withheld Currin's letter to Colbert and Brown until after the treaty was signed, "believing it would interrupt their reflections on the important subject before them." He then showed it to them on October 21. They replied that they were satisfied with the Treaty of Franklin arrangement, under which Currin had paid them \$500 and owed \$1,500 more, but "under all the circumstances" they would accept his proposal if one-fourth of the government payment were directed to the Chickasaws instead of to Currin. Coffee inserted this article in the treaty supplement and, he recorded, "had it interpreted to the Nation, when the whole Council approved of the Cession in manner and form" (Coffee "Journal of the proceedings," DNA-RG 46). The Senate struck the article before ratifying the treaty on February 28, 1833 (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:317–18).

From Ishtehotopa et al.

Levi Colberts—chickasaw nation

The Chick nation sends to the President & Senate of the U States Col Geo Colbert—Tishomingo—Pitman Colbert Ishtomelucta Jno L Allen Jno D Terryl & Jno. A Bynm & send by them two Copies each of their Treaty and memorial of this date with full instructions, should it become necessary to form a new Treaty, then the Chickasaw nation hereby gives & establishes in the above named persons united all the necessary powers plenipotentiary to negotiate conclude and sign such new Treaty, as in their undivided discretion will be satisfactory to the Govt. & substantially within our Treaty of this date, all things necessary to be done in relation to this matter by these persons the whole Chickasaw nation hereby authorizes and confirms forever. In Testimony of which this nation by the King Mingo and head men thereof have hereunto signed their names and affixed their seals on the twenty second day of November Eighteen hundred and thirty two in presence of the following witnesses

(Signed) Dougherty Colbert
secy of the nation
Alexander Colbert
William H Allen of Miss.

Signed Hotopa King (seal)
Levi Colbert his X mark
William McGilvery his X mark
Isaac Albertson his X mark

[Six additional names follow.]

a True Copy from the original G. W. Long

Copy, DNA-RG 75 (M234-136). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (mAJs). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 23–24 (Serial 247). Signers William McGillivray (c1754–1844) and Isaac Albertson and delegation member Ishtimolukta, or Greenwood, were prominent Chickasaw chiefs. Copyist Gabriel W. Long (c1800–1853) was a former subagent. Terrell delivered the November 22 Colbert memorial and substitute treaty to AJ on December 20 (below), and on January 14, 1833, the Chickasaw delegation presented this credential and asked for a renegotiation with Coffee, then in Washington. On January 21 Coffee protested to Secretary of War Cass that the memorial was “a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation” concocted by Terrell. He was supported by agent Reynolds and several witnesses (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4, pp. 18–22, Serial 247). AJ had sent the Pontotoc treaty to the Senate on December 12. The Senate approved it on February 28, 1833. It was superseded by a removal treaty signed in Washington on May 24, 1834.

From Eli Simpson Davis

Abbeville So. Ca
Nov. 22 1832.

My dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, but before I proceed to notice them you must permit me to congratulate you and the country on your re-election.

The Union is now safe for four years longer at least. In your first letter you inform me that you have had your eye upon the movements of the Nullifiers. They are at this time in convention. A more daring high handed, & impudent move never was made by a set of men in a regular government. I intend at ~~our~~ the great meeting of the Union party on the second Monday in Decr. to move the impeachment of Mr. Calhoun, and I must again beg of you to preserve all my first letters to you on this subject as they may be called for in order to shew the impression produced here on the minds of our people by the attempts of Mr. Calhoun to excite them to resist the operation of the laws.¹ In your second letter you state that as you knew nothing of the redoubtable Mr. Mayson of course you could have held no conversation with him. As soon as I recd. your letter I called on Mr. Calhouns shadow here Col. Noble who denied that Mr. Mayson had said he heard you use the language imputed to you, but that he Mr. Mayson stated in his letter to Col. Noble, and to Judge Colcock and to Col. Brooks all Nullifiers and tools of Calhoun that it was so reported in Tennessee. I know Mayson well he is a broke down lawyer & politician who emigrated from this district to Tennessee about four years since the passive creature of Calhoun.² You are right in ascribing to Mr. Calhoun an agency in this poor contemptible artifice to absolve the members of the Legislature from their pledges to the people to vote for you. Thus it is that Mr. Webster at Worcester, Mr. Clay at Lexington, and Mr. Calhoun at Fort Hill are fabricating lies and sending forth their venom to defeat your election & destroy your reputation.³ These are the *great* talented & Godlike men of the Opposition. "It is absurd to call a villain great." Because Catiline had genius was he therefore the less a detestable villain?⁴ And are we to give the crimes of these men the colouring of patriotism because they can declaim in the courts & the Forum. Nullification you will see is denounced by every state & by every Govr. whose message has been sent in. Mr. Calhoun supposed he had disgraced Mr. Van Buren last winter but now it behooves him to look out for himself otherwise he may be covered with odium & infamy this winter. I shall be in Washington about the first of January in the mean while you will accept of the assurances of my first & best wishes

E. S. Davis.

P.S. Present if you please my kind recollections to my friend Earl.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. The Union Party met in convention at Columbia on December 10. Davis was a delegate from Abbeville.

2. Patrick Noble (1787–1840), a South Carolina legislator and later governor, was Calhoun's cousin, confidant, and former law partner. Former state jurist Charles Jones Colcock (1771–1839) was a delegate to the nullification convention. Brooks was probably Whitfield Brooks (1790–1851).

3. Fort Hill was Calhoun's plantation at present Clemson, S.C. Daniel Webster had denounced AJ's administration and policies on October 12 at a National Republican convention at Worcester, Mass. (*The Papers of Daniel Webster: Speeches and Formal Writings, Volume 1* [Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986], pp. 531–69).

4. "'Tis phrase absurd to call a villain great," Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, 4:230. The infamous Roman conspirator Catiline was conceded by the historian Sallust to possess talents and courage despite his ambition, treachery, and moral depravity.

From James Mason

Mountsterling November 24th. 1832

Dr. Sir,

A vacancy having taken place in the court of Arkansas Territory from the death of Judge Charles S Bibb Esqr., permit me to mention for your consideration Mr. Kenas Farrow as a proper person to fill the vacancy, than whom I believe a better appointment could not be made, learned in law of unexceptionable morals and has long stood at the head of the Bar in this & all the adjacent counties, an unwavering democrat, and one of the few belonging to his profession who from the commencement has been a firm supporter of your administration. Should the office not be already fill I should feel much gratified at Mr. Farrow's receiving the appointment.

We have witness'd in our late election a scene of corruption here that is truly alarming. Surely a kind providence had taken our cause under his own direction, or all that was gain'd by the revolution would have been lost, and our liberties would be but a name—perhaps in no other State in the union has the corrupting Influence of that sink of polution been exerted to the same extent that it has in this, for where open bribes could not purchase a vote, the terrors of the bank was held up to the eyes of those in debt, and many of this class to my own knowledge were deter'd from voting at all, but sir, I rejoice to know that in your hands our republic is safe, indeed from a knowledge of your charactor and long tried patriotism I have never yet been afraid of the final result, believing that there is yet virtue in a large majority of the people sufficient to overthrow all the machinations of wicked and designing men who have crept into office on the popularity of others and then apostatised and betrayed their best friends.¹

please excuse the liberty I have taken, and may that being who governs the universe preserve you in health, and continue to make you an

Instrument in his hand for the preservation of the liberties and happiness of your country, is the prayer of your real friend and Obdt huml. Sert.

James Mason

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr. Mason, recommends Mr K. Farrow as judge in arkansa before this reached Mr Clayton of T. was selected—A. J.

ALS, DLC (41). Mason (1769–1855) had been a Kentucky legislator from Montgomery County. Recently appointed Arkansas territorial judge Charles Scott Bibb (1801–1832) had died on October 15. Kenaz Farrow (1794–1864) was a Montgomery County attorney. AJ nominated Alexander M. Clayton to replace Bibb on December 11.

1. Clay beat AJ in Montgomery County by 727 votes to 431.

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

Charleston
24 Novr. 1832

Dear Sir

According to my engagement I have visited and thoroughly examined the forts in this harbour, and will now proceed to give you an account of their situation. This duty should have been executed earlier but the weather has been such as to render it difficult to cross the bay until within these two days.

Fort Moultrie is in a very dilapidated state. The south western wall is cracked in such a manner as to endanger its fall if great guns were fired from the parapet over it. That part of the fort could not however well be attacked, and the wharves Captn Eliason proposes throwing out, at the same time that they will protect the works from the action of the currents will furnish a flank fire along the curtain sea ward, which it very much required.¹ The rear about which you enquire particularly has a regular work, two bastions connected by a curtain and the flank fires are good, when this is picketed it will be strong enough to resist such forces as can be brought against it here. The whole work is surrounded by houses, which to give it fair play in case of attack must come down. There is besides a sand hill about a hundred yards from the fort, which has been thrown up by the eddying winds, and is high enough to command the fort and large enough to hold four pieces of field artillery. A few rifle men on this hill would make the men uncomfortable in the fort. There are no platforms yet on the land side, and the guns about 60 of large calibre are not mounted indeed there are no carriages to mount them on. These could be made here of Cypress a very durable wood that abounds with us. This fort would require 4 or 500 men and when put in order might defy all the Militia of the State. At fort Johnson there are no works at all except

a Martello tower, which being upon the land of the State ought to be pulled down for it commands the buildings belonging to the government.² Both Fort Moultrie and Fort Johnson must be regarded as most important points for the defence of this harbour and ought to be preserved most carefully. At both positions Break Waters are required to secure the works from the action of the tides & currents and might be constructed by sinking hulks at the proper points. The most important work is the one projected by General Bernard and now in progress; but that would be inefficient without the forts on Sullivan's and James Islands. This work is just appearing above water and I think ought to be driven on as rapidly as may be for at a crisis like this the possession of such a position would render us very secure.³ I have conversed with Capt'n. Eliason on the subject and am induced to believe, that a small steam boat would facilitate his operations very considerably and prove in the end a great saving of money. The small vessels now employed in the transportation of Stone in the harbour are frequently detained for days together by calms and high winds and a great many more men are necessarily employed upon them, than would be required to manage a Steam boat towing properly constructed stone boats, which would discharge themselves.⁴

Castle Pinckney is in fine order. The armament consists of 8=24 pounders 1-10 inch mortar 2=12 pounders and 2-6 ditto. It is situated on a marshy Island a mile from the city and occupies the only spot of solid earth the Island contains. It could only be attacked in the rear by a flotilla in hog Island channel. By a reference to the survey of Major Bache, which is in the department you will see how it is exposed to such an attack. There are no works in the rear, as all the defences are Seaward and Capt'n. Saunders has placed two field pieces mounted on travelling carriages outside of the Castle, on the small esplanade in the rear of it.⁵ I should think some temporary work ought to be thrown up in the rear capable of mounting two heavy guns. In the present state of the works in this harbour Castle Pinckney is the only place where the custom house could be established with safety and upon consulting with Capt'n. Eliason I find that two buildings might be erected to serve for stores & accommodations for the revenue officers, which would materially strengthen the works. To protect the works from insult if not from danger there ought to be a small floating force in the harbour—one schooner or a sloop of war would be sufficient. Gun boats or smaller vessels are exposed to be boarded and taken by a superiour force of resolute men. You will perceive by a reference to the survey, that such a force would render it impracticable for an enemy to attack the either fort Moultrie or castle Pinckney. The vessel of war ought to be furnished with an additional number of boats capable of bearing small cannon. I am, Dear Sir, respectfully your Obedient Servant

J. R. Poinsett

I have submitted this letter to Col. Drayton. He approves of the suggestions it contains; but says, that it might be expedient to have two sloops of war in the harbour in the event of a simultaneous attack being made upon Castle Pinckney and fort Moultrie. In that case one sloop of war & one schooner is the force I would recommend, the latter being rather more manageable in passing in & out of our Harbour.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Private—Mr Poinsett—on the condition of the works C. So. C.

ALS, DLC (41). Poinsett wrote again the next day, November 25 (below).

1. William Alexander Eliason (c1800–1839) was a captain in the Army engineer corps.
2. Fort Johnson was on James Island, across the harbor from Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island.
3. French military engineer Simon Bernard (1779–1839) had designed coastal fortifications for the U.S. Army from 1816 to 1831. The new work was Fort Sumter, in the middle of the harbor entrance roughly midway between Forts Johnson and Moultrie.
4. On November 26 Poinsett again wrote AJ to urge that a steamboat, preferably locally built, be used in constructing the harbor fortifications (DNA-RG 107, M222-31). In December the Army purchased the steamboat *Franklin* at Washington for use at Charleston. It was refitted at Norfolk and left for Charleston on January 16, 1833.
5. Captain Henry Saunders (1788–1876) commanded the troops at Castle Pinckney. Brevet Major Hartman Bache (1798–1872) was an Army topographical engineer.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Novbr. 25th. 1832

My son.

I have not heard from our Dr Sarah and the sweet little Rachel since yours of the 4th. I hope they are doing well, as well as is, the rest of the family to whom & all inquiring friends present us kindly.

We have had much rain here & dark weather, which has occasioned many colds. I hope the weather has been better with you—write me often even if you can only say how you all are & how you are getting on with the crop & your mills.

Congress is at hand, I am too busy to say more, kiss Sarah and the sweet little babe for me, and believe me affectionately your father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (41).

To Edward Livingston

Novbr. 25th. 1832—

The President with his respects to the Secretary of State. Has read with astonishment the unjust & insolent letter of Barron Sacken Charge de affairs from Russia of the 14th. of october last. I have also read the answer you have prepared, which I fully approve, & add that it is as mild as the unjust intimations requires.

AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Dimitri von der Osten-Sacken, known as Baron de Sacken, was the Russian chargé d'affaires at Washington and head of legation in the absence of a minister. On October 14 he had addressed a note to acting secretary of state Daniel Brent, complaining that reports of Russian repression in Poland published in the *Washington Globe*, the known organ of AJ and his administration, were “lies,” “fabrications,” and “outrageous calumnies.” Sacken charged that the State Department’s disregard of his previous request to correct or interdict “hostile and outrageous publications against my Government” belied AJ’s professions of friendliness toward Russia. He derided the excuse “that the Administration has no controul over the Editor of the *Globe*, as the contrary is notorious, and no one will believe” that an editor so devoted to the president’s interest “is at liberty to act in opposition to his will.” Sacken tendered a statement defending Russian actions in Poland for publication, with a “request that you will examine seriously, whether it would not be better to give the Editor of the *Globe* directions, to adapt his language in future more to the truth” (DNA-RG 59, M39-2). Livingston replied on December 4 that Sacken’s imputation that the U.S. had “directly or indirectly given” its official sanction to “calumnies” was “so injurious to the reputation of this Government” that no discussion could be held until it was withdrawn (DNA-RG 59, M38-5).

Livingston reported the correspondence to minister James Buchanan on December 5 (DNA-RG 59, M77-8). Having received no retraction from Sacken, he instructed Buchanan on January 3, 1833, to take it up with the Russian government. Avoiding if possible a written exchange, Buchanan was to seek a verbal repudiation of Sacken’s “offensive passages.” If he received it, he was then authorized to explain that the *Globe* was an independent journal and that to attempt to control its contents “would be an assumption of power in the President that he would never arrogate to himself nor would it be tolerated if he should” (DNA-RG 59, M77-136). Buchanan meanwhile had learned of Sacken’s note directly from Count Nesselrode, in an interview which he reported to AJ and Livingston on December 20 (below). In a succeeding interview on February 25, 1833, Buchanan told Nesselrode that Sacken’s letter “was not only offensive in its general tone, but more especially so in imputing a want of sincerity to the President.” Nesselrode replied that Sacken had genuinely intended no offense, that he would soon leave the U.S., and that the whole “unfortunate business seemed to have been a succession of mistakes” (DNA-RG 59, M35-12; *Works of James Buchanan*, 2:320–26). Buchanan pronounced himself “perfectly satisfied” and reported on February 26 to Livingston, who replied on April 30 that AJ was satisfied also (DNA-RG 59, M77-136).

To Martin Van Buren

[This letter is available only in a published version.]

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25th, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am in receipt of your confidential letter of the 22nd instant and have read it with attention and duly noted its contents as well as those of its enclosure. I had prepared and submitted to my Cabinet the outlines of my Message to Congress before the receipt of your views but was gratified to find that they corresponded precisely. This, from what I knew before of your opinions, I expected and the receipt of yours only confirmed them.

On the Naval Office I will take an order in all [?] December.¹ In the mean time, as I am aware that it is proper that your name should not be introduced in any way and as our enemies in the Senate may call for recommendations, would it not be well to get Cambreleng, White, Marcy, and Dudley to present Throop for that appointment; many others are strongly presented for that office.²

I was anxious that the arrangement in the Cabinet should have taken place before the meeting of Congress and the Minister have been at Paris ere this. Now it must be postponed until after Congress meets, and on presenting Mr. Livingston to the Senate a fit person must be selected for the Treasury.

I have been passing in review Pennsylvania, *first*, then Virginia and all the South and as yet have not been able to make a selection. This I find difficult. There are jealousies (about men) in Virginia that must not be aroused; and, passing over the South and viewing our present situation, it will not be prudent to weaken ourselves in the Senate. The character must be one of high standing in the Nation; he ought to be in constitutional and political views with us—opposed to the power of Congress to establish corporations anywhere except in the District of Columbia and opposed to the power of creating corporations the Government becoming a partner or shareholder; be heartily with us in reducing the revenue to the wants of the Government and yielding to our own labour, and productions that are means of national defense, such protection as will place them on a fair competition with foreign labour;—a man of integrity combined with talent and a disposition to harmonize and unite in the administration for the benefit of the *whole Union*, extending justice to every part of it. Help me to search out such a character—or as near it as can be obtained, and write me soon.

Your triumph is complete and the faction in the Senate condemned by an overwhelming majority of the people. You will get all the votes of the South and West except Kentucky and South Carolina—the vote in No. Carolina is a large majority—in Virginia, overwhelming; your triumph, I repeat, is honorable to the people and must be entirely satisfactory to you.

We have only now to go on and continue faithful to the people and realize in our actions that confidence they have so liberally reposed.

Intense labour has brought back occasional headache.—My health is otherwise good and I trust Providence will prolong my days *a little while* and make me an instrument in His hands to put down the present excitement and restore harmony to the nation.

Mrs. D— is a little unwell and confined. All your other friends are well and unite in good wishes and kind salutations. Believe me your friend

ANDREW JACKSON

P. S.—A happy thought has occurred: William J. Duane, in whom every confidence can be placed, flashed into my mind, after writing the above, and having named him to Mr. McLane he assures me that his talents in every way, are suited to this situation. This selection puts out of our way many things that would have embarrassed us—and will have a tendency to harmonize Pennsylvania and keep her with the Democracy of the Union. Pennsylvania deserves this notice from me. She has supported me from first to last altho' I differed with her on the American System. Duane is competent and he brings with him a great weight of moral character; it is going to the people for agents; he is warmly attached to you and to my administration; having conducted Girard's business for a long time he is well acquainted with finance and commercial law. In short, when we reflect, he is, as Pennsylvania deserves the office, the very person who ought to be selected. Let me hear from you. Excuse this scrawl—I have no time to copy.³

A. J.

Printed, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren* (Washington, D.C., 1920), pp. 595–96 (21-0574). Van Buren replied on November 29 (below).

1. The bracketed question mark is in the printed text.

2. Campbell Patrick White (1787–1859) was a New York City congressman.

3. William John Duane (1780–1865) was a Philadelphia lawyer and politician and son of famed Republican editor William Duane. AJ appointed him Secretary of the Treasury on May 29, 1833. Duane had been an attorney and agent for financier Stephen Girard and was an executor of Girard's estate. The American System was the program, named and championed by Henry Clay, of a conjoined protective tariff and federal aid for internal improvements.

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

[The South Carolina constitutional convention that the legislature had authorized on October 26 convened at Columbia on November 19. Governor James Hamilton Jr. presided. On November 24 the convention adopted an "Ordinance to Nullify certain acts of the Congress of the United States," an accompanying committee report, and public addresses

to the people of South Carolina and of the United States. The ordinance declared the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832 to be unconstitutional and therefore “null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers or citizens,” and prohibited any attempt by state or federal officers to enforce them beginning February 1, 1833. The ordinance forbade any appeal of its own legality to the U.S. Supreme Court and required all civil and military officers, legislators excepted, to take an oath pledging “to obey, execute, and enforce” its provisions. It further declared “that we will not submit to the application of force, on the part of the Federal Government,” and that any Act of Congress authorizing military force against South Carolina or closing its ports, or other federal action to enforce the tariff, would be deemed “inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union.” In such event the people of South Carolina would consider their connection with the United States dissolved and would “forthwith proceed to organize a separate Government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do” (SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 36–39, Serial 230).]

Charleston
25 Novr. 1832

Dear Sir

The public papers will have informed you of the proceedings of the Convention of this State now sitting in Columbia. You will perceive, by the project of the Committee, that these rash and inconsiderate men contemplate disunion if the government should find it necessary to act with energy. I always thought this to be the end and aim of some of the leaders of the Nullification party. It is rumoured, that Major—no, Brigadier-General Hamilton is to bring down with him two Regiments of Infantry chosen from the districts most addicted to nullification to keep us in order; and further, that it was in contemplation to take possession of the forts as a measure of precaution.¹ The measures which you have wisely taken will prevent the execution of this scheme. If the ordinances are passed in conformity with the project of the Committee it is probable, as they will be foiled in their intended *coup de main*, that nothing violent will be attempted before the 1st. of February, as the Union party count among their numbers several Militia Officers and a fair proportion of the Volunteer corps in this city. The Nullifiers however have all the artillery. We might muster from 500 to 1000 men if we could arm them. I speak of the force of the Union party because I wish it to be brought into action if force must be used by the government. I think it all important, that we, the Union party, should be prepared to resist any illegal act of violence, then protest against the proceedings of the Convention, declare ourselves the true Representatives of the State and ask the aid of the general Government to protect us. Such a proceeding would enlist the feelings and sympathies of the states in our favor; Whereas it is to be feared,

that if the general government is compelled single handed to coerce these men, which could easily be done, the sympathies of the people, especially of the South would be in favor of the Nullifiers. If such a movement as the one here indicated could be made in Charleston and in Greenville where our strong force lies—Greenville and Spartanburg—It certainly would be successfull—because in Charleston we could receive the succour of the regular troops in the harbour and in Greenville of the Militia of North Carolina and Tennessee, which would suffocate this rebellion at once. These men look forward with certainty to the assistance of Great Britain in any contest they may have with the General government, and some persons believe that they have held communication with and had assurances from that government of succour and protection. This I do not credit, but I think it proper to communicate to you the rumours as well as the certainty of the hopes and expectations they entertain. I am decidedly of opinion, that whenever the Government is compelled to act it should be done with such an overwhelming force as to put down at once all hopes of successfull opposition and that the two points to be acted upon are Charleston and Greenville or Spartanburg. I do not know whether I can prevail upon the Union party to take the lead in both places but they ought to do so for their own safety and for the honor of the State, and I will use every effort in my power to induce them to take this attitude. The declarations of these men that in certain cases, they will seek foreign alliances and their determination to secede unless the government supinely submits to all their demands will render it necessary to act with energy and to act promptly. If this State is allowed to secede and as a sovereign state shall form an intimate alliance with Great Britain, as she most certainly would do, she would have British ships of war constantly in the harbour and in case of any quarrel between the States and Great Britain would allow that nation to make Carolina a *place d'armes*, or in any difference between her and the rest of the States might deliver up the forts to British forces and defy the utmost power of the Union. The safety of the whole nation requires therefore, that South Carolina should not be allowed to carry her factious resolutions into effect. It is a very different case as the matter now stands. Great Britain would certainly not interfere in this domestic quarrel as long as it was such, but if by common consent South Carolina is permitted to secede from the Union and Great Britain were to form an intimate alliance with her, which there are many motives to induce that nation to do, then it would be a peaceful and legal act and she might bind herself to defend South Carolina against the rest of the Union whenever the *casus foderis* required it.² To this no reasonable objection could be taken, and South Carolina would be at once converted into a smuggling mart from whence to deluge the States with british manufactures. But if the Government of the union determines to prevent South Carolina from committing this rash act and at once ruining the prosperity of this Republic, no foreign power would have a pretext for interfering

and sure I am that no foreign power would interfere. Indeed it would be easy to put these men down in one little month, so that there would be no time for any such application to be made. Now in my opinion the threats which have been made and so frequently repeated of calling in the aid of Great Britain—the expectation which is openly entertained that the British fleet will be at our doors to raise the blockade of the port, the certainty that these men would at once deliver up the forts to such a force, if it were to appear, to be held against the United States render it imperative upon you to put these forts in complete repair and so to garrison them as to prevent their being taken by the forces of any foreign or domestic enemy. For this purpose more men are required and two vessels of war and I do think they ought to be sent without delay.

Connected with this subject is one of great importance to this city. It was urged upon the government of Mr. Monroe to make Charleston a naval depot for the West India squadron and if this had been done, the union party would never have lost its ascendancy in this city—nay, more if the government had when it was in its power to do so, have employed our own mechanics we might have retained it; but with a view to economy badly understood I think when the preservation of the Union is at stake, northern mechanics have been invariably employed, when our own were starving. This has irritated them almost to madness and on a late occasion we had some difficulty in preventing the mechanics from pulling down the marine Hospital, which is badly situated in order to save four thousand dollars and being built by an imported mechanic in order to save a trifle more. This is done and I do not mean to complain; but to urge that Government now avail itself of every opportunity of employing our mechanics. In my opinion no measure would contribute more to pacify Carolina, preserve the Union and save the effusion of blood as than to make Charleston a naval Depot for the West India station. I transmit you herewith the documents to show the great advantages that would result from this arrangement to the Service. Capt. Kearney was of opinion, that this was the fittest port for that purpose, so is Capt. Shubrick and so would any unprejudiced officer be who would visit it & compare its advantages with those of Pensacola. I know the navy Commissioners are opposed to it & prefer the Tortugas; but I do earnestly entreat you not to suffer their prejudices to prevent the adoption of a measure which will save the Country from a civil war. Such a measure would secure our ascendancy in the City and furnish a pretext for sending a naval force here.³

I have several other subjects on which I wish to write to you, and will do so by tomorrow's mail. The Documents I referred to may be found in the department. They were presented in 1825 and in 1826 there is a report published by order of Senate on the expediency of establishing a navy yard in Charleston by Capt. Kearney. Not only was this refused; but an order issued that no vessel of war should touch at Charleston for repairs or supplies, an order which lost the government many friends, and wh.

was injudicious to say the least of it. I sent you yesterday a report of the state of the forts in this harbour. I am Dear Sir respectfully yours

J. R. Poinsett

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr. Poinsett—on the best means to put down Nulli'n to be promptly answered thro—P. M. at B. Mr Skinner—⁴

ALS, DLC (73). AJ replied on December 2 (below).

1. Governor Hamilton had been elected a South Carolina militia brigadier general on November 5.

2. "Casus foederis" is a circumstance activating the terms of an alliance.

3. In 1824 Congress had authorized surveying Charleston and St. Mary's, Ga., as possible navy yard sites (*Statutes*, 4:48). In 1825 Master Commandant Lawrence Kearny (1789–1868) reported that Charleston was suitable for a "limited" naval establishment. The Senate printed his report in 1826 (*SDoc* 27, 19th Cong., 1st sess., Serial 126). William Branford Shubrick (1790–1874) was a Navy captain and South Carolinian. Pensacola was a navy yard site and supply depot for the West India squadron. In 1829 Navy commissioner John Rodgers had recommended the Dry Tortugas, at the tip of the Florida Keys, for a naval station, and AJ had endorsed the idea to the Senate in March 1830 (*SDoc* 111, 21st Cong., 1st sess., Serial 193). Charlestonians had complained in 1831 of the awarding of a construction contract for a marine hospital to northerner Daniel Homans, at a reported cost savings of \$8,000 (*Washington Globe*, August 10, 1831).

On March 30, 1833, Navy secretary Woodbury instructed Jesse D. Elliott to report on Charleston as a potential naval station or depot, and on May 28 he wrote Poinsett acknowledging his letters to AJ on the subject (*HRRep* 541, 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 35, 40, Serial 263). A bill to establish a navy yard at Charleston was reported by a House committee in June 1834, but did not pass.

4. John Stuart Skinner (1788–1851) was the Baltimore postmaster.

To John Coffee

Washington Novbr. 26th. 1832—

My Dr. Genl.

I have the pleasure to inform, that your amiable daughter Mary reached us to day, with Col & Mrs. Polk, all in good health and fine spirits. Mary Looks as well & as cheerful as I ever saw her, and with her cousin Mary McLamore & her Aunt, will spend her winter pleasantly, and I am sure will add much to my happiness here—and you may rest assured mine will be to her a fathers care whilst she remains.

I still hope it will be in your power to visit us this winter. The Secretary of War and myself both think it proper that you should be here to explain the Treaty to the committee, when it is laid before the and will detain it until we hear whether you will be on. I have a great desire that the Treaty should be ratified as early as possible, as I believe it will have the effect to induce the cherokees to treat, and your explanation will ensure it, perhaps, a united vote in the Senate.

Let me hear from you soon.

Mrs. Donelson is a little indisposed but it is only a bad cold, & I hope will soon be well—bad colds are here very prevalent but we are intirely free from colera.

All join in a tender of our affectionate regards to you and your amiable family & believe me yr frend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Coffee Papers (21-0576). Coffee wrote AJ on November 30 (below). Mary Coffee had accompanied James K. and Sarah Polk to Washington. Polk wrote Coffee about the trip on November 27 (*Polk Correspondence*, 1:537). Mary's aunt was Emily Donelson.

To Mary Ann Eastin Polk

Novbr. 26th. 1832—

My dear Mary

Your affectionate letter without date is just recd, and altho crouded as usual with business on the near approach of congress I cannot forego the pleasure it gives me to acknowlege it. From it, I learn that you are happy. so long as you are situated on your farm, enjoying the calm of retirement, with the affections of yr dear husband, you will continue to enjoy as much happiness as are allotted to human beings here below. What would I not give to be freed from the turmoils of public life, & in retirement on the Hermitage—anough—providence has willed it otherwise, & Let his will be done—but here, I enjoy no happiness

I told you My dear Mary, that Lucius possessed the temper, the disposition, and all those amiable qualities necessary, to make the married state a paradise—and I hope you both will always keep in mind that, “good humor is the padlock to cherish & promote your happiness.

I am delighted, that Mr Polk has taken upon himself the guardianship of Eliza and john, this is given as great a proof of his real affection for you, as he could, and he will, no doubt, do to them a fathers part. Present me kindly to him, to Eliza & John, and with my best wishes for your united happiness, both here & hereafter, believe me my dear Mary your affectionate Uncle

Andrew Jackson

P.S. your aunt is a little indisposed. all join in kind salutations.

ALS, NjMoHP (21-0580). Elizabeth Donelson Eastin and John Donelson Eastin (b. 1820) were Mary Ann's younger sister and brother.

Decision on the Ship Portsmouth

The case of the Portsmouth considered

I have with attention considered the report of the secretary of State and fully approve the same, except the last part in conclusion.

Taking into view the last correspondence Upon this subject between our minister Mr. McLane and Lord ~~Aberdeen~~ Palmerston, and applying this case to our rule “to ask nothing but what is clearly right, and permit nothing that is wrong,” I cannot see how this Government can interfere further in this case. If further interference by the Government it must be on the ground that this claim comes within the rule, and we will be bound to press it, even, unto war.

This vessel was sailing under a British licence, captured by a British cruiser, and adjudicated in a British court, from which there was no appeal, and now Lord ~~Aberdeen~~ Palmerston says, they cannot open the case, & review it—hence it is, that it would be improper for this government to interfere further in this case, but leave the individual, on a full statement of his case refering to the secrete document on file, to appeal to the justice of the British Government; as a just Government it will yield redress.

A. J.

ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). In 1805 the American ship *Portsmouth* was carrying cargo under a British license from England to South America when it was seized by the British warship *Arab* at Sierra Leone. The *Portsmouth* was sent first to an African port and then to England, where it was libeled in an Admiralty court and acquitted. The owners were compensated for the ship’s period of detention, but not for extensive damage it had suffered while under control of a pilot, which the court considered an accident beyond the seizing captain’s responsibility. In 1808 the owners unsuccessfully pursued a further claim through the American minister at London.

In 1830 John E. Smith of Baltimore, half-owner of the *Portsmouth*, went to England seeking recompense of more than £10,000. In December U.S. minister Louis McLane presented his claim to Lord Palmerston. Palmerston answered on August 24, 1831, that the Admiralty court had restored the ship and paid some restitution even while finding its seizure “perfectly justifiable.” The court had considered the case fully, and if the claimants were dissatisfied they should have appealed its judgment promptly rather than try to revisit it years later. On November 22, 1831, Martin Van Buren, who had followed McLane as minister, wrote Livingston that he had given Smith his view that Palmerston’s decision was final and not susceptible to appeal without further instruction, and that Smith had decided, without his encouragement, to apply for help to AJ (DNA-RG 59, M179-74 and M30-34).

AJ referred Smith’s papers to Livingston, who reported on November 22, 1832, that the sole basis for continuing the claim would be to show “that the original capture was not only illegal, but that the Captor knew it,” which would make him liable “for all damages whatever.” Smith in fact contended that the *Arab* captain’s dispatches would prove that he knew the seizure was illegal and had taken the *Portsmouth* only to use as a dispatch carrier to England. Livingston concluded that “on this point (the contents of the dispatches)” the British government might reasonably be asked to reconsider (DNA-RG 59, M40-23).

Pursuant to AJ’s decision here, State Department clerk Daniel Brent informed Smith on November 27 that AJ declined “any further interference” by the government in support of his claim (DNA-RG 59, M40-23). Smith subsequently turned to Congress for assistance, but without success.

To Levi Woodbury

Novbr. 29th 1832

The President with his respects to the Secretary of the Navy, & in addition to the conversation of this morning, I have to add, that on mature reflection it will be proper to have a good sloop, with the experiment both in readiness and in the harbour of charleston So. Carolina by the 15th. or 20th. of January next at farthest.

AN, DLC-Woodbury Papers (21-0616). Woodbury ordered the schooner *Experiment* and sloop *Natchez* to Charleston on December 12 and 19 respectively (*S*Doc 71, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 2–3, Serial 230). Both sailed from Norfolk on January 4. The *Natchez*, carrying Captain Jesse D. Elliott, reached Charleston on January 17 and the *Experiment* the next day.

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

*[On November 27 Governor Hamilton delivered his annual message to the South Carolina legislature. He requested legislation to implement the nullification ordinance, including enforcement of its ban on tariff collections and penalties for resisting its edicts. He called for measures “to define what shall constitute treason against the State, and, by a bill of pains and penalties, compel obedience, and punish disobedience to your own laws.” To repel federal coercion, he asked for authority to organize a brigade of two thousand volunteers to defend Charleston and ten thousand more for a State Guard (S*Doc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 63–66, Serial 230).]

Confidential

Charleston
29th. Novr. 1832

Dear Sir

The deep interest I know you feel in the situation of this state induces me to write to you without hesitation or reserve as often as there is any thing of interest to communicate. The violent measures adopted by the Nullifiers have roused the indignation of a great many of their opponents, but it cannot be disguised, that some of them have been intimidated by them. The party will meet on the second monday in December and we will use our best efforts to excite them to do their duty. In any event I do not believe, nay I am sure, that they will remain firm in their allegiance to the United States, and I cannot but hope, that many of them will be induced to despise the threats of their Enemies and lend their active aid to crush this rebellion. For my own part no threats, no bills of pains and penalties nor definitions of ~~tyranny~~ treason to the state shall stop my course and I believe some brave men will go with me. We had rather die than submit to the

tyranny of such an oligarchy as J. C. Calhoun, James Hamilton, Robt. Y. Hayne and Mc.Duffie and we implore our sister states and the federal govt. to rescue us from these lawless and reckless men. I am more especially anxious about this because I am aware my friend Col. Drayton does not think with me. He is of opinion, that the United States in Congress will say to us—Let South Carolina go out of the union if she will go and I am afraid believes this to be the best policy which Congress can follow. With great deference for his opinion I think him entirely wrong. If such a course should be adopted the Union must be dissolved in all its parts and foreign and domestic wars necessarily ensue. Whereas if these bad men are put down by the strong arm, the union will be cemented by their conduct & by the vigour of the government, and you will earn the imperishable glory of having preserved this great confederacy from destruction. Remember too, that there are 16.000 Americans, your own Countrymen who call upon you to save them from tyranny & oppression. I will not comment upon the ordinance of the convention nor upon the Governor's message, nor the contemplated bills of pains & penalties. They speak for themselves. 16.000 freemen are proscribed, & disfranchised by a few ambitious Demagogues. The Ordinances of Charles the tenth were not by half so destructive of personal liberty.¹ Many of my friends talk of emigrating and leaving these bad men to their fate. I, Sir, shall not do so. I will remain to lead the few brave men, who place confidence in me, and, if we are left unprotected, to sustain them by my example & my determined resistance to the Tyrants who seek to ruin this once glorious Republic. I have been appointed to go to North Carolina, to Virginia and urged even to go to Washington.² But this is my post so long as it is surrounded with so much danger. I have strong hopes in the wisdom of Congress, in their patriotism and in your firmness & decision. I explained to you fully in my last sent under cover to the Secretary of the Treasury my views of what ought to be done by the union party & we will do it at all hazards whenever you say it is time to act. I wrote you under cover to Mr. Oliver of Baltimore respecting the forts. But as this is a circuitous route I will propose to you to write under cover to Mr. Mason of Georgetown either the General or his Son John Mason Jr. as you may please to direct. If it be judged expedient to change the post master of this City—We would recommend Edward Mc.Crady for that office.³ I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully your Obt. Servt.

J. R. Poinsett

ALS, DLC (41). AJ replied on December 9 (below).

1. On July 25, 1830, French King Charles X (1757–1836) had signed ordinances suspending freedom of the press, curtailing the suffrage, and dissolving the Chamber of Deputies. He was overthrown days later.

2. A Union Party convention at Columbia on September 12 had named Poinsett to a nine-member committee to attend in pairs on the legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi and solicit their states' participation in a general convention to consider grievances and means of redress (*Charleston Courier*, September 15, 1832).

3. Poinsett and AJ had sometimes exchanged confidential letters through Baltimore merchant Robert Oliver. John Mason (1766–1849) was a Georgetown merchant and former District of Columbia militia general. His son was John Mason Jr. (1797–1859). Edward McCrady (1802–1892) was a Charleston lawyer.

From Martin Van Buren

[This letter is available only in a published version.]

ALBANY, Nov. 29th, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received your letter at the moment of leaving New York and have this morning been favored with a very sensible and dispassionate one from our friend McLane upon the same subject,—as I am very busy with my friends you must allow me to answer both by this. I have fully considered your suggestion in regard to Mr. Duane, and do not hesitate to say that the measure proposed has more advantages, and is freer from objections than any which I have been able to hit upon. His location and personal and political character are precisely every thing we could wish, and the absence of that sort of previous notoriety as a public man which is generally considered indispensable, and which is so often the result of accident, is, I think, more than made up by the consideration you suggest,—going to the people for agents.

The only point about it which is not so clear to me, because I have had no opportunity for judging, is, the question of capacity. Mr. McLane and yourself have had opportunities and are not in danger of making a mistake upon that point. I had thought of suggesting the propriety of bringing Mr. Butler into the office of Attorney General if Mr. Taney could be provided for in a manner more acceptable to himself; but on my return to this place, I find that, influenced by that never failing good sense which keeps Mr. Butler from being led astray by the partiality of his friends or of the public, he prefers to remain where he is, at the head of his profession, and completing a suitable provision for his family.¹ I think I would not let the matter come out in advance. Don't forget to send for Forsyth and put him at his ease. I thank you for your attention to my friend Throop. Judge Marcy will attend to what you suggest. Remember me affectionately to all the members of your family. I sincerely hope Mrs. D. has recovered. Show this to Mr. McLane.

If I do not say anything about the signal triumph I have, through your instrumentality and the kindness of my countrymen, obtained over my enemies, you must not suppose that I think the less of it. The mail is closing and I must do the like.

Very truly yours,

M. VAN BUREN.

P. S.—I last evening consulted *in confidence* my friends Marcy, Wright, Flagg, Croswell and Butler and they concur fully. It is not a little singular that this name should have flashed upon your mind, as it did upon mine, you will recollect, in our walk upon the Terrace, for the place he now holds.²

Printed, *The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren*, p. 598 (21-0615).

1. Benjamin Franklin Butler (1795–1858) was Van Buren's former law partner. He succeeded Taney as AJ's attorney general in November 1833.

2. In March 1831 AJ had appointed Duane a claims commissioner under a convention with Denmark.

From John Coffee

(Private)

Florence 30th. Novr. 1832—

Dear Genl.

Yours of the 6th. Inst. was duly recd. and highly prized by me, as it contained your approbation of the treaty made with the Chickasaws—having acted alone in the business, having no one to advise with, and entirely on new principles, I was of course anxious to hear you opinion of its propriety—although I was of opinion, and still think, that the principal on which it is based, is Just and right, particularly as respects the Chickasaws yet I was fearful, that objections might be made of its liberality to the Indians—yet it may turn out in the end to be more safe, and economical to the U. States, than some other treaties, which provide to remove, and feed the Indians &c I hope the senate will approve of it, although I could wish to be there and explain many things which occurred during the progress of making the treaty, I am a little fearfull I cannot be there in time before the senate act on it. I observe your remark, that you and the Secty. of War, think it right, and necessary, for me to go on immediately to the City to explain &c—yet it is improper for me to leave the Surveyors office at this moment. I have had upwards of fifty Surveyors out at work in the Creek nation, the whole survey of that Country will be compleate by the last day of this year. My surveyors have been coming in several weeks, and are now daily coming in, and will be untill Christmass, before all are in—and it is important to them, that I should be here to receive their work, and divide the very small sum of money which has been put in my hands to aid in paying their expences—this done, I can then leave the office without any injury to the service—say by an early day in January. If you think it proper for me to come on at that time, and will so advise me, if health permits, I will go—will you be so good as to write me on this subject, as soon as convenient after the rect. of this. I have been authorised heretofore to draw \$15,000, of the appropriation of

\$50,000, to pay for surveying of the Creek lands—and as the surveys are now nearly compleat, and will amount to about \$70,000, or thereabouts, I have written to the Commissioner of the Genl. Land office, to allow me the balance of the appropriation, say \$35,000, to be paid out to the surveyors, in a Just ratio or proportion to the work done—if they could get this sum, they could pay off their hands and all expences, and rest satisfied untill Congress shall make a further appropriation. If I can get this amount, to pay out to the surveyors before I leave home for the city, it will be a very great accommodation to them, and no risk to the Govt, as I hold their bonds with security, to perform the work faithfully &c—and I am sure they aught to have the money, in preference to let the bank keepig it, to loan out on interest, perhaps to these very same men, who are entitled to it. I hope Mr. Hayward, will have ordered it, before this reaches you, but if he has not, and you approve of my request in behalf of the surveyors—will you give it such attention, as you feel disposed to do, and as early as possible.¹

We are all rejoicing here, about the result of the election—your friends are delighted to find the whole people so well informed, it augers well for a continuence of our Govt.—only give the people time to think, and learn the facts as they are, and they will do right. It is to be regretted that Mr. Barber held back so long—he has lost much in this quarter by his course. Our Legislature is now in Session, a letter from our Senator Mc.Vay, says that nullification, raged high at the commencement of the Session—but is dying fast, and he thinks before the end of the Session, its advocates will abandon it, thus leaving Mr. Calhoon to stand alone.² I hope after this you may have some peace.

I presume our daughter Mary is with you by this time. She left home to go on with Mrs. Polk. We have sent her as a charge on you as her director, and wish you to direct, as you would your own—in all things. Mrs. Coffee's health has not been so stout, as she usually has had, but as the cold weather sets in she improves, and is pretty well, better than Mary left her. I am tolerably well, am also gaining, since the attack on my arrival from the nation—the children all well—and unite in *love* to you and all our friends—dr. Genl. yours

Jno. Coffee

ALS, DLC (41). Coffee wrote again about the Chickasaw treaty on December 12 (below). AJ replied to this letter on December 14 (below).

1. On May 5 Congress had appropriated \$50,000 to survey the Creek cession, and on August 6 GLO commissioner Elijah Hayward authorized a first remittance to Coffee of \$15,000. Coffee requested the balance on November 8. On November 23 Hayward released an additional \$20,000, saying Coffee would receive the last \$15,000 once the surveys were completed (DNA-RG 49, M27-5 and M1325-1).

2. Hugh McVay (1766–1851) was a state senator and later governor of Alabama.

From James O'Hanlon

Columbia 30th. Novr. 1832

My Dr Sir,

I reside 14 Miles below this place and seldom visit Columbia more than once a week in consequence of which my letters often remain in the Post-office some days before I receive them. Owing to this cause an answer to your favor of the 19th. has been deferred some days. In reply to the enquiry "whether I would accept the appointment of Marshall if tendered, I beg leave to inform you that I am necessarily compelled to decline the proposed honor. In doing so permit me to assure you of my readiness at all times and under all circumstances to sustain the Laws of our Country and the integrity of the Union. I could not my dear Sir, but with great reluctance refuse any thing you would ask of me and did I not know that there are many persons, perhaps better qualified than myself and who may be had to fill the office of Marshall, I wd. sacrifice my own interest, (which I would be doing)—and accept it, I cannot but thank you for the good opinion you seem to entertain of my "firmness and prudence," and trust that whenever the occasion calls for it I shall not be found wanting. Towards you dear Sir, I have ever entertained the highest veneration and the most affectionate regard. Your administration always has and I doubt not always will receive my most unqualified support. I rejoice and congratulate you upon the certainty of your re-election—& thank God you will be re-elected without the *aid of South Carolina—or rather Calhoun & Co.* And I also rejoice in the probability of Mr. Van=Burens success.

My Dear Sir—I am almost sick of my native State or rather of those who rule it—most every thing has become *rotten*. Even those who call themselves *Union Men* have acted *foolish ay—like babies*. I have almost determined to wash my hands of the whole of them and look for another home. I would freely die to redeem the state from the blind infatuation under which she labors—but a thousand lives wd. not do it—unless Cal.... & Co. were included in the number, Never did a sick *patient* want *bleeding* worse than some of our Nullies do. You have no doubt seen the proceedings of the late *State Convention*—its *ordinance* &c &c. Also *Ensign Hamiltons message!!!* "The *peaceful remedy*" begins to shew itself.¹ Such an attack of upon the rights and liberties of the citizen was never surpassed in any age or country, as the Ordinance contains. The Legislature is about to complete that which the Convention (an unconstitutional one) began. The public prints will inform you how things are going. To day *Ensign* Hamilton reviewed the Regiment belonging to this District, being aid to the Major General of this Division I appeared with him on the field. After the troops went through their evolutions the commander and Chief Ensign Hamilton, addressed them about the present "*Crisis*" &c—after which—a rifle company tendered their services to his "Excellency" and informed him they were ready to march at any

moment they should be called upon by his “Excellency” in defence of South Carolina—the Ensign of course thanked them kindly for their devotion to Nullification—complemented their gallantry and patriotism, told them to be ready they might be called upon very soon—but he hoped all might yet be settled without *resorting to the sword*.²

Pardon me Dear Sir, for trespassing so much upon your time and for the familiarity of style in which I have indulged. When I took up my pen to write you I did not think my time wd permit me to say more than give a simple answer to your letter, but I have hurried on & have presumed perhaps more upon your friendship than I ought yet I trust some things I have stated may ~~not~~ be all important for you to know—in enabling you to form a correct idea of what passing here.

I shall not abide by the ordinance of the Convention. I shall resign my Aidship—and free myself of the last Commission I hold ~~under~~ in my native state—after having held several ~~too~~, and that too without leaving it in the power of any one to say aught against my integrity, or honor.

Gen. Hayne is to be the next Governor and will probably be elected next week—and Calhoun succeeds him in the Senate. Such is the present arrangement of the *Nullies*³

I should like very much to see you, it is a pleasure I have promised myself ever since your election—but I have heard so much of the great number of *office hunters* at Washington that I was unwilling to appear amongst them. However I yet hope to visit you some time or other—and introduce Mrs. O’Hanlon to you—who is and always has been one of your warmest friends.⁴ I must close. May God, bless, protect and preserve you for his own good purposes is the sincere prayer of your friend

James O’Hanlon

ALS, DLC (41). O’Hanlon (c1801–1864) was a lawyer and sometime state legislator. AJ replied on December 6 (below). The incumbent marshal for South Carolina was Morton A. Waring.

1. In May Hamilton had commissioned himself as an ensign in the state militia, thus making him eligible for election by the officers to brigadier general. Unionist officers had protested the maneuver as illegal. The nullification convention’s November 24 “Address to the People of the United States” said that “we believe our remedy to be essentially peaceful,” and Hamilton’s November 27 message to the legislature claimed that “our remedy is essentially of a pacific character” (*SDoc* 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 57, 65, Serial 230).

2. On November 30 at Columbia, Hamilton reviewed the 23d regiment under Colonel James Gregg (1787–1852), part of the third division commanded by Major General John Buchanan (1790–1862). Afterwards Hamilton addressed the Richland Volunteer Rifle Company, which that day had resolved “That at all times and under all circumstances, our allegiance is due to the State of South Carolina, and in case of a conflict between this State and the Government of the United States, we are ready with our hearts and rifles, to support the honor of the State.” A newspaper report said that Hamilton “complimented their devotion to the cause of their suffering and long forbearing State, and whilst he deprecated the idea that it would even be necessary to repel any hostile attack from the General Government, unless madness and infatuation directed its councils, yet it was the part of wisdom to look to possible contingencies” (*Charleston Mercury*, December 3).

3. On November 27 a legislative caucus had nominated Robert Y. Hayne to succeed Hamilton as governor. The legislature elected him on December 10. On December 11 it elected Calhoun to finish Hayne's Senate term. Calhoun resigned the vice-presidency on December 28 and took his seat in the Senate on January 4, 1833.

4. O'Hanlon's wife was Elizabeth Myers O'Hanlon (1808–1835).

Memorandum on the Bank of the United States

Novbr. 1832—

The Bank. Enquiry whether it has not violated its charter, and whether its present situation does not require, for the safety of the Government, that the U. States deposits be ~~removed~~ withdrawn from it. Attention to this an imperious duty by the Executive and Secretary of the Treasury.

AN, DLC (64; 21-0246). This memorandum is in AJ's memorandum book.

December



From Ratliff Boon

Browns Hotel Decr. 1—1832

Sir,

I take the liberty of addressing you on the subject of the publishers of the laws of Congress, in Indiana. The State of Indiana, being divided into *three* Congressional districts, heretofore, on of the publishers of the acts of Congress, was appointed in each district. The *first* district, from which I come, embraces near one *half* of the State, and includes the borough of Vincennes. The “Western Sun,” printed at Vincennes, was one of the papers in which the laws were used to be published; but for some cause, Mr. Livingston thought proper to change the former arrangement, and appointed *two* of the three public printers, in the Second Congressional district, thereby leaving near one *half* of the State without the advantage intended to be given in the publication of the Laws of Congress, in the several States of the union. Beside, the Editor of the “Western Sun,” is an early friend of yours, and is located at a point where your political opposers are most powerful.

When the official returns of the vote Given in Indiana, at the last presidential election Shall be published, you will then see that the first Congressional district, saved the State for you.¹ Permit me to express the hope that Mr. *Stout* may be selected as one of the public printers in Indiana. I have the honor to be very respectfully your obedient servt.

R. Boon

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Referred to the Secretary of State for his particular attention A. J.

ALS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0645). Boon had previously written AJ on January 23 (above). The Indianapolis *Indiana Democrat*, which had replaced Elihu Stout’s Vincennes *Western Sun* as an official publisher of the laws, and the Salem *Annotator* were both located within Indiana’s second congressional district in the central part of the state. The *Indiana Palladium*, printed at Lawrenceburg in eastern Indiana, was in the third district. The *Western Sun* replaced the *Annotator* as publisher of the laws for the next congressional session in 1833–34.

1. AJ defeated Henry Clay in Indiana by about 6,000 votes. His majority in the first congressional district was roughly 5,000.

To Joel Roberts Poinsett

December 2d. 1832

My Dr Sir,

Your two letters of Nov. 24 & 25th. last have been received, and I hasten to answer them.

I fully concur with you in your views of Nullification. It leads directly to civil war and bloodshed and deserves the execration of every friend of the country. Should the civil power with your aid *as a posse comitatus* prove not strong enough to carry into effect the laws of the Union, you have a right to call upon the Government for aid and the Executive will yield it as far as he has been vested with the power by the constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof.

The precautionary measures spoken of in your last letter have been in some degree anticipated. Five thousand stand of muskets with corresponding equipments have been ordered to Castle Pinckney; and a Sloop of War with a smaller armed vessel (the experiment) will reach Charleston harbor in due time. The commanding officer of Castle Pinckney will be instructed by the Secretary of War to deliver the arms and their equipment to your order, taking a receipt for them, and should the emergency arise he will furnish to your requisition such ordnance and ordnance stores as can be spared from the arsenals.¹

The union must be preserved, and its laws duly executed, but by proper means. With calmness and firmness such as becomes those who are conscious of being right and are assured of the support of public opinion, we must perform our duties without suspecting that there are those around us desiring to tempt us into the wrong. We must act as the instruments of the law and if force is offered to us in that capacity then we shall repel it with the certainty, even should we fall as individuals, that the friends of liberty and union will still be strong enough to prostrate their enemies.

Your union men should act in concert: their designation as unionists should teach them to be prepared for every emergency: and inspire them with the energy to overcome every impediment that may be thrown in the way of the laws of their constitution, whose cause is now not only their cause but that of free institutions throughout the world. They should recollect that *perpetuity* is stamped upon the constitution by the blood of our Fathers; by those who achieved as well as those who improved our system of free Government. For this purpose was the principle of amendment inserted in the constitution which all have sworn to support, and in violation of which no state or states have the right to secede, much less to dissolve the union. Nullification therefore means insurrection & war; and the other states have a right to put it down: and you also and all other peaceable citizens have a right to aid in the same patriotic object, when summoned by the violated laws of the land. ²should an emergency occur for the arms before the order of the Secretary of War to the command'g

officer to deliver them to your order, shew this to him & he will yield a compliance[.] I am great haste yr mo obdt. servt.

Andrew Jackson

LS in AJ Donelson's hand, PHi (21-0654).

1. Lewis Cass wrote Poinsett on December 7 that 5,000 arms and 100 rifles had been ordered to Charleston, and that General Winfield Scott, placed in charge of readying defenses there, had been directed to issue them "for the use of any portion of the citizens of South Carolina for the defence of the laws of the Union" (Poinsett Papers, PHi).

2. The text from here to the end is in AJ's hand.

From William Carroll

Nashville, December 2. 1832.

My dear Sir;

You must permit me to congratulate you on the glorious result of the recent election, which I should have done sooner, but I knew that all your time was employed in preparing for the meeting of Congress. The issue of the late election must be peculiarly gratifying to you, as it furnishes abundant proof that so far from losing you have gained in the affections of the great body of the American people. This evidence of public opinion is infinitely more valuable, than a thousand eulogiums from interested and time serving politicians. The honest yeomanry of the country, who follow their plow have no motives of interest or ambition to gratify. They are content with a faithful Administration of public affairs, and will not desert an old faithful friend, upon the representations of designing and dishonorable, would be leaders, such as Samuel D Ingham.¹ You know who fights the battles of the country when engaged in foreign war. It is the common, laboring portion of the community. To the same honest, pure source we must look for the protection of our liberties let them be assailed from what quarter they may. I never had a doubt as to how the election would terminate so far as you were concerned, but I confess at one time I had some fears as to Mr. Van Burens success. So much was said by the opposition papers about New Yorks going against the Administration—the divided ticket in Virginia, and the probability of Pennsylvania throwing away her vote on Judge Wilkins, all seemed to render the result doubtful. But he has succeeded, and I rejoice at it, more especially am I gratified with the success in his own State. He is now, by the fault of his enemies, placed on such elevated grounds, that the combined efforts of the opposition cannot defeat him for the Presidency at the next election should he live. In our own State, it was amusing to hear the calculations of some of the Clay party. They asserted confidently that I had recommended the general ticket system to prevent their success in two districts at least for the Vice Presidency. The truth is I took no thought for the election of electors, then about approaching. I knew very well how the result would

be. But I thought the time propitious for a change, so as to be ready for future contests. Notwithstanding the change, the opposition held a meeting in Nashville and nominated candidates for electors. The result is that of thirty two thousand votes, they obtained the great number of about fifteen hundred.²

Every thing in relation to the attempt to elect a Senator in Tennessee you have doubtless been apprized of. I will only observe, that some individuals, who have heretofore professed great devotion to the Administration give strange evidences of it, during the contest. However the elections of next Summer will place matters on their true ground, and I shall be greatly deceived, Judging from what I hear, if Major Eaton is not elected without the least difficulty.

I hope now that the election is over, the opposition will permit you to have some little repose during the four years to come, and that they will only find fault with your measures, where their Judgement honestly condemn.

Nashville and its vicinity enjoy excellent health and so far have escaped the Cholera. I trust that we may be permitted to escape the scourge intirely.

When you have time to write a line, I shall always be happy to hear from you.

Receive assurances of my best wishes for the success of your public measures, and for your health and happiness. Sincerely, your friend

Wm. Carroll

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] answered the 16th. of Decbr 1832 asking how many volunteers, he can lead, as part of a possee commitatus, to the marshal to arrest the Traitors in So. Carolina. A. J.

ALS, DLC (73; 21-0648), and Envelope, ICHi (21-0652).

1. On October 23, former Treasury secretary Samuel D. Ingham had sent to James Gowen, secretary of a Philadelphia anti-Jackson campaign committee, a scathing critique of AJ's conduct and character, calling him "unworthy of the station he now occupies" and "in heart a dishonest and corrupt man." The letter was widely published (*US Telegraph*, October 27).

2. In his opening message to a special session of the legislature on September 3, Carroll had recommended that Tennessee follow other states by adopting a general ticket, or winner-take-all, system of electing presidential electors (Robert H. White, ed., *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, Volume Two, 1821-1835* [Nashville, 1952], 431). A law to that effect passed on September 14.

Fourth Annual Message to Congress

[On December 3 the Twenty-second Congress convened for its second regular session, and on December 4 Jackson sent in his fourth annual message. Signed manuscript copies, accompanied by annual reports of the executive departments and their subsidiary bureaus, were delivered to both houses and printed by their order (DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233 [21-0730]; HRDoc 2, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 233). The message was widely published and appears in Richardson, 2:591–606.]

The Jackson Papers in the Library of Congress contain multiple drafts of the message by Jackson and others (DLC-76 and DLC-77). The earliest extant versions of major sections on foreign, financial, and military affairs were written by Cabinet secretaries Livingston, McLane, and Cass. Amos Kendall submitted a passage on the Bank of the United States. Andrew J. Donelson revised and copied these texts and also drafted the earliest surviving versions of other sections, including the opening and closing. Printed here are all of the drafts by Jackson along with the most significant versions by others.]

Outline by Andrew Jackson

[This outline is in Jackson's memorandum book. Its placement therein suggests a composition date no later than early November.]

—Message, for Decbr. 1832—

first

Review the matters of a general and national concern recommended in my various & previous messages to congress and not acted on by that body

2nd. Review the principles laid down in my veto to the Maysville road bill and Harbour bill with a recommendation to amend the constitution so as to embrace a general system of improvement, and defining what shall be considered general and national, from that which is local, what shall be confined to appropriations by congress, and what shall be considered local, for which no appropriations *shall be made* by congress.

3rd. Recommend a review of the tariff, that it be reduced to the real wants of the Government, and an amendment of the constitution so as to confine congress in all their laws for raising revenue to this object, and in their laws for counteracting foreign policy that may be injurious to our national interests shall be confined articles which enter into the means of our national defence, and the raw material the product of our own country; This alone can assuage the continual excitement produced by constructive powers and will put to rest the continued threatening of disunion by the ~~southern~~ States—here note the farewell address of Washington & make the comment, “that ours is a government of experiment

& upon experiment, if any alteration be found necessary refer it to the people¹ The U.S. Bank—its situation exposed and laid before congress

AD, DLC (64; 21-0824).

1. In his September 17, 1796, Farewell Address, George Washington had warned of sectional jealousies and declared that “The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all” (Richardson, 1:217).

Draft opening by Andrew J. Donelson

[This earliest extant text of the message’s first paragraph corresponds closely to the final version (Richardson, 2:591).]

Fellow citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives

It gives me pleasure to congratulate you upon your return to the seat of Government for the purpose of discharging your duties to the people of the United States. Although, ~~in your recess~~, the pestilence which had traversed the old world, has entered our limits, and extended its ravages over much of our land, it has pleased Almighty God to mitigate its severity and lessen the number of its victims compared with those who have fallen in most other countris over which it has spread its terrors. Notwithstanding this visitation, our country presents, on every side, marks of prosperity and happiness unequalled, perhaps, in any other portion of the ~~civilized~~ world. ~~Could~~ If we ~~value~~ fully appreciate our comparative condition ~~as it is~~, existing causes of discontent ~~would~~ will appear unworthy of attention; and ~~we should~~ “sit down under our own vine and fig tree” with hearts full of thankfulness to that Divine Being who has filled our cup of prosperity, ~~and with a firm~~ we must feel our resolution strengthen to preserve and hand down to posterity that liberty and that union, which we have received from our Fathers, and which constitute the sources and the shield of all our blessings.

AD, DLC (77). The excised quotation derives from Micah 4:4.

Draft by Edward Livingston on foreign relations

[This earliest surviving draft on foreign relations closely prefigures the message text in final form (Richardson, 2:591–96).]

The relations of our Country with foreign nations continues to present the same picture of amicable intercourse that I had the satisfaction to hold up to your view at the opening of your last Session. The same friendly ~~disposition~~ professions the same desire to participate in our flourishing commerce—the same disposition to refrain from injuries and to redress those unintentionally offered ~~is~~ are with few exceptions evinced by all

with whom we have any intercourse This desirable state of things has may be mainly attributed ascribed to our known principle of requiring adherence to our undeviating practice of the rule which has long guided our national policy to require no exclusive privileges in commerce and to granting none. It has already produced It is Daily showing producing its beneficial effect; for in the respect shown to our flag, the protection of our citizens, and their property abroad, and in the increase of our navigation & the extension of our mercantile operations; Since we last met the returns will show an increase of 82,649 tons of more than 80,000 tons in our shipping and of more than near 40,000,000. in the aggregate of our import & Export.

Nor have we less reason to felicitate our selves on the state position of our political than of our commercial Relations concerns. they remain in the state in which they were when I last addressed you. A state of prosperity & peace the effect of a wise adherence attention to the parting advice of the Revered father of his country on this subject condensed into a maxim for the use of posterity by one of the most illustrious of his his most distinguished successors—to cultivate peace commerce and honest friendship with all nations but to make entangling alliances with none.¹ A strict adherence to this policy has kept us aloof from the perplexing questions that now agitate the European World, and have more than once deluged those countries with blood. Should those scenes unfortunately recur, the parties to the contest may count on a faithful performance of the Duties incumbent on us as a neutral nation and our own Citizens may equally rely on the firm assertion of our their neutral rights.

With the nation that was our earliest friend and ally in our infant the infancy of our political existence, the most friendly relations have subsisted through the late revolutions of its government; and promise a permanent Duration. From the events of the last, it has assimilated some of its made some approximated its Government in some of its political institutions to our own. And the monarch who has been raised by the voice of the nation to the throne, having personally observed the operation of Government raised a monarch to the throne who preserves, it is said, a favorable friendly recollection of the period when his personal qualities during which he acquired among our Citizens an esteem and attachment the high consideration that could be more Due to then have been produced by his personal qualities alone.

Our commerce with that nation is gradually assuming a more mutually beneficial character, and the adjustment of the claims of our citizens has removed the only obstacle there was, to an intercourse not only lucrative but productive of literary and scientific improvement

From G. Britain I have the satisfaction to inform you that I continue to receive assurances of the most amicable disposition which have been on all proper occasions frankly promptly and sincerely reciprocated. The attention of that Government has latterly been so much engrossed by

matters of a deeply intering Domestic character that we could not ~~press upon their consideration the resumption of~~ urge them to resume the press upon it the renewal of negotiations that had been unfortunately broken off by the unexpected recal of our minister ~~when they~~ who had commenced them with some hopes of success. My great object was the settlement of questions which though now Dormant might hereafter be revived under circumstances that would endanger the good understanding which it is the interest of both ~~nations countries~~ to preserve inviolate ~~cemented as it is we are by a community of Language manners & social habits & Indebted to that nation as we are to them~~ founded cemented as it is, by a community of language manners & social habits and by the higher obligations we owe to our british ancestors for many of our most valuable institutions and for that system of representative government which has enabled us to preserve and improve them; ~~we may possibly return the obligation by offering them thus improved, for their consideration in the great work of reform they are now prosecuting—~~²

The Question of our North Eastern Boundary ~~with GB.~~ still remains unsettled. In my last annual message I explained to you the situation in which I found ~~that it~~ That business on my coming into Office, and the ~~agency I had in~~ measures I thought it my Duty to pursue ~~to bring it to a conclusion, by submitting to the Senate the propriety of carrying into Effect the opinion of the sovereign Arbiter~~ for asserting the rights of the U.S. before the Sovereign arbiter who had been chosen by my predecessor to determine of the question and the manner in which he had disposed. A special message to the Senate in their executive capacity ~~submitted to that body~~ afterwards brought before ~~that body~~ them the Question whether they would advise a submission to me to submit me to confirm a submission to the Opinion of the Sovereign arbiter. That body having considered the award as not obligatory and advised ~~further, the opening~~ me to open a further negotiation the proposition was immediately made to the British Govt. but the circumstances to which I have alluded have hitherto prevented the any answer being given to the overture. ~~In the mean time measures have been taken to remove difficulties in the way of a final adjustment, which will require the Sanction of the Legislature and which will be made the subject of a seperate message~~ early attention however has been promised to the subject and every effort on my part will be made for a satisfactory Settlement of this question so interesting not only to the Union in general but to one of its important members

The claims of our citizens on ~~the Spanish Government~~ Spain are not yet ~~liquida~~ acknowledged by ~~that Government.~~ On a closer investigation of those claims of them than appears to have heretofore taken place it was Discovered that ~~many~~ some of them to a considerable amount these Demands however strong they might be upon the equity of that Government were not such ~~as in~~ as could be made the subject of national interference. And faithful to the principle of asking nothing but what

was clearly right additional instructions have been sent to modify our Demands so as to embrace those only on which ~~are clearly strictly founded in~~ according to the laws of nations we have a strict right to insist. an inevitable delay in procuring the Documents necessary for this ~~investigation of these claims~~ this review of the merits of these claims retarded this operation ~~to a period when the sickness of the King has probably until an~~ unfortunate malady which has afflicted his C M³ prevented the ~~investiga-~~ an examination of our Demands ~~in a form that~~ them now for the first time presented in a form which it is confidently hoped will evince their allowance. ~~In consequence of applications and~~ I have the satisfaction to inform y. that the application ~~frequently before pr~~ I directed to be made for the delivery of a part of the archives of Florida which had been carried to the Havanna, has produced a Royal order for their delivery and that measures have been taken to procure ~~the~~ its execution

The Demands against Portugal for illegal captures in the blockade of Terceira have been allowed to the full amount of the accounts presented by the claimants and ~~were agreed to be paid in three payments at short periods of payment and~~ payment was promised to be made in three installments—the first of these ~~instalments~~ has been paid. The second altho due had not ~~been~~ at the date of our Last advices been received owing it was alledged to the state of the Treasury ~~exhausted by the expences of a~~ embarrassments in the finances consequent on the Civil War in which that nation is engaged

The payments ~~required~~ stipulated for by the convention with Denmark have been punctually made, and the amount is ready for Distribution among the claimants as soon as the board now sitting shall have performed their functions

I regret that ~~at~~ by the last advices from our Chargé d'affaires at Naples that Government had still delayed the satisfaction due to our citizens, but ~~that~~ at that Date the ~~result~~ Effect of the last instructions was not known. despatches from thence are hourly expected, and the result will be communicated to you without delay.⁴

With the rest of Europe our relations political & commercial remain unchanged ~~and with the neighbouring States of Mexico an.~~ Negotiations are going on to put on a permanent ~~foot~~ basis the liberal system of commerce now carried on between us and the Emperor of all the Russias. And the treaty concluded with Austria is executed by H I M.⁵ with the most perfect good faith and ~~altho~~ as we have no Diplomatic agent at his court, he personally enquired into and corrected a proceeding of some of his subaltern Officers to the injury of our Consul in one of his ports

Our treaty with the Sublime Port is producing its expected effects on our Commerce new markets are opening for our commodities, and a more extensive range for the employment of our ships—a slight augmentation of the Duties on our commerce inconsistent with the spirit of the treaty had been imposed but on the representation of our ~~minister~~ Ch d'affaires

it has been promptly withdrawn and we now enjoy ~~that~~ the trade and navigation of the black Sea and of all the ports belonging to the turkish Empire in Europe and Asia on the most perfect equality with all foreign nations.

I wish earnestly that in announcing to you the continuance of friendship and the increase of a profitable commercial intercourse with Mexico, with Central America and the states of the South, I could accompany it with the assurance, that ~~their respective governments were on a stable footing~~ they all were blessed with that internal tranquility and foreign peace which their heroic devotion to the cause of their indepenence merits. In Mexico a sanguinary struggle is now carried which has caused some embarrassment to our Commerce but both parties to which profess the most friendly disposition towards us ~~and~~. To the termination of ~~which~~ this contest we look for the establishment of that secure intercourse so ~~important~~ necessary to ~~cont~~ nations whose territory ~~is-tories~~ are contiguous—but not and of the mutual benefits to both, we may judge from the ~~circumstance~~ How important it will be to us we may calculate from the fact that even in this unfavorable state of things our maritime commerce has increased and ~~a new~~ an internal trade by caravans ~~has grown into importance~~ from St. Louis to Sentafé under the protection of Escorts furnished by the Government is carried on to great advantage & is daily increasin. The agents provided for by the treaty with This power to designate the boundaries which it established have been named on our part; but ~~the~~ one of the Evils of the Civil War now raging there has been that ~~those~~ the appointment of those with whom they were to cooperate has not yet been announced to us.

The government of Central America has expelled from its Territory the party which some time since disturbed its peace. desirous of fostering a favorable disposition towards us which has on more than one occasion, been evinced by this interesting country, I made a second attempt in this year to establish a diplomatic intercourse with them but the Death of the distinguished citizen whom I had appointed for that purpose. ~~This unfortunate Event~~ has retarded the execution measures from which I hope much advantage to our commerce.⁶

The union of the three states which formed the republic of Columbia ~~having~~ has been dissolved—but they ~~each of them~~ all it is believed consider themselves as seperately bound by the treaty which was made ~~by them jointly~~ in their federal capacity. The minister accredited to the federation continues in that ~~capacity~~ character near the government of New Grenada. And hopes were entertained that a new union would be formed between the seperate States at least for the purposes of foreign intercourse. Our minister has been instructed to use his good offices when ever they shall be desired to produce the reunion so much to be desired for ~~the happiness~~ the domestic tranquillity of the parties and the security and facility of foreign commerce.

Some agitations naturally attendant on an infant reign, have prevailed in the Empire of The Brazils which have had their usual effect upon commercial operations and have while they suspended the consideration of claims created on similar occasions and they have given rise to new complaints on the part of our citizens. ~~That tranquillity which is so much to be Desired will bring with it a proper attention to our just Demands. But while a proper allowance in this and other similar cases is made for the embarrassments of Governments upon whom we have just Demands, they can not be made a permanent reason for inattention to them. Exertions for Self Defense is are undoubtedly a great Duty, but they ought not to be made the plea for a total Denial of Justice—and our ministers have received instructions to lose no proper opportunity of earnestly urging an attention to claims that can not be abandoned. A proper consideration for calamities and difficulties of this nature, has made us less urgent and peremptory in our demands for justice than duty to our fellow citizens would under other circumstances have demanded—but their claims are not neglected and will on all proper occasions be urged and it is hoped with Effect~~

I refrain from making any communication on the subject of our affairs with Buenos Ayres because the negociation on the subject communicated to you by my last annual message was at the Date of our last advices ~~was still undecided~~ pending and in a state that would render the Details inexpedient.

A treaty of Amity and Commerce has been formed ~~by our Ch~~ with the republic of Chili which, if ratified by the ~~Constitutional branch of the~~ Senate will be laid before you. That government seems to be Established and at peace with its neighbours—and its ports being the resorts of ~~our ships belonging to our fellow Citizens engaged in~~ our ships which are employed in a most important ~~trad~~ occupation, this commercial convention can not but be of great advantage to our fellow Citizens engaged in that perilous but profitable business

Our Commerce with the neighboring state of Peru owing to the Onerous duties laid on our principal articles of Export has been on the Decline—and all endeavors to procure an alteration ~~having~~ have hitherto proved fruitless ~~This state forms an Exception~~ With Bolivia we have yet no diplomatic ~~connect~~ intercourse and the ~~unsettled~~ continual contests carried on between it and Peru have made me defer until a more favorable period, the appointment of any agent for that purpose.

An act of atrocious piracy having been committed on one of our trading ships by the inhabitants of a settlement on the west coast of Sumatra ~~on one of our trading ships—a frigate was Dispatched to obtain~~ with orders to Demand satisfaction for injury if those who committed it ~~were~~ should be found to be members of a regular government capable of maintaining the usual relations with foreign nations, but if as it was supposed and as they proved to be they were a band of lawless pirates to inflict

such a chastisement as would deter them and others from the like aggressions. This last was ~~effectually~~ done and the Effect has been an increased respect for our flag in those Distant seas, and additional security to our Commerce.

In the view I have given of our connexion with foreign ~~relations~~ powers, allusions have been made to their Domestic Disturbances or foreign wars, to their revolutions or dissensions it may be necessary to observe that this is done solely in cases where ~~they~~ those Events affect our ~~national~~ political relations with them, ~~and~~ or to show their operations on our commerce. Further than this it is neither ~~or~~ our policy nor our right to interfere. Our best wishes on all occasions, our good offices when required ~~our warm wishes always~~, will be afforded, to promote the domestic tranquillity, and foreign peace ~~with~~ of all nations with whom we have any intercourse. any intervention in their affairs further than this Even by the expression of an Official opinion is contrary to our principles of international policy and will always be avoided

[Endorsed by Livingston:] Drft Message—1832

AD, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs).

1. In his Farewell Address, Washington declared it America's "true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Thomas Jefferson's first inaugural address in 1801 proclaimed "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none" (Richardson, 1:223, 323).

2. The dormant question was impressment.

3. Catholic Majesty.

4. Chargé d'affaires John Nelson reached the U.S. the next day, December 5, with a claims convention he had concluded with the Two Sicilies. AJ submitted it to the Senate on December 17.

5. His Imperial Majesty.

6. On January 25 AJ had nominated James Shannon (c1790–1832) of Kentucky as chargé d'affaires to Central America. He was confirmed on February 9 and sailed from Pensacola in June, but died of fever in what is now Guatemala in July.

Supplemental draft by Edward Livingston

[A paragraph based on this text was inserted at a late stage into the message between the paragraphs on Spain and Portugal (Richardson, 2:593).]

By the report of the Secretary of State communicated to you on the 25 June last you were informed of the conditional reduction obtained by the minister of the U S. at Madrid of the duties on tonnage levied on American shipping in the ports of Spain. The condition of that reduction having been complied with on our part by the Act passed the ____ day of July—I have the satisfaction to inform you that our ~~vessels are now received in the Ports of Spain on the same terms with those of the~~

Kingdom ships now pay no higher nor other duties in the continental ports of Spain than are levied national vessels.

AD, DLC (76). Pursuant to AJ's June 25 recommendation (Richardson, 2:575), a law of July 13 had rescinded discriminating tonnage duties on Spanish shipping (*Statutes*, 4:578–79).

Drafts by Louis McLane on national finance

[The final text of the message (Richardson, 2:596–98) closely followed these earliest extant drafts.]

The report which the Secretary of the Treasury will in due time lay before you will exhibit to you the prosperous state of the National finances. Owing to the continued success of our commercial enterprize which has enabled the merchants to fulfil their engagements to the government the receipts from customs during the year will exceed the estimate presented at the last session; and with the other means of the Treasury will prove fully adequate not only to meet the encreased expenditure resulting from the large appropriations made by Congress, but to provide for the payment of all the public debt which is at present redeemable. It is now estimated that the customs will yield to the Treasury during the present year upwards of 28 millions of dollars. The public lands, however, have proved less productive than was anticipated; and according to present information will fall short of two millions. The expenditures for all objects, other than the public debt, are estimated to amount during the year to about ____ millions; while a still larger sum, viz. 18 millions of dollars will have been applied to the principal and interest of the public debt.

It is expected, however, that in consequence of the reduced rates of duty which will take effect after the 3rd. of March next there will be a considerable falling off in the revenue from customs in the year 1833. It will, nevertheless, be amply sufficient to provide for all the wants of the public service, estimated even upon a liberal scale, and for the redemption and purchase of the remainder of the public debt.

On the 1st. of January next the entire public debt of the U. S. funded & unfunded will be reduced to within a fraction of seven millions of dollars: of which \$2,227.363 are not of right redeemable until the 1st. of January 1834 and \$4,735.296 until the 2nd. January 1835. The commissioners of the sinking fund, however, being invested with full authority to purchase the debt at the market price, and the means of the Treasury being ample it may be hoped that the whole will be extinguished within the year 1833.

I cannot too cordially congratulate congress and my fellow citizens on the near approach of that memorable and happy event, the extinction of the public debt of a this great and free nation. Faithful to the wise and patriotic policy marked out by the Legislation of the country for this object, the present administration has devoted to it all the means which

a flourishing commerce has supplied and a prudent oeconomy preserved for the public Treasury. Within the four years, for which the people have confided the executive power to my ~~hands~~ charge, 58 millions of dollars will have been applied to the public debt. That this has been accomplished without stinting the expenditures for ~~other objects~~ all other proper objects, will be seen by referring to the liberal provision made during the same period for the support an encrease of our means of maritime ~~defence~~ and military defence, for internal improvements of a national character, for the removal and preservation of the Indians and lastly for the gallant veterans of the revolution.

The final removal of this great burthen from our resources, affords the means of further provision for all the ~~me~~ ~~purposes~~ objects of general welfare & public defence which the constitution authorizes, & presents the occasion for such further reduction in the revenue as may not be required for them. From the report of the Secretary of the Treasury it will be seen that after the present year, such a reduction may be made to a considerable extent; and the subject is earnestly recommended to the consideration of Congress in the hope that the combined wisdom of the representatives of the people, will devise such means of effecting that salutary object, as may remove those burthens which shall be found to fall unequally upon any, and as may promote all the great interests of the community.

AD, DLC (77). McLane submitted the annual Treasury Department report on the finances to Congress on December 5 (*HRDoc* 3, 22d Cong., 2nd sess., Serial 233).

Long and patient reflection has strengthened the opinions I have heretofore expressed to congress upon this subject, and I deem it my duty on the present occasion again to urge them upon the attention of the Legislature. The soundest maxims of public policy, and the principles upon which our republican institutions as founded recommend a proper adaptation of the revenue to the expenditure, and they also require that the expenditure shall be limited to what by, an oeconomical administration shall be consistent with the simplicity of the government and necessary to an efficient public service. In effecting this adjustment it is due in justice to the interests of the different states and even to the preservation of the union itself, that the protection afforded by existing laws to the national industry should not exceed what may be necessary to counteract the regulations of foreign nations, and to secure a supply of those articles of manufacture essential to the national independence & safety in the time of war. If upon investigation it shall be found, as it is believed it will be, that the Legislative protection granted to any particular interests is greater than is indispensably ~~require~~ requisite for these objects, I recommend that be gradually diminished, and that as far as may be consistent with those objects, the whole scheme of duties be reduced to the revenue standard

as soon as a just regard to the faith of the government and to the preservation of the large capital which has been invested in establishments of domestic industry will permit.

AD, DLC (76).

Sketch by Andrew Jackson on electoral reform,
the judiciary, and public lands

never loose sight of this object, nor never rest until the constitution is so amended as to give the positive choice of the president to the people, and prevent its ever devolving upon the House of Representatives &c &c—prevent members of congress from office

The judiciary—current system to be extended to the whole states, or the system repealed.

Public Lands—recommend the graduation of the prices. The wealth of our nation is its labour—the prosperity of all branches of industry are based upon agriculture—the national debt being p[aid] the public domain ought not to [be l]ooked to so much as a source of revenue, as to giving employment to the husbandman, or the opportunity to the poor to become independent freeholders &c &c.

AD, DLC (77). In the message as delivered, two paragraphs near the end reiterated AJ's previous recommendations for electoral college reform and urged expanding the federal circuit court system to embrace all the western states (Richardson, 2:605).

Draft by Andrew J. Donelson on public lands,
the tariff, and nullification

[This text, presented here as first composed, was heavily amended on its original sheets and then further reworked and condensed on subsequent drafts into final form. Its subject order was also reversed. In the message as delivered, the section on the tariff and nullification followed directly after the section on national finance (Richardson, 2:598–99). After that came a recommendation to sell the government's stock in private corporations, a passage on the Bank of the United States, and then the section on public lands (Richardson, 2:600–601).]

Among the interests which must be considered in the adjustment of our national policy upon the payment of the public debt one of the most important is the public lands. After the adoption of the Constitution these lands were ceded to the United States by the several states to which they belonged under pledges that the proceeds of the sales should be devoted to the extinguishment of the public debt. As that debt ~~has been~~ may now be considered as paid and the lands releived from this pledge, it is ~~now~~

in the power of congress to dispose of them in any way which, in their discretion, may be thought most conducive to the general interests of the American people. We do not need them as a source of revenue. The question of policy in their disposition is not embarrassed by any considerations connected with the wants of the Treasury. In examining this question, all state, local or sectional interests should be discarded, and the whole united states considered as one people. In this enlarged view, what disposition of the public lands will most conduce to the interests and prosperity of our common country?

It cannot be doubted, that the speedy settlement of these lands is the true interest of the republic. The wealth and strength of a country are its population. The best part of that population is the cultivators of the soil. Independent farmers are every where the basis of society and the truest friends of liberty. They constitute an array at the polls which cannot be bribed or intimidated. When cities and towns become corrupt the farmers of the country will save our institutions. It should therefore be the policy of every friend of our republican government to enlarge this class of citizens. Every possible and just facility should be held out to enable men in dependent employments to procure a freehold in lands, that they may become perfect masters of their own actions. In our country as in others it may happen that masses of people may become dependent on rich landholders, or privileged corporations, for daily employment and daily bread. It may happen that to save their leases or their employments, they may consent to be carted to the polls, by their landlords and employers, to give an unwilling vote, and rivet the chains that bind them. It is true policy to postpone this state of society if it cannot be forever prevented. For an age, if not for ages, it may be put within the power of these men in the United States to emancipate themselves and take a stand among those independent republicans on whom the perpetuation of our system of Government mainly depends. Their children after them instead of being menials in the houses of the great, or wretched inmates of a manufactory or workshop, earning a bare subsistence, may live in competency and participate in the offices and honors of their country.

There is another consideration urging the removal of all barriers to the settlement of the public lands, in the more rapid increase of our population, to which it would give rise. That the natural increase of population in the United States is greater than in the thickly peopled countries of Europe is a historical truth. That it is greater in new settlements than in old, on this continent, is equally well established. The increase of any given number of families is on an average, perhaps, twofold as great as that of the same number in populous cities and old settlements. Nature seems to hasten to fill up the vacant country, which surrounds her emigrating children, and for that purpose blesses them with a numerous offspring. In half a century the policy which shall now be prescribed in relation to the public lands will undoubtedly have affected our aggregate

population many millions, and perhaps decided the fate of our institutions in the influence it will have on the character of our people.

In addition to these considerations, startling questions are growing out of the public lands involving the rights of the new states and the powers of the General Government. Unless a liberal policy be now adopted, there is danger that these questions will speedily assume an importance not now anticipated. The influence of a great sectional interest when brought into full action will be found more dangerous to the harmony and union of the states, than any other cause of discontent. It is the part of wisdom and sound policy to foresee these evils and avert them. No man who has watched the movements in the Western States within a few years past can be insensible to the danger, and all will perceive that if the interest in which these embryo claims have been generated shall be forever destroyed the claims and the danger will be extinguished together.¹

In view of these considerations, it seems² to be our true policy that the public lands shall cease, as soon as practicable, to be a source of revenue, and that they shall be sold to settlers in limited parcels at a price barely sufficient to reimburse to the United States the expenses of the surveys and the rest of the land system. The advantages of accurate surveys and undoubted titles, now secured to purchasers, seem to forbid the abolition of the present system, because none can be substituted which will more perfectly accomplish these important ends. It is desirable, however, that in convenient time, this machinery shall be withdrawn from the new states; and with that view the price of lands may be graduated according to the number of years they have been in market in such manner as to reimburse the general Government; and the lands remaining unsold after a fixed period may be ceded to the states, within which they lie, all surveyed and ready for sale. If these views be adopted the public sales may soon be abolished and the maximum price for the first period after which the lands are prepared for entry need not be greater than ____ cents per acre, and those which have been long in market, may be offered at a much lower rate.

I cannot doubt that this policy would be beneficial to the nation as one great whole. As the proceeds of these land sales are no longer needed by the general government, it cannot be expected that the people of the new states will rest satisfied with the constant and unnecessary drain of their money to the Eastward in purchase of wild lands to which their labour alone gives real value, especially if the proceeds are to be divided among the states and bestowed chiefly on communities which never had any claim to them, and have enjoyed the undivided emoluments arising from the sales of their own lands. The adventurous and hardy population of the west, besides contributing their equal share of taxation under our impost system, have, in the progress of our Government, paid into the Treasury for the lands they occupy \$39,614,000.07; & But little of this sum has been expended amongst them³ To arrest the necessary consequences of such a policy, to put an end forever to all partial and interested legislation

on this subject, and afford to every American citizen of enterprize the opportunity of securing an independent free hold, it seems to me best to abandon at once all schemes for raising a future revenue out of the public lands for any purpose whatever. If it be thought necessary, a stipulation may be required from those states with whom there are compacts involving the public lands, releasing the United States from their obligations.

The experience of the past and present year leaves not a doubt that the amount of revenue which will accrue under the act of the last session of congress to modify and reduce the Tariff, will, in consequence of the permanent increase of our commerce, far exceed the necessary wants of the Government. It will therefore be the duty of Congress to take measures further to relieve the people from the burdens of taxation. Nor should the opportunity be lost of making such further concessions to the opinions of our Southern brethren as may allay discontents, and put an end to all plausible pretences for machinations hostile to the public peace and to the integrity of the Union.⁴

That manufactures adequate to the supply of our domestic consumption, would, in the abstract, be beneficial to our country, there is no reason to doubt. To effect their establishment, there is perhaps no American citizen who would not for a time be willing to pay a higher price for them. But there are few who would be willing to pay forever forty, fifty, or one hundred per cent upon all the articles of necessity or comfort purchased by them, merely that they might secure the manufacture of those articles in their neighborhood or country. A tariff of *perpetual protection*, has, it is presumed, entered into the minds of but few of our statesmen. All The most they have contemplated is a temporary protection; and this, they maintain, has in some instances and will in others reduce the price by domestic competition, below that of the foreign article. Whatever of good has been produced by this system, it is doubtful whether it has not been counterbalanced by greater evils. There is no political good superior to the contentment and happiness of the people: there is no political evil greater than perpetual discontents, complaints and turbulence. If men think they are wronged and oppressed, whether their convictions be founded in imagination, miscalculation or fact, they are equally unhappy. That the protecting Tariff has produced throughout a large portion of our country unhappiness and discontent which find no adequate counterpoise in its benefits, cannot now be a matter of doubt. Among those who are most sensible of this result, are many who were most active in introducing this policy into our legislation

What then shall be done? Large interests have grown up under the implied pledge of our national legislation which it would seem almost a violation of public faith suddenly to abandon. Nothing could justify it but the public safety which is the supreme law. But those who have vested their capital in manufacturing establishments, cannot expect the people to pay heavy taxes for their benefit when the money is not wanted for any

legitimate purpose in the administration of their government. It is enough that they have paid the high duties while the money could be applied to their common benefit in the extinguishment of the public debt; but it is unreasonable to expect of them to pay an unnecessary dollar on the imported article that the manufacturer may procure another from them on the domestic article, when neither produces the least direct advantage to their country or themselves.

In point of fact, the duties imposed upon protected articles are more burdensome to the country than those levied on the unprotected. Every dollar paid by the people in consequence of a duty upon unprotected articles, goes into the public treasure. But for every dollar paid into the Treasury as duty on protected articles another sum, greater or less, in proportion to the domestic supply of the article, is paid to the manufacturers. If the Government want to raise a million of dollars and levy it upon tea or any other article which is not grown or manufactured in the United States, it takes only a million of dollars out of the pockets of the people, by raising the price of the article to that extent. But if the Government levy it upon sugar, the effect will be, by raising the price of the sugar raised in the United States as well as that imported, to take from the people not only the million of dollars which goes into the Treasury but an additional sum in proportion to the domestic production which will go to the sugar grower. If as much be grown in the United States as is imported then the people will pay into the Treasury one million and to the sugar-grower another million. If the domestic product be twice the amount imported, then for the million which goes into the Treasury the people pay to the sugar planters two millions. If the revenue be raised from woollen or cotton cloths; or any other protected article, the effect is the same.

Nevertheless, no sudden change ought to be made in the systems of the country which have been established by law and are sustained by a species of public faith. The protection which may have been indiscreetly extended should be gradually withdrawn, giving the manufacturers time to perfect their business and accommodate themselves to the altered condition of the country. It is believed that some species of manufactures which have been introduced no longer need other protection than a moderate revenue duty; and that there are others of a hotbed growth which it is not the interest of the people nor the permanent interest of the manufacturers themselves further to protect. But to do justice to the manufacturers and as far as possible satisfy all interests, I earnestly recommend a progressive reduction of the duties on all protected articles that do not enter into the means of our national defence which shall have the effect in a given number of years to bring them all to the revenue standard. If a sufficient reduction in the revenue cannot at once be effected by this species of reduction, the duties on unprotected articles may be made merely nominal, to be raised hereafter as those on the protected articles shall be reduced, so that they shall be equalised at last.

Those who take an expanded view of the condition of the country must be perfectly satisfied, that to this point our national policy must come at last. A powerful section of the Republic with almost perfect unanimity pronounces the protecting system unjust, while a majority of its people declare it unconstitutional. Public opinion in every quarter is rapidly changing its tone, and multitudes who lately acquiesced in the wisdom of ~~a protecting~~ the present Tariff, if they did not applaud it, now join in its condemnation. The impression is gaining ground that the concentration of immense wealth in a few hands and the necessary dependence of masses of people on a few capitalists is injurious to the farming and mechanic interests, and portends no good to our republican institutions. Apprehensions are spreading, that in our country where suffrage is almost universal, the operatives and dependents of great manufactories may be used at the polls by their rich employers as instruments to govern the independent mechanics, farmers, and other republican interests of our community. Although we have not yet seen troops of cavalry charging upon, cutting down with their sabres and trampling under their horses feet a starving and riotous mob of discharged operatives, our people begin to perceive in villages and factories, built by associations of monopolists the germs of that dependence, poverty, and vice, which have made our mother country a land of nobles and paupers. The conviction spreads that with the exception of those articles which are essential to the national defence, it is impolitic and unjust for the Government to interpose for the purpose of fostering any species of industry, because it can only be effected at the expense of others. The protection of all from violence and fraud is the duty of Government; but not from competition. In free competition, and not in monopoly and exclusion, rests the true interests of the American people.

It is my painful duty to state that in some quarters opposition to the protecting policy has risen to a height which threatens to thwart the execution of the laws and endanger the integrity of the Union. Whatever obstructions may be thrown in the way of the judicial authorities of the general Government, it is believed they will be able to overcome them by the prudence of their own officers and the patriotism of the people. I cannot permit myself to think it possible, that the people of any state in this Union are so blind to their own interests and to the evils it might bring upon their country, as to make forcible resistance to the execution of the laws and attempt the dissolution of the Union. The wars, the taxes, the devastation, the bloodshed and the misery, which would rise up before them in contrast with their present peace, prosperity and happiness, will be sufficient to deter the most excited from raising his parricidal hand against the laws and constitution of his country. All will come to the just conclusion, that the only effectual remedies for existing ills are to be sought for within the union by the mere workings of an enlightened public opinion, and that to expect relief by escaping from the union is as idle as

to seek exemption from the ills of this world by flying from the operation of those natural laws which govern its elements.

But should this reasonable reliance on the moderation of all portions of our people be disappointed, and any individuals be found so lost to their own and their country's interest as to make forcible resistance to the execution of the laws, it is believed the laws themselves are fully adequate to the suppression of their attempts. It is desirable, however, that every ebullition of excited feeling may be suppressed without resort to the national force. One drop of blood shed in the execution of our laws, would, in the eyes of the civilized world, leave a stain upon our free institutions which the prosperity of half a century will not obliterate. That the triumph of the laws should be peaceful is an object of solicitude next in importance to the preservation of the union itself To put this object within the reach of the Government, I recommend an amendment of the revenue laws, providing, with proper guards and restrictions that if the collection of the revenue at any port by peaceful means, shall, from any cause whatever, become impracticable, the duties on all goods, wares and merchandize arriving in that port shall be paid before they shall be admitted to entry, with a deduction equivalent to the interest or use of the money during the time for which credit might otherwise be allowed. With this amendment of existing laws, it is confidently believed that all machinations to obstruct the collection of the revenue may be effectually thwarted without resort to force.

To reduce the General Government

AD, DLC (77). The extant text leaves off at the bottom of a page.

1. At this point, the text is marked to insert a paragraph from a separate page, in Louis McLane's handwriting: "Of the various schemes which has been hitherto proposed in regard to the disposal of the public lands none ~~has yet been successful~~ has yet receiv'd the entire approbation of the national Legislature; and deeply impressed with the vital importance of a speedy & satisfactory adjustment of this ~~interesting~~ subject I deem it my duty on this occasion to urge it upon your consideration, and ~~to add to those~~ the propositions which have been heretofore suggested by others ~~and those~~ to contribute in addition those reflections which have occurred to me & in the hope that they may aid assist you in your future deliberations upon the whole subject."

2. A marginal insertion by AJ expands this phrase to read: "In view of these considerations, & as a plan to keep down all future excitement which may arise out of this interesting question, I present the following for your deliberation. It seems ~~therefore~~ to me"

3. The Treasury reported this sum as the total of all receipts from public lands through September 30, 1832 (*SDoc* 3, 23d Cong., 1st sess., p. 13, Serial 238).

4. Donelson reworked this paragraph on an inserted page. In the message as delivered, it was superseded by McLane's text on the finances.

Draft by Amos Kendall on the Bank of the United States

[This is the earliest surviving version of the message's section on the Bank (Richardson, 2:599–600). It was revised by Jackson (below).]

For a specific account of the conduct of the Bank of the United States as the Agent of the government holding its money and required to pay off a large portion of the public debt, I refer you to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury. The amount advertised to be paid on the 1st October last was \$____. On that day the government had on deposit \$____. On the ____ day of ____ the Bank reported to the Treasury Department that the \$____ advertised to be discharged on the 1st October were paid, and by the statements, extracted, it is presumed, from the Books of the Bank, such appeared to be the fact. But the certificates or evidences of debt were not produced and surrendered. A demand for the certificates led to a disclosure of the fact, that the Bank had privately negotiated with the creditors of the government, and by offering them an interest of four per cent per annum had induced them not to come forward for payment until October 1833. Thus, while the Bank pays the interest, the government is still held responsible for the principal; the object of the government in paying which was to pay off the debt and relieve itself from responsibility is defeated; and the Bank has reported the debt paid when it was not. The amount thus arranged by the Bank is \$____. A peremptory demand has been made for the certificates, and if they shall not be speedily produced, the government will be obliged to look out other keepers of its money who will punctually apply it to the payment of the public dues.¹

Many charges have been made against this agent of the government which merit the closest scrutiny. It is charged with lending immense sums of money to brokers and thereby impairing its ability to discharge the public dues and accommodate more meritorious applicants for ~~accommodation~~ loans. It is charged with loaning extensively to political men, editors, men in office and partizans in elections, while it has thrown out the more deserving paper of commercial men. It is charged with printing and distributing at its own expence, inflammatory and libellous political tracts ~~with the~~. It is charged with throwing its whole weight into the political conflicts of the present year, attempting to control the elections of state legislators and governors, Congressmen, and President and Vice President.

Under these circumstances I unite with the Secretary of the Treasury in urging upon Congress a severe scrutiny into the conduct of the Bank and each of its branches. If it shall appear, that this agent of the Treasury has set itself at work to defeat the purposes of the government in paying off the public debt, because its own bad management had rendered it impossible to refund the public money which had been deposited in its vaults, or because it wanted to retain the money for purposes of speculation; if it shall appear, that instead of being the instrument of the government in discharging its constitutional functions, it has ~~prostituted~~ arrogated the power and used the public funds to control the elections and govern the government which it was created to serve; it ~~requires~~ is time to look out for other agents more worthy and more safe to be entrusted with the money of the American people.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] on the Bank. The within are charges represented to Mr Kendall to be susceptible of proof. To be preserved.

AD (at 1833), DLC (43; 21-0247).

1. McLane explained to Congress in his December 5 annual report on the finances that he had directed BUS president Biddle to prepare to redeem on October 1, from government funds placed on deposit, two-thirds of the roughly \$13 million in outstanding three per cent certificates, representing nearly the last of the federal debt. However, to forestall this large demand, Biddle had arranged with Baring Brothers in London to buy up as much as \$5 million in foreign-held certificates and hold them until October 1833, with the BUS paying interest in the interval. McLane said he did not see “any sufficient justification . . . for an arrangement in any form, by which so large an amount of the public funds should be retained by the bank, at the risk of the Government, after it had directed their application to the payment of the public creditor.” Further, “apprehensions” about this and other Bank dealings “have tended to disturb the public confidence” in its management and thus “suggested an inquiry into the security of the bank, as the depository of the public funds” (*HRDoc* 3, 22d Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 13–14, Serial 233).

Draft by Andrew Jackson on the Bank of the United States

[*Jackson's text revised Kendall's. Subsequent versions in Andrew J. Donelson's writing condensed the passage into final form (Richardson, 2:599–600).*]

For a specific account of the prosperous state of our fiscal concerns, and the state of our public debt I refer you to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and draw your particular attention to that part of it which brings to view the conduct of the bank in its private arrangement with the foreign stockholders which by offering them 4 prct has ~~prevented~~ induced them ~~from~~ not to come forward for payment until 1833. Thus while the bank pays the interest the government is bound for the principle; the object of the government to pay off the debt & relieve itself from responsibility is defeated. A preremptory demand has been made for the certificates, and the Secretary of the Treasury is making the necessary enquiries, and if the certificates shall not be speedily produced, the government will be obliged to look out other keepers of its money who will punctually apply it to the payment of the Public debt.

Many charges have been made publickly against this agent of the government, such as lending immense sums to brokers and thereby impairing its ability to discharge the public dues, & to accomodate meritorious applicants for loans. It is charged with loaning extensively to public political men, editors, men in office & partizans in elections, while it has thrown out the more deserving paper of commercial men. It has been charged with printing and distributing at its own expence, inflammatory and libellous political tracts. It has been charged with throwing its whole weight into the political conflicts of the present year attempting to control the elections of state legislators, governors, congressmen, President & vice President. Under these circumstances I cordially unite with the Secretary

of the Treasury in urging upon congress a severe scrutiny into the conduct of the Bank, and that it be extended to each of its branches. The character of our country & the interest of the government with the safety of its deposit imperiously require this investigation

If it shall appear that this agent of the Treasury has set itself up at work to defeat the purposes of the Government in paying off the public debt, because its own bad management had rendered it impossible to refund the public money which had been deposited in its vaults, or because it wanted to retain the money for purposes of speculating If it shall appear that instead of being the instrument of the government in discharging its constitutional functions, it has arrogated the power and used the public funds to control the citizens and govern the government it was created to serve; it is time to look out for other agents more worthy and more safe to be entrusted with the money of the american people.

AD, DLC (76).

Draft by Andrew J. Donelson on internal improvements

[This fragment is the earliest surviving version of the section on internal improvements. It was amended on its sheets and then revised and condensed into final form. In the message as delivered, it followed the section on public lands (Richardson, 2:601–3).]

commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.”¹ This is not a grant of power to create any thing. It presupposes the existence of ‘foreign nations,’ ‘of the several states,’ of ‘the Indian tribes,’ of a ‘commerce’ between them, and of certain channels thro which it is carried on. It does not vest in Congress a power to create commerce, or the channels of commerce, but to regulate that which, from time to time, they may find in existence.

From the power “to regulate commerce with foreign nations” has been deduced the incidental power to build beacons and light houses, fix buoys and improve inlets and harbours. The right of Congress to make these improvements within the states is altogether constructive. But as it springs from a construction which was put upon the constitution immediately after its adoption, and has been recognized and practised upon, unquestioned by every branch of the Government thro’ all changes, and is moreover important in the execution of the main power, there seems to be no good grounds to question its validity. But this construction however has never been extended to authorise Congress to create new channels of commerce with foreign nations. It Nor has ~~never~~ it ever been conceived that they possess, even theoretically, the power to make new seas, bays or inlets, to dig out new harbours, or stop up old ones. They may improve that which nature formed, but they may not make creations of their own diverting trade from its old and natural channels and changing the relative

condition of cities and of states. Were it possible for this Government to make an artificial harbour in New Jersey, and divert into it the trade of New York, would it not be justly contended by that great city and state, that the general Government had transcended its rightful powers and grossly violated the constitution?

By the constitution the same power is given “to regulate commerce among the several states” as to regulate it with foreign nations. If the words “to regulate commerce” confer the power to improve the natural channels of commerce in one case, they must do it in the other. If Congress may, in regulating commerce with foreign nations, improve harbors and the channels of inlets and bays, they may in regulating commerce among the several states improve those navigable streams which it traverses. The word ‘regulate’ is applied alike and without repetition to commerce with foreign nations and to commerce among the several states, and if it grant the power to improve its channels in the one case, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that it makes the same grant, in the other.

But as in the former case it would be the extravagance of constructive power to maintain, that as a means of regulating foreign commerce Congress may make new seas and harbors, so it would be equally extravagant to assert that in regulating commerce among the states *they may dig out new rivers*, or create new channels, thro’ which it shall flow. They may improve the natural channels of commerce as well among the states as with foreign nations, but no creative power besides is vested in their hands. That power rests with the Being “who has created the earth and the fulness thereof,” and with those primary sovereignties we call states, which have reserved to themselves, in the formation of the constitution, the exclusive right to break up their own soil—to stop up old harbors and open new ones, to excavate canals, make roads, construct bridges and open as many new channels of commerce as to them may seem meet.

The practical application of this principle is not without its difficulties. There seems to be two requisites to bring a river within the constitutional provision. First: it must be a navigable stream or a channel of commerce: Secondly: it must be a channel of commerce among the states. If it be not a navigable stream, or, being navigable, is not a channel of commerce among the states, it cannot be improved under the grant of power to regulate commerce among the states. There are many streams so obviously possessing these two characteristics as to require no inquiry or examination to ascertain the fact. In relation to others, there may be just grounds to doubt. The former, under the principle laid down, are proper objects of improvement by the general Government. In relation to the latter as well as to harbours on the coast which sometimes come forward under doubtful characters and with unknown names to ask for the national bounty, I beg leave to suggest the propriety of making legislative provision for a preliminary inquiry and survey, with the view of ascertaining whether they are navigable, and are the channels of commerce with foreign nations, or

among the several states; and if upon report of such inquiry and survey, Congress shall pass a declaratory act affirming these facts, then such harbor or river shall be considered a proper object of improvement by the general Government.

After much reflection, I am unable to arrive at any more satisfactory means of ascertaining those objects of internal improvement to which the means of the nation may be constitutionally applied. It will at least prevent hasty appropriations to objects of the character of which Congress must be necessarily ignorant. It will prevent that mischievous and corrupting influence upon elections which is often exercised by holding out to the people the fallacious hope that the success of a certain candidate will make navigable their favorite river or creek, bring commerce to their doors, and increase the value of their property. It will prevent ~~future~~ combinations in ~~Congress~~ to squander the treasure of the country upon a multitude of local objects, as fatal to just legislation as it is to the purity of public men, and the true interests of the people. But if it be in the power of Congress to devise a system compatible with the constitution, which shall better accomplish these ends, or even as well, it shall have my hearty assent.

The constitution under which we act provides within itself the mode of amendment. With this fact always before us the general Government has no excuse for the assumption of doubtful powers. If those clearly granted shall be found incompetent to the ends of its creation, it can at any time apply for their enlargement to the several states. No demand of that sort founded in the public interest will be denied. If the propriety of the proposed grant be not sufficiently apparent to command the assent of three fourths of the states it affords the best possible reason why the power should not be assumed on doubtful authority. If more than a fourth of the states are unwilling to make the grant, it cannot be exercised without dissatisfaction; and discontents, which will far overbalance any advantages which may be derived from it. What is there so worthy of the constant solicitude of this Government as an united cheerful and happy people? Being solemnly impressed with the conviction that the extension of the power to make internal improvements beyond the limit I have suggested, even if it be deemed constitutional, is subversive of the purity of Legislation, the interests of the people and the quiet of our country, I earnestly recommend to Congress to refrain from it except in relation to improvements already begun unless they shall first procure from the states such an amendment of the constitution as shall define its character and prescribe its bounds. If the states feel themselves competent to these objects, why should this Government wish to assume the power? If they do not, then they will not hesitate to make the grant. Both Governments are the Governments of the people: improvements must be made with the money of the people; and if the money can be collected and applied by those more simple and economical political machines, the state Governments, it will unquestionably be safer and better for the people

than to add to the splendor, the patronage and the power of the general Government. But if the people of the several states think otherwise they will amend the constitution, and in their decision all will cheerfully acquiesce altho it may do injury to themselves.

AD, DLC (72; 21-0826 and 76). The final page of the draft was detached and appended to a later draft, also by Donelson.

1. Article 1, Section 8 of the constitution, granting Congress power to regulate commerce.

Draft by Lewis Cass on the War Department

[This earliest surviving draft on the War Department closely prefigures the message text in final form (Richardson, 2:603–4).]

For a detailed view of the operations of the War Department, I refer you to the accompanying report of the Secretary of War.

The hostile incursions of the Sac and Fox Indians necessarily led to the interposition of the government. A portion of the regular troops, under Generals Scott and Atkinson, and of the Militia of the State of Illinois were called into the field. After a harrassing war fare, prolonged by the nature of the Country and by the difficulty of procuring subsistence, the Indians were entirely defeated, and the disaffected band dispersed or destroyed. The result has been creditable to the ~~officers~~ and troops engaged in this Service, and Severe as is the lesson to the Indians, it was rendered necessary by their unprovoked aggressions, and ~~by~~ it is to be hoped, that it's impression will be permanent and salutary.

This campaign has evinced the effcient organization of the Army, and it's capacity for ~~active~~ prompt and active Service. Its Several departments have performed their functions with energy and despatch, and the general movement was satisfactory.

Our fellow citizens upon the frontiers were ready, as they always are, in the tender of their Services in the hour of danger. But a more efficient organization of our militia system is essential to that security, which is one of the principal objects of all governments. Neither our situation nor our institutions ~~permit~~ require or permit the maintenance of a large regular force. History offers too many lessons of the fatal ~~tendency~~ result of such a measure not to warn us against its adoption here. The expense, which attends it, the obvious tendency to employ it, because it exists, and thus to engage in unnecessary wars, and ~~the~~ it's ultimate danger to publick liberty, will lead us, I trust, to ~~put~~ place our ~~dep~~ principal dependence for protection upon the great body of the Citizens of the republick. If in asserting rights, or in repelling wrongs, war should come upon us, our regular force should be increased to an extent proportioned to the emergency, and ~~the~~ our present small army ~~forms~~ is a nucleus, around which ~~shoud~~ such force could be formed and embodied. But for the purposes of defence, under

ordinary circumstances, we must rely upon the electors of the Country. Those, by whom and for whom the government ~~is instit~~ was instituted and is supported, will constitute it's protection in the hour of danger, as they do it's check in the hour of safety.

But it is obvious, that the Militia system is imperfect. Much time is lost, much unnecessary expense encountered, and ~~considerable~~ much publick property is wasted, under the present arrangement. Little useful knowledge is gained by the musters and drills, as now established, and the whole subject evidently requires a thorough reexamination. Whether a plan of classification might not be adopted, providing for a system of instruction for the younger portion of the Citizens, and leaving the residue enrolled only, and to be called upon in the event of any serious occurrences, requiring their Services is submitted to the wisdom of Congress. The Constitution has vested in the general government an indepnent authority upon the subject of the Militia, which renders their action essential to the establishment or improvement of the system. And I recommend the matter to your consideration, in the conviction, that the state of this important arm of the publick defence requires your attention.

I am happy to inform you, that the wise & humane policy of tranfering ~~to~~ from the ~~wes~~ the eastern to the western side of the Mississippi, the remnants of our aboriginal tribes, with their own consent and upon just terms, has been steadily pursued, and is approaching, I trust, its consummation. By reference to the report of the Secretary of War, and to the documents, submitted with it, you will see the progress, which has been made, since your last session, in the arrangement of the various matters, connected with our Indian relations. With one exception, ~~we may look forward to the termina~~ with confidence every subject requiring in which immediate action involving any question of conflicting jurisdiction or of peculiar difficulty has been happily disposed of, and the conviction ~~seems to~~ evidently gains ground among the Indians, that their removal to the Country, assigned by the United States for their permanent residence, furnishes the only hope of their ~~permanent~~ ultimate prosperity.

With that portion of the Cherokees, however, living within the State of Georgia it has been found impracticable as yet to make a satisfactory arrangement. Such was my anxiety to removal all these grounds of complaint and to ~~terminate at once~~ bring to a termination the difficulties, in which they are involved, that I directed the very liberal propositions to be made to them, which accompany the documents, herewith submitted. They cannot but have seen in these offers the evidence of the strongest disposition on the part of the government to deal justly and liberally with them. An Ample ~~compensation~~ indemnity was offered for their present possessions, ~~an ample security for their provision~~ an ample provision for their future support and improvement and an ample security for their private and political rights. Whatever difference of opinion may have prevailed respecting the just claims of these people, there will probably be

none respecting the liberality of the propositions, and very little respecting the expediency of their immediate acceptance. They were however rejected, and thus the position of these Indians remains unchanged, as do the views, communicated in my message to the Senate of Feby. _____ 1830, and¹

AD, DLC (77).

1. The message as delivered gave this date as February 22, 1831. On that day AJ had delivered a message to the Senate contending that the federal government had no power to interfere with state jurisdiction over Indians, and that the Indians' welfare would be best served by accepting removal with federal aid (Richardson, 2:536-41).

To Anthony Butler

Washington 4th. of December 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

Surrounded as I am with the preparation for Congress which met on yesterday, and being informed that a safe opportunity presents, of a *safe* conveyance to you, by a vessel which sails from Newyork on the 5th. instant which carries out the French Minister to reside at Mexico, I snatch a moment to acknowlege the receipt of your letters of the 9th. & 10th. of october last.¹

You request me to give you my approval, under my own hand, of the protection given to Mrs. Alaman, and her property in her present unprotected state & absence from her husband. Surely the Gallant Genl Santa Ana, & his companions in arms, cannot but approve your conduct—the brave always protect the fair when found unprotected, and those ~~now~~ engaged in that contest that now rages in Mexico do not make war on females—they must be contend.g for principle.

There can be no protection therefore that you will extend to Mrs. Alaman and her property, guarding, as I am sure you will, all your conduct as the agent of this government so as not to compromit us in the ~~duty~~ obligations we owe to the government of Mexico, by doing any act not justified by the laws of nations, and those friendly relations, which exists between the two governments.

So far as your conduct is made known to me in this affair by your letters before me, the attention paid to Mrs. Alaman in her lonely & distressed situation fully meets my approbation; and I am much mistaken in the high character I have formed of Genl Santa Ana, if your acts be ~~shall~~ not be fully approved by him. To yield protection to an unprotected Lady, is a soldiers glory, and every gallant man must approve your conduct—you have mine fully. I can add no more, the messenger waits.

I enclose you a copy of my message which will be delivered to congress to day, at meridian; you will see, that the Nullifiers of the south has *run*

mad, but *the union will be preserved*, & the laws duly executed, and those taught to know that no state has a right to nullify the laws of the union, or to secede from it, or destroy that perpetual union formed by the whole people & every attempt of the kind is rebellion, & leads direct to civil war, and the other states have a *perfect right*, to put it down.

excuse the haste of this scrall, I keep no copy nor have I time even to correct it.

I pray you to keep a steady eye to the boundery question. This peaceably adjusted, & perpetual harmony & friendship must exist between the two republics. with my best wishes adieu

Andrew Jackson.

ALS, TxU (21-0832).

1. Baron Antoine-Louis Deffaudis (1786–1869), the French minister to Mexico, sailed from New York on the packet *St. Louis* and reached Vera Cruz in February 1833.

To Edward Livingston

Decbr. 4th. 1832—
11 oclock P.M.

for the conclusion of the proclamation

Seduced as you have been, my fellow countrymen by the delusive theories and misrepresentation of ambitious, *deluded* & designing men, I call upon you in the language of truth, and with the feelings of a Father to retrace your steps. As you value liberty and the blessings of peace blot out from the page of your history a record so fatal to their security as this ordinance will become if it be obeyed. Rally again under the banners of the union whose obligations you in common with all your countrymen have, with an appeal to heaven, sworn to support, and which must be indissoluble as long as we are capable of enjoying freedom.

Recollect that the first act of resistance ~~is treason~~ to the laws which have been denounced as void by those who abuse your confidence and falsify your hopes is Treason, and subjects you to all the pains and penalties that are provided for the highest offence against your Country. Can the descendants of the Rutledges, the Pinckneys, the Richardsons, the Middletons, the Sumpters, the Marions, the Pickens, the Bratons, the Taylors, the Haynes, the Gadsdens, the Bratons, the Winns, the Hills, the Kershaws, and the Crawfords, with the descendants of thousands more of the Patriots of the revolution that might be named, consent to become Traitors? Forbid it Heaven!¹

Dr Sir—

I submit the above as the conclusion of the proclamation for your amendment & revision. Let it receive your best flight of eloquence to

strike to the heart, & speak to the feelings of my deluded countrymen of South Carolina. The Union must be preserved, without blood if this be possible—but it must be preserved at all hazards and at any price. yours with high regard

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). Copy, NN (21-0851). AJ issued his proclamation against nullification on December 10 (below). Its closing passages followed the sense of this text, though not its precise words (Richardson, 2:652–56). Historian George Bancroft later obtained a copy of this document from Livingston's daughter Cora and read the note at its end to a New York City Union rally on November 7, 1861. On November 15 he sent President Abraham Lincoln the November 8 *New York Times* with a report of his remarks, saying “you will find in them a copy of an unpublished letter of one of your most honored predecessors, with which you cannot fail to be pleased” (DLC-Lincoln Papers).

1. All these, including Sumter, Bratton, Hayes, and Hayne, were surnames of South Carolina Revolutionary officers.

From John Randolph

Charlotte C. H. 4 Decr. 1832

My dear Sir

I came down here a month ago to our election & have been since detained by a severe & painful affection of my bladder & urethra which disables me from getting home.

The. Reverend Mr. Clopton who will present this letter is a highly respectable & useful member of the Baptist Church to whom I have taken the liberty to offer this Introduction to your acquaintance. He resides in the vicirage & we think does a great deal of good in his ministry. The affairs of the College take him to Washington where he will pass some days.¹

I fear from what I see that without a great deal of forbearance & good temper we shall be embroiled with our sister State of South Carolina. one thing gratifies me—that they have not acted on the suggestion of the V. P. It is even doubted by some of their leaders whether he will support them in the course which they have adopted. I wish most intensely that I could have even half an hour's interview with you. Most faithfully yours

J. Randolph of Roanoke

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Baptist minister and educator Abner Wentworth Clopton (1784–1833) was a trustee of Columbian College, later George Washington University. In December meetings the trustees placed him in charge of efforts to resolve the college's debt.

From Nicholas Philip Trist

Washington, Dec. 4. '32

Dear Sir,

While spending a few minutes with my family, round the parlor fire, this evening, I ~~was~~ have just been apprised of the following fact by my brother-in-law, Lewis Randolph:

Thomas Beverley Randolph (one of the most gallant soldiers of the last war, during which he approved himself on every occasion that offered or that he could seek out, as chivalrous a youth as ever affronted danger in his country's cause) reached this city a few days ago, on an errand that ~~will be~~ is explained by the enclosed copy of circular addressed to the members of the House of Representatives. Copies of this circular, he ~~add~~ directed to those for whom it was intended, and sent to the city post office. On learning that it had not been received when it ought to have been, he set about ascertaining the cause, and he traced it to *the detention of his letters at the city Post office*. Dr William Jones, the post-master, is well known to have been for some time past, unremitting in his exertions, to enlist those to whom these letters were addressed, in the support of another candidate for the place sought by Mr. R. These two facts give the outline of the case; the details of which I shall not trouble you with until I strictly inquire into them.

The first thing I shall do in the morning is, to seek Mr. R; and if the case be ascertained to be as now represented to me, I shall *urge* him to bring a formal charge against the Post-Master. This step was determined on, the moment I heard the statement; and will be taken before you receive this. ~~You~~ Knowing, as you do, that I have a knowledge of your feelings & intentions towards me, you will know that I cannot be actuated in this determination by any desire to seek your favor and thereby to advance my own interests. My only possible motive is, honest animosity against *villainy*, by whomsoever committed; and regard for the public good and for your own fair fame. In my case, as in that of every other man, worldly prudence recommends a course of conciliation towards all; whatever their character may be. It bids me mind my own concerns, and let every man take care of his. To volunteer myself as a mark for the deadly enmity of one who has so many interested in his prosperity, and who is said to have few equals in activity & skill in *management*, is, I know, any thing but worldly wisdom. But if this man has committed this act, (worse in every point of view than ~~any of~~ all the breaches of public trust committed by Tobias Watkins) it shall not be my fault if he remains a blot upon the escutcheon of your administration.¹

The circumstances which have thrown me near you, ~~and~~ have afforded me the ~~opportunity~~ privilege of closely studying your character, ~~both as a~~ in the private relations of life, as well as in those which you bear to the public. My deportment could not express all that this study has inspired

~~me with; but it has at least, been such as to evince speak high esteem & very cordial regard.~~ of a character, calculated to impress upon you with the belief, that besides high esteem, there was a feeling in me which would prevent my omitting towards you any act of strict duty. Such do I conceive this ~~present~~ to be, ~~and~~. Were I to omit it, I could never look you in the face, without being reminded that my professions were as hollow as it ever fell to the lot of one in your situation to receive; & If worldly advancement ~~or security~~ cannot be obtained or made secure without ~~bringing with it such feelings~~ subjecting me to such feelings, I will not have it.

N. P. T.

For obvious reasons, I ask you to keep this communication strictly to yourself (considering Majr. Donelson as part of yourself, so far as ~~honesty and~~ integrity, firmness, judgment, & disinterested attachment can make him so) for a few days. Knowing how many cares & vexations press upon you at this moment, this addition ~~to them should be postpone~~ deferred if ~~its nature admitted of it~~ should not be made now, if its nature admitted of its postponement.

ALS draft, DLC-Trist Papers (21-0861). Meriwether Lewis Randolph (1810–1837), a State Department clerk, was Thomas Jefferson's grandson and a younger brother of Trist's wife, Virginia Jefferson Randolph Trist. His cousin Thomas Beverley Randolph (1792–1867) had graduated from West Point in 1812 and served on the Canadian front in the War of 1812, resigning as a captain in 1815. Thomas was a candidate for sergeant-at-arms for the House of Representatives. On December 10 the House elected him on the ninth ballot. Physician William Jones (1790–1867) had been appointed Washington postmaster in 1829. He remained until 1839.

1. Tobias Watkins (1780–1855) had been fourth auditor of the Treasury under Monroe and Quincy Adams. AJ had removed him in 1829, and he was subsequently convicted of embezzling public funds.

From George Mifflin Dallas

5. Decr. 1832

Dear Sir,

I return to you, with my sincere thanks, the mad message of Governor Hamilton. It has filled me with great anxiety as to the situation of our friends of the Union Party in Charleston. If the suggestions of Gov. Hamilton have been adopted by the Legislature: if he is armed with his act defining State treason, with a bill of pains and penalties, and with a battalion of Infantry, what safety or rescue is there for our friends short of an immediate appeal to arms, or *your intervention*? They may be arrested under color of law, and treated as traitors, or as the infatuated Governor may think expedient.

I have letters from Philadelphia this morning which describe the sentiments against the Ordinance and Address to be universal; and those who

but yesterday opposed your re-election with ferocity now loudly profess their reliance on your saving the Union. The meeting convened on monday was too large to be any where accommodated, and agreed to meet again on thursday.¹ With great respect, ever, Dr. Sir, Yrs,

G. M. Dallas.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr Dallas—returning the Govrs. message of So.Carolina

ALS, DLC (41).

1. “Friends of the Union” met at the Philadelphia County Court on December 3 and adjourned to December 6 in the State House yard to allow room for more attendants. The December 6 meeting adopted resolutions “By the people of Philadelphia, in Town Meeting assembled,” condemning nullification, pledging aid for its suppression, and calling for the state legislature to sustain the government (*US Telegraph*, December 15).

From Martin Van Buren

Albany Nov Dec 5th. 1832

My dear Sir

The enclosed was so shockingly printed in the N york papers that I take the liberty of sending you a corrected copy, that you may lay it by if it is deemed worthy of so much notice.¹ Our electors following up the example of their constituents are all on the spot, & have this moment given 42 Votes for Andrew Jackson of Tennessee & M. V. B. of N. Y. for &c. I promised Mr Duryee of Nyork to write to you upon the subject of his son whom I have no doubt you will do all the justice he deserves & more ought not to be asked.² We are impatient for the Message. Remember me affectionately to all your family & believe me to be yours truly

M. Van Buren

P. S. Is it not a singular co-incidence that I should happen to be 50 on the day appointed to give the votes. Will you pardon me if I ask you to take the trouble to request Mr Blair to send me *The Globe*. It will save me the trouble of writing & one of us the postage if [. . .]

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0876). The first Wednesday in December, designated by law for presidential electors in the states to cast ballots, was December 5, Van Buren’s birthday.

1. Van Buren had been feted at a “Great Democratic Festival” held at Tammany Hall on November 26 to celebrate AJ’s reelection. He gave a speech thanking his friends for their support through adversity and exalting AJ’s character and conduct. The report he sent AJ was in the December 4 *Albany Argus*.

2. Charles H. Duryee (c1811–1861), son of Richard Duryee (1767–1835), had been cashiered from the Navy for dueling in 1830. He was reinstated in February 1833.

River and Harbor Improvements Veto Message

[On December 6, Jackson delivered messages explaining his reasons for not signing, and thus pocket-vetoing, two bills that had passed late in the previous congressional session. The first message, to the House of Representatives, concerned a bill “for the improvement of certain harbors, and the navigation of certain rivers,” which had passed the House and Senate in final form on July 12. Jackson’s message (DS, DNA-RG 233; 21-0884) was printed in HRDoc 17, 22d Cong., 2d sess. (Serial 233), and later in Richardson, 2:638–39. The two drafts here were composed by Martin Van Buren and sent to Jackson on November 18 (above). The message as delivered retained the substance and some of the exact language of Van Buren’s second draft, but with considerable rearrangement of order. The closing paragraph was dropped entirely. Jackson appended Charles Gratiot’s October 27 report, classifying the projects in the vetoed bill into four categories.]

Drafts by Martin Van Buren

Among the most interesting & vitally important questions connected with the administration of our national affairs are those which relate to the agency of the Federal general Government in aiding or prosecuting works of internal improvement. I have heretofore communicated very fully to Congress my views on this difficult & embarrassing subject but as duty requires me to advert to it again in stating my objection to the “bill for the improvement of certain harbours and the navigation of certain rivers” which was not received in a sufficient time before the close of the last session to enable me to examine it previous to the adjournment.

The entire subject has ~~been considered by me~~ been presented itself to ~~the~~ my consideration ~~of the Government~~ in three points of view, viz, 1st. The power of the Federal Government to make internal improvements within the limits of a state with the right of territorial jurisdiction necessary to preserve and secure the beneficial use of them 2d. ~~The~~ Its right to appropriate money in aid of such works when of a national character and ~~when~~ undertaken by virtue of state authority; & the expediency of exercising it. 3d. appropriations for light houses beacons, buoys public piers & the removal of sand bars sawyers & other temporary or partial ~~improvements~~sediments in ~~the~~ our navigable rivers & harbors ~~below the~~. Although each of these views ~~of the matter~~ are of the deepest interest ~~the~~ I have regarded the first as the most so; inas much, as, in addition to the danger of unequal improvident & unavailing expenditures of public monies to which all disbursements of that description under the direction of the general Government are unavoidably exposed, is superadded the mischief to be apprehended from the conflicting jurisdictions of the respective Governments. In Federal jurisdiction to the extent I have stated

appears to me, as it has to those who have contended for it the right, as to be a necessary an indispensable concomitant of the power in question. It can scarcely be necessary to enlarge upon the evils which would in such case probably under any circumstances, result from a conflict of jurisdiction between the general and state Governments, but which in the absence of a constitutional provision marking out & restricting with precision & certainty their respective boundaries, would be inevitable. The States might readily invite the General Government to construct works within their respective limits and while seeking for the local advantages expected from them would be likely to overlook the dangers and difficulties which will ultimately arise. The powers exercised by the General Government would soon be regarded with jealousy by the State authorities. originating as they now must from implication or assumption, it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to fix their just limits—on the one side would be a tendency to extend the sphere of their operations and on the other to curtail it. The officers & agents of the General Government might not always have the discretion to abstain from intermeddling with state concerns, and if they did, would not escape the suspicion of doing so. Collisions and irritations would spring up; that harmony which should ever exist between the General Government & each member of the confederacy would be interrupted, contentions would be engendered and the motives to disunion greatly multiplied. The exercise of a jurisdiction by the General Government over a distinct portion of the territory of a state would bring with it a temptation and the opportunity to assume rights incompatible with the State sovereignty, and break down those barriers which resist the tendency to consolidation. So regarding the matter, and alarmed by the weight of talent and character enlisted in the support of the opposite doctrine, and the partial success with which the efforts to establish it, had, at different periods of the Government, been crowned, I embraced the first an early opportunity to express my decided opinion agt. the existence of the power, and my determination to avail myself of the right conferred upon me by the constitution to resist its exercise oppose the assumption of it. The great body of our constituents are so much occupied in their state affairs as to make them less astute in regard respect to the progress of opinions in regarding to the extension of the powers of the Federal Government, so long as it is they are not accompanied by a practical application, than they would doubtless otherwise be. When however the circumstances are such, as, to excite a deep interest, and to direct their earnest attention to a point of that nature, all experience has shewn, that the conclusions at which they arrive are of the most durable character. Such I cannot but think has been the case in this regard upon this subject; & although for the want of opportunity there may not have been any precise expression of the sentiments of the people of the U. States in respect to the existence of this power, I allow myself to believe, that the adverse opinion which has in various ways been elicited from them,

has been so general, & so strong, as ~~to~~ will effectually deter any future attempt to re-assert the right. So thinking I derive the greatest satisfaction from the conviction that ~~so that~~ much at least has been secured upon this truly difficult & perplexing subject.

My views of the inexpediency of making, under the present circumstances of the country, & without any established system, direct appropriations of money to aid works prosecuted under state authority were so fully expressed in my annual message to Congress in Decr 1830, & in that which contained my objections to the Maysville Road Bill at the previous session, that I deem but a few remarks upon that subject necessary at this time to a correct understanding of my opinions & ~~attentions~~ intentions.

Those which were then expressed I still entertain, & I think it proper to apprise you that ~~my~~ subsequent reflections and the course of events have satisfied me, ~~that the highest interests of the country imperiously require~~ that no such appropriations ~~ought to~~ ~~should~~ ought to be made until a suitable amendment of the constitution in this respect is adopted. If the people wish the United States Treasury should be resorted to for the purpose of furnishing the means of prosecuting such works they will concur in an amendment prescribing a rule by which the national character of the works may be ascertained, and an equality of benefits so far as practicable may be secured to all the members of our confederation. The effects of such a regulation would be most salutary, in preventing comparatively useless expenditures; in securing our legislation from the pernicious consequences of a scramble for governmental favors; and repressing the spirit of discontent which will inevitably arise from an unequal distribution of treasures that belong alike to all.

I am not insensible to the difficulties which must be experienced in resisting the interested ~~applie~~ and pressing applications with which Congress must expect to be assailed by ~~different~~ portions of our constituents, as long as the power to grant is admitted, and the state of the treasury will supply the means; but I nevertheless hope that there will be sufficient virtue in the representatives of the people to do so if they shall be fully satisfied that the best interests of the whole country will be promoted by that course. Fully sensible of the temptation which the ~~surplus~~ possession of ~~surplus revenue~~ disposable funds would afford to apply it them in a way which ~~was~~ is unauthorized by the constitution and calculated to sap the foundation of the Government, Mr Jefferson, in his second Inaugural address, suggested the propriety of a just repartition among the States of the surplus revenue which might at any time be in the Treasury, after the final redemption of the public debt; and its application in time of peace under a corresponding amendment of the constitution to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each state. Entertaining the same general views I have heretofore felt it my duty to renew the suggestion for the consideration of congress, & the people. The proposition whilst ~~favorably~~ well recd. in some quarters met

with disfavor in others entitled to the highest respect, from an apparent apprehension, that, it was intended to recommend the collection of revenue for the purpose of distribution, or that at least the existence of such a provision might tend to that result. Such was not ~~my~~ the intention nor would such a course meet with any favour at my hands. It was intended to embrace only those occasional ballances, which ~~in the~~ it is reasonable to expect, will, in the ordinary administration of public affairs be found in the treasury, and which experience has shewn, would otherwise be in danger of being expended in hasty, unequal and unwarranted appropriations. The apprehension that ~~the existence of~~ a constitutional amendment of this character would lead to an increase of duties for the purpose of distribution may be well founded, but I have not been so impressed. The unavoidable odium ~~at all times~~ almost always attached to the ~~increase~~ imposition of taxes, however disguised, would in my judgment afford a better security agt. their otherwise unnecessary increase, than any which could be differently acquired, agt. an erroneous application of ~~sur~~ the funds which the other wants of the governmt may from time leave at the disposal of Congress. But the whole matter is before the people—if there is wisdom in the suggestion, their intelligence and patriotism will bring it to specific & beneficial results—if not they will disregard it, and no harm will be done by the examination which the proposition has heretofore or may hereafter receive.

I examined the provisions of the “bill for the improvement of certain harbors and the navigation of certain rivers” within the time allowed me ~~for consideration~~ by the constitution, and being fully convinced that some of them conflicted with the rules which on mature consideration I have adopted for the guide of my conduct on this subject of legislation, I was compelled by a clear sense of duty, to withhold from it my signature. It has therefore failed to become a law.

The grounds upon which I have distinguished appropriations of the character referred to in the third division of the subject, and of which many of those contained in this bill consist ~~have~~ were also fully stated in my message to Congress of Decr 1830 ~~so it is not my intention to repeat them~~. As a natural, if not a necessary consequence of the great increase of our foreign commerce, ports of entry and delivery were multiplied, not only on our sea board, but in the interior of our country, upon our lakes & navigable rivers. The convenience protection and safety of this commerce have occasioned enlarged expenditures which have been principally incurred in the erection of light houses, the establishment of beacons & buoys, and the removal of temporary obstructions at the entrance of harbours and in navigable rivers below the ports of entry & delivery established on them. To appropriations thus confined I have ~~yielded~~ followed the course of all my predecessors by yielding my assent; although I have expressed my apprehensions that they have sometimes been extravagant

and disproportionate to the advantages to be derived from them. Had the provisions of this bill been restricted to such objects I should have experienced no difficulty in ~~affixing to it~~ giving it my signature sanction but they embrace others of quite a different character, involving the sanction of a principle which concedes to the general government at an almost unlimited power over the subject of internal improvements. I could not therefore approve the bill without receding from the positions heretofore taken in my former communications to Congress. To facilitate as far as is in my power the intelligent action of Congress upon the subject, I transmit herewith a report from the Engineer Department distinguishing as far, as from the information it possesses, that was practicable, between those appropriations which do, & those which do not conflict with the rules by which my conduct in this respect has hitherto been governed. That those rules are not as definite & nor susceptible of as much precision & certainty as would be desirable, and that much embarrassment may be caused to the Executive Department of the Government by the insertion of appropriations for remote, & not well understood objects, is undoubtedly true. But as neither my own reflections nor the lights which I may properly derive from other sources, nor those ~~derived from~~ elicited by the objection which have been made to them have furnished me with a better, I shall continue to apply my best exertions to the application & enforcement of them. In thus exerting my best faculties to exercise the power conferred upon me by the constitution, so as to avoid evils, which, to some extent at least, have been admitted by all, and to effect the greatest attainable good for our common country, I feel that I may safely rely on your sincere and cordial co-operation; and the experience of the past leaves me no room to doubt a the liberal indulgence and favourable consideration of those for whom we act.

I rely upon the intelligence and candor of my Fellow Citizens for a correct appreciation of my motives for interposing, as I have done on this & other occasions, under a solemn sense of duty, checks, to what, without in the slightest degree calling in question the motives of others, I deemed to be improper & unconstitutional expenditures of public treasure. My course of conduct does not spring from any hostility to internal improvements. I wish to see it carried forward & extended to every part of the Union, but I am persuaded that if it be not begun in a proper manner, confined to proper objects, and conducted under an authority generally conceded to be rightful its successful prosecution cannot be reasonably expected; it will meet with resistance where it might otherwise receive support, & instead of strengthening the bonds of our confederacy it will multiply the causes of disunion.

Drafts by Martin Van Buren, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0442). Both drafts bear minor pencilled revisions in an unknown hand. A preliminary draft by Van Buren, not sent to AJ, is in DLC-Van Buren Papers (mAJs).

Interest on State Claims Veto Message

[“An Act providing for the final settlement of the claims of States for interest on advances to the United States, made during the last war” had passed the Senate on January 5 and the House of Representatives, by 76 to 35, on July 14. Jackson pocket-vetoed it and sent an explanatory message to the Senate on December 6 (DS, DNA-RG 46; 21-0891). The message was printed in SDoc 3, 22d Cong., 2d sess. (Serial 230), and later in *Richardson*, 2:637–38. Presented here, in apparent order of composition, are a draft by Jackson, another by Martin Van Buren, and a third by Jackson. Van Buren had sent Jackson his draft on November 18 (above). The delivered message differed from the drafts in wording though not in purport. It pointed to a law of the last session settling South Carolina claims from the War of 1812 as an example of past legislation under which Treasury payments on state claims had been habitually first applied to principal rather than interest.]

Draft by Andrew Jackson

The interest bill. The following may be considered good reasons for rejecting the bill

1rs. The impossibility of ascertaining from the bill what ~~sums it~~ amt of money may be drawn from the Treasury ~~without further Legislation~~ under its provisions.

2nd. The novel principles introduced into our legislation by this bill by opening all old settled accounts with States and allowing a to many States compound interest on all the advances made ~~by any State~~ by applying the payments made, first to the extinguishment of the interest ~~to be calculated on the advance~~ accrued at the time and the ~~balance~~ then to the principle and then calculating interest up to this time on the balance—then remaining

3rd. Innovating on the established & correct principle of our ~~Legislation from the commencement of the~~ our Government ~~that it the Government never pay any~~ in not paying interest demands against it, on the presumption that it was always ready to pay its debts when called for, ~~and the by~~ accounts liquidated properly authenticated & presented.

4th. The same ~~justice~~ principles that would require the settled accounts with States to be reopened and interest allowed for advances made, except for actual interest paid by the States on such advances, would lead to reopening all accounts with Individuals for advances made & where payments were postponed ~~payment~~ by the Government, this would open drains upon our Treasury, more than the present Revenue would be able to meet

5th. The impossibility of equal justice being done by the provision of this bill to the States the refundments being made ~~by to them~~ from time to time, and whether they were, respectively, sufficient to pay the interest

which had then accrued, are points relative to which no two States may be in a like situation, therefore the act may operate very unjustly

6th. It is inexpedient and what it is believed justice does not require to reopen these old settled accounts with the States, if done the same justice must extend it to individuals, and as it appears that the interest on the claims that can be brought ascertained under the bill amounts to one million three hundred and 34 thousand dollars, it may be inferred from the report of the 3rd. auditor hereto annexed that twice that sum may be required under further legislation arising out of the principles of the bill, and more than three times the amount, if extended to Individual claims.¹

For these reason I could not approve this bill and now return it with these my objection for the consideration of Congress.

AD (at 1833), DLC (43; 21-0899).

1. Peter Hagner had reported to AJ on October 20, estimating back interest due to the states under the bill at \$1,324,000. The veto message as delivered did not enclose or mention his report.

Draft by Martin Van Buren

The Bill (title) was received by me under like circumstances. Finding upon an examination of its provisions that it gave the legislative sanction to principles for the adjustment of the public accounts of entirely novel and as they strike me very objectionable in their character and extremely important in their results, I thought I should best consult my duty & protect the public interest by, at least, affording an opportunity for a reconsideration of the whole subject, under circumstances more auspicious to a full & fair investigation of its merits, than those which existed at the time of its passage. I therefore withheld from it my constitutional sanction, and it has not become a law. The reluctance naturally experienced in withholding my assent from any bill which has passed the other branches of the legislative department of the Government, was, in this instance, relieved by the fact, that a bill, which, from what is known, would, if it became a law, draw at least one million three hundred thousand dollars from the Treasury, and in its consequences, direct & indirect, many millions more, to satisfy claims which have be applied to for the most part in the gratuitous satisfaction of claims which had not been presented to Congress & in all upon grounds which had been constantly & inflexibly & constantly repudiated by every succeeding Congress since the establishment of the Government, had been passed in the haste and confusion unavoidably incident to an adjournment, and with a bare quorum in the house of Representatives; and the more especially by the circumstance, that, as the bill contained no appropriating clause further legislation would have been necessary before those intended to be benefitted by it could have drawn any money from the treasury, under it, & could not consequently be prejudiced by the delay.

I cannot too earnestly for my own sense of their importance invite your attention to the grave principles which are incorporated in this bill, as well as the disturbing & exhausting effects which it is calculated to have upon the affairs of the government, & the ~~state~~ means of the Treasury if it should become a law. The accompanying report of the 3d Auditor of the Treasury shows ~~in part~~ the ~~extent~~ probable effect of its provisions, so far as they can be ascertained from the sources of information within his reach, and, in part, the embarrassments to the Treasury which would result from thus voluntarily opening the very extensive & intricate accounts between the U. States & the different states, most of which have ~~long~~ been long since closed upon the same ~~terms~~ principles upon which the Government of the former has since its establishment dealt with individual claimants. That principle, with a very few & ~~limited excep~~ unimportant exceptions, has been, that as the Government was always presumed to be ready to pay its debts, when their existence was established by competent proof, & the demand properly made ~~interest could~~ it was not liable for interest. It is upon this principle that ~~the demands~~ claims upon the Government have from its foundation to the present period been settled. If there are reasons which would justify a departure from this principle in respect to the claims of the States, which would not equally apply to those of individuals, I am not apprised of them; and far be from me the attempt to estimate, either the extent of the drain upon the treasury by ~~the establishment of a~~ their allowance, or the unavoidable confusion in the affairs of the ~~country~~ government by thus undoing the legislation of more than forty years, having for its object the final settlement of private claims, & which it was hoped had been nearly accomplished. That ~~those~~ demands for interest on all claims which have heretofore been adjusted, when the parties or their representatives are in existence, will, if a principle which sanctions their allowance is established, be presented is not matter of conjecture only. I respectfully submit to your consideration whether it is either just or expedient to impose burthens upon the whole community for the benefit of individuals, whose demands have long since been settled, and who most probably would never have thought of presenting them but for the indirect invitation which would be given to them by this bill.

AD (at 1833) by Martin Van Buren, DLC (43; 21-0902).

Draft by Andrew Jackson

The "Bill providing for the final settlement of the claims of States for interest on advances to the United States, made during the last war"; This bill was handed to me under like circumstances with the bill for the improvement of certain harbours & the navigation of certain rivers, which was not received in sufficient time before the close of the last session of Congress to enable me to examine its provisions previous to the adjournment. Finding upon an examination of its provisions that it gave the legisla-

tive sanction to principles for the adjustment of the public accounts entirely novel and as it ~~strikes~~ occurs to me very objectionable in their character and extremely important in their results, I thought I should best consult my duty and protect the public interests by, at least, affording an opportunity for a reconsideration, of the subject, under circumstances more auspicious to a full and fair investigation of its merits, to those that existed at the time of its passage. I therefore withheld from it my constitutional sanction, and it has not become a law. The reluctance naturally experienced in withholding my assent from any bill which has passed the other branch of the legislative department of the Government, was, in this instance relieved by the fact, that a bill, which, from what is known, would, if it became a law, draw at least one million three hundred thousand dollars from the Treasury, and in its consequences, direct & induce many millions more to be applied for, the most part in the gratuitous satisfaction of claims which had not been presented to Congress & in all upon grounds which had been constantly & inflexibly repudiated by every succeeding congress since the establishment of the Government, had been passed in haste and confusion an unavoidable incident to an adjournment of Congress, and with a bare quorum in the House of Representatives; and as the bill contained no appropriation clause further legislation would be necessary before those intended to be benefitted by it could draw any money from the Treasury under it, and could not be prejudiced by the delay.

I cannot too earnestly for my own sense of their importance invite your attention to the grave principles which are incorporated in this bill, as well as the disturbing and exhausting effects which it is calculated to have upon the affairs of the Government, and the means of the Treasury if it should become a law. The accompanying report of the 3rd. Auditor of the Treasury shews the probable effect of its provisions, so far as they can be ascertained from the sources of information within his reach, and in part, the embarrassments to the Treasury which would result from thus voluntarily opening the very extensive & intricate accounts between the U. States & the different States, most of which have been long since closed upon the same principles upon which the government of the former has since its establishment dealt with individual claimants. That principle with a few and unimportant exceptions, has been, that as the Government was always presumed to be ready to pay its debts, when their existence were established by competent proof, and the demand properly made, it was not liable for interest. It is upon this principle that claims upon the government, from its foundation to the present period, has been settled. If there are reasons which would justify a departure from this principle in respect to the claims of the States which would not equally apply to individuals, I am not apprised of them; and far be it from me to estimate either the extent of the drain upon the Treasury by ~~these~~ either the extent of the drain upon the Treasury by these allowance, or the unavoidable confusion in the affairs of Government by thus undoing the Legislation of more than

forty years having for its object the final settlement of private claims, and which was hoped had been nearly accomplished. That demands for interest on all claims which have heretofore been adjusted, where the parties or their representatives are in existence, will, if a principle sanctifies their allowance is established, be presented is not matter of conjecture only. I respectfully submit to your consideration whether it is either just or expedient to impose burthens upon the whole community for the benefit of individuals whose claims demands have long since been settled, and who most probably would never have thought of presenting them but for the indirect invitation which would be given to them by this bill.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] —1833— Message, on returning the Interest Bill to the Congress of the U. States—A. J.

AD (at 1833), DLC (43; 21-0913).

To James Alexander Hamilton

Decbr. 6th. 1832. Washington—

My Dr. Sir,

yours of the 3rd. instant is just recd, I accord with you fully in the propriety of the people giving, *fully*, & *freely* their sentiments & opinions on Nullification and the course pursued by South Carolina in her late proceedings.

The ordinance passed, when taken in connection with the Govrs. Message, is rebellion, & war against the Union, the raising of troops under them to resist the laws of the United States, absolute Treason. The crisis must be, & as far as my constitutional & legal powers will be met, with energy & firmness. Therefore the propriety of the public voice being heard, & it ought now to be spoken, in a voice of thunder, that will make the leaders of the nullifiers tremble & which will cause the good citizens of SoCarolina, to retrace their steps and adhere to that constitution of perpetual Union, they have sworn to support. This Treasonable procedure against the union, & not only our liberties, but the liberty of the world

This nullifying movement in the south has done us great injury abroad, & must not only be promptly met & put down, but frowned down, by public opinion, therefore highly proper for the people to speak all over the Union.

I am preparing a proclamation to the people of the South, and as soon as officially advised of these rebellious proceedings will make a communication to congress. I can say no more as I am surrounded at present & bid you for the present adieu.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NN (21-0881). New York *Evening Post*, September 23, 1864. Hamilton *Reminiscences*, p. 248.

To James O'Hanlon

Washington, Decr. 6. 1832.

My dear Sir,

Your letter of the 30th ultimo came to hand this morning. Not hearing from you, and as the case did not admit of unnecessary delay, I had before determined on the appointment of Mr _____, who, it had been ascertained, will accept.¹ Your assurance to that effect, was not necessary to the utmost confidence in your "readiness at all times and under all circumstances to sustain the laws of our country and the integrity of the Union." The eyes of that country are upon you. From you, and from all among you, whose course has proved them to be true and enlightened friends of the Union, the utmost firmness in this resolve is relied upon, by me and by our fellow-citizens every where.

I cannot bring myself to believe, that the descendants of those heroes who fought and bled in the glorious war of Independence and Union, can be so far misguided as to stain the bright escutcheons of their patriot fathers, with Treason. The ordinance, and the recommendations in the Governor's message, are rebellion. The legislative enactment under it, and the raising of troops in open violation of an express provision of the Constitution, are Treason. Those attached to the Union or to the principles of free government must not yield to such lawless and tyrannical rule, nor be found supine and inactive under it.

The time is not, I trust, distant, when a different state of things is to prevail, and when your long intended visit may be paid without subjecting you to the imputation of shrinking from any duty you owe to your country. I need not say, that a hearty welcome will await both Mrs O'Hanlon and yourself.

Draft by Nicholas P. Trist, DLC (41). O'Hanlon replied on December 20 (below).

1. On November 30, the State Department had sent Charleston lawyer William Robinson a temporary commission as U.S. marshal for South Carolina. AJ nominated him to the Senate on December 6. Robinson declined, and on December 19 AJ instead nominated Thomas D. Condry, whom the Senate confirmed the next day. On January 2, 1833, the supplanted marshal Morton A. Waring wrote AJ asking the reasons for his removal. Livingston replied on January 10 that it was "to be ascribed solely to the views you were understood to entertain of the questions, which now unfortunately agitate the theatre of the duties of that officer; and to the conviction, that the public good required that those duties should be devolved upon some citizen, whose views on those subjects were such as to secure the public service against the possibility of his being placed in the unpleasant alternative of pursuing a line of official duty at variance with his own opinions or leaving the office vacant, at a moment, when it might be highly important that it should be filled" (DNA-RG 59, M40-23).

From John Randolph

Charlotte C. H. 6th. Decr. 1832

My dear Sir

I have been confined here ever since our Election—more than a month ago. I came down to add my mite to the Republican Vote not knowing what Freak the White Basis Folks of our Western Counties might take into their Heads: knowing too that they were great admirers of the American System & some of them also of it's great architect & Supporter. I have been most agreeably disappointed in the Temper of Virginia which ought surely to be inferred from the composition & Character of her Assembly—strange as that may seem

as you are now in a situation to recede with d[ignity] I speak the Language of many of your staunchest friends [when] I express the hope that you will give to our Sister S. C. amp[le] time for consideration; & I trust that the relation in which she will find herself standing towards her Co-States may lead to the happiest & most peaceful results.

I fear that I have been remiss in forgetting a promise that I made to a quondam Protégé of yours Mr. Isham Randolph who would be glad to find a haven in his old age in some suitable place in the Custom House or Post office at Richmond or some appointment at Washington for which his honest zeal has fitted him. May I ask the favour of a single line on this subject as Mr. R. is at present in a situation under the James River Company not suited to his Infirmities.¹

Some of my friends are very desirous to see me again in Congress as it is understood that the V. P. will take Hayne's place, this session in the Senate, where he can co-operate with the Godlike man of the East & the great orator of the West to further their respective views; which at this moment are nearly confined to the petty Revenge of thwarting the measures of the Administration. It will not be the fault of my friend Ritchie however if I shall receive that or any other mark of my Country's approbation. He can't forget his old friend Wilkinson nor the drubbings that I gave them both, some five & twenty years ago.² By the way I feel a strong desire to see Burr & if ever I get as far as New York, I shall make it a point to find him out & ask an Interview. He & the Chief Justice & one other know more of the History of this Government from the Funeral Pile of the old Congress down to the late war than all the rest of the U. S. put together: and it is desirable that their evidence should not perish with them, but that it should be perpetuated.

It is greatly desired by many of your best friends in Virginia that no final step may be taken by you during the present session of Congress in regard to the Cabinet or the Foreign Missions I believe I know the temper of the State as well as any man in it. Many who make a great noise in our newspapers either never possessed or have lost the publick confidence.

The very names of some of them excite ridicule. Pray excuse this impertinence from, Dear Sir, your sincere & faithful friend & Servant

John Randolph of Roanoke

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] John Randolph of Roanoke, to be attended to A. J.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Isham Randolph (1771–1844) was John Randolph's second cousin. He had accompanied AJ at the negotiation of a Cherokee treaty in 1817, and was presently a lock-keeper and boat inspector at Richmond for the James River and Kanawha Canal.

2. Daniel Webster and Henry Clay were the men of the East and West. Randolph was elected to Congress in 1833 but died before the session began. Randolph had been foreman of the grand jury that indicted Aaron Burr for treason in 1807. He had then accused the principal witness against Burr, General James Wilkinson (1757–1825), of complicity in Burr's schemes and later denounced him before Congress as a Spanish agent. Thomas Ritchie's *Richmond Enquirer* had closely covered the Burr trial.

To Edward Livingston

Friday at night Decbr. 7th.

My Dr. Sir,

Major Donelson having finished copying the sheets handed by you about 4 oclock P. M. today, is waiting for the ballance—such as are ready please send, sealed, by the bearer. The Message having been made public on the 4th. it is desirable, whilst it is drawing the attention of the people in South Carolina, that there minds should be drawn to their *real situation*, before theyir leaders can, by false theories, delude them again. Therefore it is, to prevent blood from being shed, & positive treason committed, that I wish to draw the attention of the people of South Carolina to their danger, that no blame can attach to me, by being silent. From these reasons you can judge of my anxiety to have this to follow the Message. yours respectfully

Andrew Jackson

ALS, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). Charles H. Hunt, *Life of Edward Livingston* (1864), pp. 372–73 (21-0925). AJ's proclamation against nullification was issued on December 10 (below).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Decbr. 8th. 1832—

My Dr Son,

I was much gratified to learn from your letter of the 20th. ultimo that our Dr Sarah & sweet little Rachel were doing well. I sincerely regret that

the child was visited with the thrash, but as all young children have it, I hope ere this it is entirely well.¹ Nothing could give me equal pleasure to that of seeing you all, and taking little Rachel in my arms, kissing, & blessing it. You have not said a word on the subject of your coming on—in your next inform me of your determination on this point.

I regret to learn that our cotton crop has fell so short—but we must learn to be content with whatever providence wills, and must oeconomise, and keep our wants within our means. You say you have handled it well, it therefore, will command the better price at markt. You will find your attention to the Stock well repaid, and I trust from buying 8,000 lbs. of Pork this, that you will have a full supply next year. This will be well to look to, because I fear our cotton crop this year will scarcely cover the expence of its raising. If the *Citizen*, stud colt, is well attended to this fall & winter, I think he may do something next season but of this you will be the best judge. He must not [stan]d lower than \$15 in, & \$20. out of the seaso[n] [. . .] cotton, or Pork at the markt price. I regret the sickness of [. . .] & Sampson I hope they may soon recover²—[. . .] are in the hands of their maker, it is our duty to see that they are comfortable & well attended, this being done, our duty is performed to them, and when the summons comes, we must with patience submit to its call.

I am anxiously awaiting Sarahs promised letter as it will be an evidence of her being restored to health, & as I have yours, & Mrs. Love description of the beauty of the child, I wish to see hers—and I would like to know whether Thomas & Emma are likely to have any use for such a domestic article, as a cradle, present my respects to them.

I am happy that your brother John is with you, I shall do all I can for him. I may send him to the Senate as Survayor to the commission under the Mexican treaty which will be worth to him \$2000 a year if I can find some recommendations which had procured for him, & which somehow I have mislaid—or I will provide, if I can, for him, under the chœtikisaw treaty, as soon as Genl Coffee comes on, or I hear from him. I will determine on this matter—and he, until he is ordered on this duty can be surveying in the chikisaw country, which is better than either survayor Genl, register or receiver—more of this hereafter³

On the subject of Alexanders Lott of Land The note for the stud colt sold to Miller & Co you must convert into c[ash] to meet this purchase Stockly Don[elson] [. . .] and this will make Eight hundred & [twenty] two dollars, you are now authorised to draw on me at sight for seven hundred dollars, which will make the full amount of the purchase say fifteen hundred (\$1500) dollars, leaving you the \$22. to meet any discount for taking the notes instead of cash—but surely Miller & Co, will go into bank & raise the mony. I do not think you can rely on Mr Crawfords note for any part this year.⁴

I have here authorised you to draw for seven hundred dollars to compleat the payment for the land, and I further authorise you to draw in

addition for two hundred dollars more to pay for the 8000 lbs of pork at two dollars and a quarter pr hundred, these drafts can be cashed at Nashville by any merchants there as I will furnish a check here on Philadelphia. On the receipt of this close the contract and advise me of it—forwarding me a copy of the obligation for the title to the Lot of land which you receive.

you have said nothing as to the purchase of the bay from Mr Prior—advise me on this subject, as I am aware that from the short crop of cotton—and the accumulated expences of this year, that my [. . .] will not more than close at the end of the year [. . .] hope to get the price of Bolivar in a short time, I wish you to buy that bay if you can get a good title for him. ~~Should~~ When you come on you will have to bring charles or Dick with you, as I will give you up Adam when you return

How gratified I am, that the Tomb of my dear wife is compleated with the portico. I will endeavour to see it next year, if I live—it is where I trust, you will deposit my remains.

you want now Turkey, Duck, & hen houses, with good stables, for your comfort. These Mr Hotzclaw will soon have ~~you~~ put up—have you a House for him, say to Mr Hotzclaw I have the highest confidence in him, and altho I know that perfect obedience must be required & coerced, that this can be carried into effect, without cruelty. I shall write him soon, & my son, when he takes possession, admonish him privately, not in the hearing of the negroes.⁵

I fear your *mill* project has been an exspensive one, without much promise of profit—write me often let me know the state of the family, stock & mills—kiss Sarah & say to her to kiss my little Rachel for me, and believe me to affection[ate]ly yrs

A[ndrew] Jackson

ALS, CSmH (21-0927). The pages are torn at top and bottom.

1. Thrush is a fungal infection affecting the mouth, common in infants.

2. Two Hermitage slave Sampsons died of illness in 1833: Big Sampson (c1779–1833), whom AJ had purchased in Mobile in 1814, and the gardener Old Sampson.

3. AJ again confused AJ Jr.'s brother John Donelson with his cousin, the surveyor John Donelson Jr. On December 11 AJ nominated the latter for surveyor of the Mexican boundary, and the Senate confirmed him on December 19.

4. William White Crawford still owed AJ on a \$400 promissory note of January 30, 1827 (THi, 11-0482).

5. AJ had engaged Burnard W. Holtzclaw as his new overseer.

To Joel Roberts Poinsett

[The first text below is a draft and the second is the sent letter, both in Jackson's hand. Though still dated December 9, the sent letter was evidently written the next day, December 10, after Jackson had issued his proclamation against nullification.]

(confidential no copy)

Decbr. 9th. 1832—Washington

My Dr. Sir,

your letters were this moment recd. from the hand of Col. Drayton, ~~and~~ & duly considered, & in haste reply. I have read with great pleasure the true spirit of patriotism which ~~it~~ your letters breath—adhere to the text you have laid down, and I will save my native state from the disgrace that her treasonble leaders have attempted to plunged her; & by all the means in my power enabling her own sons, & citizens, those faithfull patriots, who cling to the Union, to put it down.

The ordinance of the convention with the raising of troops under the recommendation of the Governor, is Treason, and will be promptly met by the Government & *put down*, with exemplary punishment for treason so unprovoked. ¿Where does a state find the reserved right to secede,? no where? neither in the confederation & perpetual Union of the States, nor in that more perfect union formed by *we the people of these whole united states*. The absurdity is too glaring to admit of argument. I am preparing a proclamation on this subject for the good people of South Carolina, which I address to them with the feelings of a father, and I hope in god it may take the scales of delusion from their eyes, before it is too late, & ~~by~~ & which may prevent them from resisting the laws of the Union, & thereby become subject to all the penalties of treason. The Union will be preserved and traitors duly punished. Expect the union men to be faithful & united & all is safe, & must end without blood. Congress will aid me to put down this outrageous rebellion, & I mean to put it down by the exertions of the Patriots of South Carolina, who at my call will rally under the banners of the constitution & the law to enforce it.

My last will have advised you that arms to the amount suggested have been put in deposit subject to your requisition, to aid the civil power in executing the revenue laws on the call of the law.

I will write you more fully when I foreward to you my proclamation & message to Congress. you may say with confidence to the Patriots & union men of the South that in forty days from the date of my orders, if force should become necessary to be employed, I will have forty thousand men in the State of So.Carolina, and thereby put down the feeble voice of treason that is now boasting and deluding the good people, my countrymen, of So.Carolina. Let not the escutcheon of the descendants of the revolutionary heroes of South Carolina be stained with the crime

of Treason. How weak the arm that threatens to destroy our union, our liberty, our glory & peace & prosperity, as a nation. The safety of our beloved country is the supreme law, and it will be promptly obeyed by me.

Fear not, I will live with the Union, or die in the attempt to preserve it.
In haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

[Endorsed by AJ:] rough copy to Mr Poinsett Rebellion in So.C. A. J.

ALS draft, DLC (41).

Decbr. 9th. 1832, Washington,

My Dr Sir,

Your letters were this moment recd. from the hands of Col. Drayton, read & duly considered, & in haste I reply. The true spirit of patriotism that they breath fills me with pleasure. If the Union party unite with you, heart & hand, in the text you have laid down, you will not only preserve the Union, but save our native state, from that ruin and disgrace into which her treasonable leaders have attempted to plunge her. All the means in my power, I will employ to enable her own citizens, those faithful patriots, who cling to the Union, to put it down.

The proclamation I have this day Issued, & which I enclose you, will give you my views, of the treasonable conduct of the convention & the Governors recommendation to the assembly—it is not merely rebellion, but the act of raising troops positive treason, and I am assured by all the members of congress with whom I have conversed that I will be sustained by congress. If so, I will meet it at the Threshold, and have the leaders arrested and arraigned for treason. I am only awaiting to be furnished with the acts of your Legislature, to make a communication to congress, ask the means necessary to carry my proclamation into compleat effect, and by an exemplary punishment of those leaders for treason so unprovoked, put down this rebellion, & strengthen our happy Government both at home & abroad.¹

My former letter & the communication from the Dept. of war, will have informed you of the arms and equipments having been laid in Deposit subject to your requisition, to aid the civil authority in the due execution of the law, *whenever called on as the posse comitatus &c &c.*

The vain threats of resistance by those who have raised the standard of rebellion shews their madness & folly. You may assure those patriots, who cling to their country, & this Union, which alone secures our liberties prosperity and happiness, that in forty days, I can have within the limits of So.Carolina fifty thousand men, and in forty days more another fifty thousand. How impotent the threat of resistance with only a population of 250,000 whites & nearly that double in blacks with our ships in the port, to aid in the execution of our laws? The wickedness, madness &

folly of the leaders & their deluded decision of their followers in the attempt to destroy themselves & our Union has not its parallel in the history of the world. The Union will be preserved. The safety of the republic, the supreme law, which will be promptly obeyed by me.

I will be happy to hear from you often, thro' Col Mason or his son, if you think the Post office unsafe, ~~will reach me soonest~~[.] I am with sincere respect yr mo. obdt. servt.

Andrew Jackson

ALS, PHi (21-0931). Copy, DLC (73).

1. AJ addressed Congress requesting measures to enforce the revenue laws on January 16, 1833 (Richardson, 2:610–32).

Proclamation on Nullification

[On December 10 Jackson issued a presidential proclamation on nullification. The formal manuscript text, signed by Jackson and Secretary of State Livingston and bearing an official seal, was retained in government files (DS, DNA-RG 11 [T1223-1]), which also contain a full manuscript copy (Copy, DNA-RG 59 [21-0935]). Jackson communicated the proclamation to Congress on January 16, 1833, and both House and Senate printed it (HRDoc 45, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 78–92, Serial 233; SDoc 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 78–92, Serial 230). It appears in Richardson, 2:640–56.]

As nullification progressed, Jackson had made a memorandum of his plan for a proclamation and written out at least three sketches of its arguments. He evidently supplied one of these to Amos Kendall and another to Edward Livingston, to whom he also sent suggestions for the proclamation's closing on December 4 (above). Both men composed drafts, and Livingston's, slightly amended, became the proclamation's text. Andrew J. Donelson copied out a nearly final version, which Jackson signed and retained in his papers (DS copy, DLC-77). Printed here are Jackson's memorandum and sketches and the Kendall and Livingston drafts.]

Memorandum by Andrew Jackson

South Carolina. Legislature convened for the purpose of determining on the call of convention. The new members just elected, by the proclamation of Govr. directed to attend. This a palpable violation of the constitution of So. C. Why such precipitancy. Keep a close watch upon them. Nullification & other rash movements intended ?is not this the result of the caucus here—is not Tazwell Tyler Floyd acting in this—Look—Why is Poindexter gone to M. Barrien to Georgia, & Clayton turned nullifier.¹ *attend.*

Convention called to meet hastily. So. C. will nullify.

So. C. has passed her ordinance of nullification & secession—as soon as it can be had in authentic form meet it with a proclamation. Nullification has taken deep root in Virginia, it must be arrested by the good sense of the people, and by a full appeal to them by proclamation, the absurdity of nullification or secession strongly repudiated as a constitutional & peacefull measure, and the principles of our Govrt. fully set forth, as a government based on the confederation of perpetual union made more perfect by the present constitution which is the act of the people so far as powers are granted by them in the federal constitution.

AN, DLC (64; 21-0251). This memorandum is in AJ's memorandum book.

1. Tyler and Floyd were Virginia senator John Tyler (1790–1862) and governor John Floyd (1783–1837).

Sketches by Andrew Jackson

1rst. Our Govt. a confederation of the people by states—of a perpetual Union. Upon a fair experiment after our Independence, & peace with G. Britain, this confederation of perpetual union was found to be imperfect. There being no power in Congress to regulate trade & revenue. To provide for this defect in our confederation of perpetual union by the States, & to give to a federal head the power to regulate trade, and levy & collect taxes, the people formed a more perfect union, on the ~~before~~ basis of the then existing perpetual union, and by the constitution ~~gave~~ made the union more perfect by giving to Congress the power to regulate trade & raise revenue. ~~and~~ Now, a bare majority of the State of So. Carolina, attempt to nullify these laws, and if not nulified, to secede from the Union ?Have they aright to do either. The answer is No; The consti-tion was formed & this more perfect perpetual union ~~formed~~ was made by the whole people of this union; and it can only be altered or amended, ~~by that majority of the whole, that~~ as the constitution defines; any attempt therefore of a majority of the people of a state, to nullify laws, or to secde, is an act of revolution & war, which the coestates ~~has~~ have a perfect right to put down by force; was it otherwise, then indeed, our government is a rope of sand. If a mere portion of the people who formed it, say one 35 part of the whole, can nulify the laws of this union, or secede from it without the consent of the majority, the Union is a nullity & our Government a mere farce

It was its weakness for the want of a head that made the confederation & perpetual union entered into by the States imperfect. To make it more perfect the people formed by their agents & adopted the present constitution, which can neither be dissolved (except by revolution & war) only in the way & by the means the instrument provides. The Government contains ~~the rightful~~ & a perfect right, to preserve itself.

note—In this confederation of perpetual union Congress, by the 13th. paragraph, was constituted the sole arbiter, of all questions submitted to

it.¹ The articles inviolable to be observed by every state, and the union perpetual. The present constitution, was adopted to make this Union more perfect & give to congress power over trade, and revenue &c &c—~~and~~

AD, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). This text was evidently supplied to Livingston.

1. Article XIII of the Articles of Confederation reads: “Every state shall abide by the determinations of the united states in congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the united states, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state.”

The people are the sovereigns—it is their sovereign power, first in the capacity of sovereign states, who formed the confederation of perpetual union, & who made the congress the umpire to settle all disputes by which the union might be perpetual. It was we the people of these United States who made the more perfect union granting other parts of our sovereignty to the Federal government reserving to the people & the states (meaning by the word states, the people who resided within the Territorial boundary of each state, all power not granted, that each state, might regulate its own domestic concerns, and its interior policy as it pleased free from all interruption of any other government or state. The People in their sovereign capacity by their agents have passed revenue laws for the benefit of all the United States. It is these sovereign laws that the agents of the people come forth to aid the civil power to execute—it is resisting these laws by force that will constitute, treason, & subject all to the pains & penalties defined by law for its punishment.

The right of a state to secede from the union, or to nullify its laws. Where is the right to found—will the advocates of this doctrine please to point it out. If this right does exist then our confederation of perpetual union, and our more perfect union founded thereon by the people of these United States, are baseless fabricks;

Let us examine. The people the sovereign power composing each state, in this their sovereign capacity formed a confederation and perpetual union, with certain grants of express powers, to the Congress, of these United States of america so confederated, under the national stile of “the United States of america, & under this title all the national acts of Congress were enacted, & performed. That this federal union so formed, & to prevent its dissolution, the express grant was made to congress, that it should be in all cases of dispute arising between the states the umpire to settle these disputes. In this confederation there are no reserved right to nullify or secede. Where then is this reserved right to be found. Is it to be found in the Federal constitution. This more perfect Union, made by “we the people of these United States,” upon this confederation & perpetual union of these United States. Let us examine. The true

republican doctrine is that all power not expressly granted to the Federal Government are reserved to the people & the states.

The powers granted are these—here enumerate them. Many of these we see are sovereign powers. The mode by which, this perpetual union, made more perfect by the constitution, can be altered or amended, or dissolved is pointed out in the instrument itself, no reserved right to nulify its laws can be found in either the confederation of perpetual union or in the more perfect union made by the people & based upon it, and there is no other way except by revolution, to alter or amend it. If therefore a state attempt to resist the execution of the laws by force, or to dissolve the union by revolution has not the other states a perfect right to prevent it by force—is not the safety of the republic the supreme law, & has not the other coestates a perfect right to preserve their liberty & execution of the laws & the union by all the means in their power? will those who defend the absurd doctrine of the reserved right of a state to secede answer—can they deny that their doctrine does not destroy the social compacts & lead to anarchy

AD, DLC (73; 21-0975).

The people possess the sovereign power. It was the people by states who formed the first confederation of perpetual Union &c, which carried them triumphantly thro' the revolution and established their freedom & independence of these United States ~~after which~~. On a full experieⁿce^ment of this confederation of states & perpetual Union the people found that the conditions on which this perpetual union was founded, by which the people had reserved to each State its sovereignty, freedom & independence, and every power, jurisdiction & right not expressly surrendered, it was found that this confederation was not adapted to the great ends of regulating commerce & revenue. Upon a full experiment it was found that these powers were necessary to be lodged in a Fed[eral] head, to compleat *a more perfe[ct]* ~~perpetual~~ union of these people of these United States of America. It was therefore why, this present constitution was formed to give authority to the national will, on these subjects of trade & revenue. The constitution of these United States shews that it was formed by the people, to operate directly upon the people & not upon the Legislative power of the States. The constitution commences “we, they people of these United States to form a more perfect union &c &c, ?what people? why the same people who had formd the confederation and perpetual union of the states, wanted to make this perpetual union more perfect, appointed their delegates who met in convention and formed a constitution to make the union more perfect by granting to the Federal Govt. more power, and amongst the rest to regulate *trade and raise a revenue* This was the act of the whole people, by their agents, it was ratified by the people inhabiting each State, by their agents, & was the act of the

whole people of these United States. The people are the [sov]ereign power, this was their sovereign [ac]t, and the power of a State to secede from the union without the consent of a majority of the whole, or to dissolve the union, never did exist sinse the adoption of the confederation of the States, and the formation of our present constitution upon that confederation of perpetual Union by which it, the union, as the instrument declares, was made more perfect; If ~~the~~ a mere majority of the people inhabiting a State has a right to suspend the revenu[e la]ws & stop the wheels of gov. to secede, than has any less portion of the people who inhabit a State or Territory. Then indeed, our Government is a rope of sand.

Nullification is revolution—and if a state attempts to nullify the laws of The United States by force, it is rebellion, and if she possesses the Phisical power to resit successfully then she has the right to establish her own government, and if the ballance of the states have the Phisical power, they have a *perfect right* under this confederation of perpetual & perfect Union, to coerce her to obedience. For a state to go out of the union peaceably she must obtain the consent of that number of the States which the constitution gives the power to alter, & amend it. The people ~~poss~~ being the fountain of all sovereign power have a right to alter ~~and chan~~ & change their government; and the confederated & perpetual Union formed by themselves, ~~in the confederation~~ upon which, the more perfect Union, the constitution of the United States, is based, ~~points~~ provides how it can be altered or dissolved & any other mode to alter it, is, *revolution, & war*—

AD, OCHP (21-0978). Extract facsimile, *Cincinnati Commercial*, January 27, 1879. This text was evidently supplied to Kendall.

Draft by Amos Kendall

Whereas in the formation of our system of government one parcel of powers was reserved to the states and another parcel delegated to the United States, the people of each and every state consenting to the distribution, each government being sovereign and independent of the other in this exercise of the powers which belong to it, the state governments having no right to obstruct the general government in the exercise of the powers which have been delegated to it, and the general government having no right to obstruct the state governments in the exercise of the powers reserved to them:

Whereas by the constitution of the United States power has been delegated to the ~~general government~~ United States “to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises” and it is declared, that “all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States”—“that no state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws”—that “no preference shall be given by any

regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another”—that “this constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made ~~in pursuance thereof~~ under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding”—(1) that no state shall, without the consent of Congress, “keep troops or ships of war in time of peace”—and that “treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies and giving them aid and comfort.”

Whereas a convention recently assembled at Columbia in the state of South Carolina, assuming to act in the name of the people of that state, have, by an ordinance, declared the laws of the United States laying “duties and imposts upon imports” to be “unauthorized by the constitution of the United States,” “null, void, and no law,” and have prohibited their execution within the limits of said state; and a majority of the Legislature of said state, in order to carry into effect the said declaration and prohibition, have passed acts subjecting the officers of the United States, whose duty it is to collect the revenue and all who may assist them in executing the said laws, to virtual confiscation of property, arrests, fine and imprisonment, ~~consigning them to condemnation by juries and judges sworn to convict them and~~ depriving them of impartial judges and juries and of an appeal to the Courts of the United States as now provided by law; and the same majority have passed an act authorizing the Governor of said state to accept the services of ~~and organize~~ a volunteer military force who will hold themselves in readiness to take the field at a moment’s warning for the sole purpose of resisting the execution of the said laws ~~of the United States~~ and suppressing the rightful authority of the United States by an array of armed men.

And whereas the said ordinance and acts, being an attempt on the part of those who passed them to resume to the ~~state~~ authorities of South Carolina, control over a subject matter, which, with the consent of the people of that state, has been irrevocably, except by an amendment of the constitution, vested in the government of the United States, are unauthorized, unconstitutional, null and void, the mere act of the men who have given them form, and not binding on the people of South Carolina; and any attempts to execute them will be as much in violation of the constitution and laws of the United States as if the said ordinance and acts had never been passed, exposing each and every man who may participate in them, ~~to~~ whether holding office under the state or ~~in~~ occupying a private station, to the undivided responsibility of his own acts,—if resisting the laws through the judicial offices of the state, to the pains and penalties imposed by act of Congress for obstructing the collection of the revenue, and if through the organization or interposition of an armed force, to the guilt and punishment of treason against the United States.

Now, therefore, having taken ~~an~~ a solemn oath “that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States,” and being directed by that constitution to “take care that the laws be faithfully executed,” I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, do hereby announce and proclaim to the good people of South Carolina, that while all the rightful power and influence of my station shall be steadily exercised to relieve them from the grievances of which they complain, I am firmly resolved to take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed until they shall be amended or repealed by the rightful authority; and if their execution shall be resisted by force, under whatever pretence, plea or authority, I will employ in their execution so much of the military and naval power of the United States as has been or may be by act of Congress put at the disposition of the President of the United States for that purpose.

I enjoin it upon the officers of the United States to be faithful, vigilant and fearless in the execution of the laws, in which they shall be sustained.

I enjoin it upon the good citizens of South Carolina, ~~regardless of the void acts of their Legislature~~, while they sustain their state in the exercise of all its rightful powers, to persevere, regardless of the void acts of their legislature, in their fidelity to the United States also, and aid its officers in the peaceful discharge of their constitutional functions.

I warn the ~~good~~ people of South Carolina, that resistance to the execution of the laws of the United States, though in obedience to the ~~those void acts of their Legislature~~, will expose them individually to ~~punishment~~ prosecution and punishment.

I warn ~~them~~ you that to join any military company or association, or aid in its organization, with the view of resisting the execution of the revenue laws of the United States by force of arms, and much more to march from your homes in military array for that purpose, is treason against the United States, from ~~which~~ the guilt and punishment of which, no ~~pre-~~tended act of ~~your~~ any convention, or ~~your~~ legislative body, or governor, can screen you.

Be not deluded. A void authority is no authority. It is not your *state* which is responsible to the United States; it is *yourselves*. Your state cannot authorize you to resist the laws of the United States or take up arms against their authority. All ordinances and legislative acts which pretend to do so, are void. They may ~~delude~~ deceive you, but they cannot protect you. Upon your own heads must fall the ~~miser~~ guilt and the punishment.

Be counselled in time. Do not lend your aid, either as ~~an~~ officers of the state government or as private citizens, to obstruct the execution of the laws of the United State. Above all, do not join any military company or association with that view, or participate in its organization or arming. To the guilty men who urge you on, leave the guilt and the punishment of raising their parricidal hands against their country.

I call on you as you value the liberty of which you so justly boast, the security of your firesides, the preservation of your property, and even the lives of your brothers, neighbors and friends, not only to refuse your assistance to the reckless men who are hurrying South Carolina into an abyss of misery and ruin, but to lend your aid ~~in~~ to sustain the arm of government, to execute the laws, to awe the seditious into silence, and if necessary to sieze the guilty instigators of all your troubles and ~~consign them~~ deliver them over to the civil authorities for trial and punishment.

Above all refrain from ~~arms and blood~~ taking up arms, against your country. *Woe to him who sheds the first drop of blood in opposition to the constitution and laws of the his country.* The rocks and the mountains shall not hide him from the vengeance due to a traitor, not only ~~against~~ to his country, but ~~agains~~ to the human race.¹

~~May~~ That the Almighty Being, who, through the instrumentality of our Union and Constitution, has made us a great, free, prosperous and happy people, may incline the hearts of the citizens of South Carolina to arrest the mad career of their ambitious leaders and save the state from the miseries of anarchy and the horrors of a civil war, is the ardent prayer of one who, in the performance of his responsible public duties, has no self-interest to promote, no ambition to gratify, no motive to urge him on but the continuance of those blessings by which United America has been hitherto so signally favored.

[*Endorsed by A*:] South Carolina—Proclamation

AD, DLC (77).

1. Revelation 6:16: "And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb."

Draft by Edward Livingston

[*Livingston entered major revisions onto his draft by striking out entire paragraphs and replacing multiple pages of text. The deleted paragraphs and discarded pages are presented here in bolded brackets, followed by the text that replaced them. The completed full draft closely resembles the proclamation in final form.*]

By Andrew Jackson President of the U S
Proclamation

~~Whereas official intelligence an official communice~~

Whereas a Convention assembled in the State of South Carolina have passed an Ordinance by which they declare ~~certain~~ "that the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States purporting to be laws for the collection for the imposing of Duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities ~~into the U~~ and now having actual operation and Effect within the United States and more especially" two

acts for the same purposes passed on the 29. May 1828—and on the 14. July 1832.—are unauthorised by the Constitution of the U S. and violate the true meaning and intent thereof and are null and void, and no law nor binding on the Citizens of that State its officers ~~and~~ or citizens and by the said Ordinance ~~making it the Duty of the Legislature~~ it is further Declared to be unlawful for any of the constituted authorities of the State ~~to Enforce~~ or of the U S. to enforce the payment of the Duties imposed by the said Acts within the said State and declaring it to be the Duty of the Legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to give full Effect to the said Ordinance

And whereas by the said Ordinance it is further ~~Declared~~ ordained that in no case of law or Equity decided in the Courts of said State wherein shall be drawn in question the validity of the said Ordinance ~~of~~ or of the Acts of the Legislature that may be passed to give it Effect or of the said laws of the U S. ~~or of the acts~~ no appeal shall be allowed to the Supreme Court of the U S. nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose—and that any person attempting to take such appeal shall be punished as for a contempt of Court.

And Whereas the said Ordinance Directs an Oath to be taken by all officers civil & military & by all jurors in certain causes to obey execute & Enforce the said ordinance under the penalty of certain disabilities therein mentioned

And finally the said Ordinance Declares that the People of South Carolina will maintain the said Ordinance at every hazard ~~and will not submit to the application of force on the part of the U S. and will consider the passage of any law Act by Congress authorising the employment of military or naval force~~ And that they will consider the passage of any act by Congress abolishing or closing the ports of said State or any of them or otherwise obstructing the free ~~intercourse~~ ingress and Egress of Vessels to and from the said Ports; or any other act of the federal government to coerce the State shut up her ports destroy or harrass her commerce or to Enforce the said Acts otherwise than through the civil Tribunals of the Country as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union and that the People of the said State will thenceforward hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connexion with the people of the other States and will forth with proceed to organise a separate Government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right Do.”

[And whereas the acts directed by the said Ordinance to be done by people of South Carolina ~~are in direct contravention~~ would be in evident infractions ~~not only~~ of the Constitutions of the ~~laws of the~~ U S and of the laws passed under its authority. And the ~~principles~~ reasons by which ~~in the preamble to the Ordinance the course it commands are attempt mpted to it is attempted to justify the measures it the ordinance in its preamble is sought to be justified~~ are an erroneous and would be if enforced if admit-

ted power destructive of any government in which they could be carried into execution—]

[And whereas the said Ordinance excites ~~and directs~~ the People of South Carolina to acts in direct contravention of ~~constitution and laws of the U. S. to~~ of their moral duty ~~they owe~~ to preserve a union solemnly entered into with the other States, of the religious obligation those upon whom it more immediately acts have incurred to support the Constitution of the U S. and of the obedience they all owe to the Laws of the Union—I ~~have therefore~~ Now Therefore I A J P. of the U S thought it a duty to issue this my proclamation stating my views of the question that now agitates the Country, and of the ~~Duties which filling the office I do it will be incumbent upon me call upon me to perform~~ course which those views of it will ~~make~~ oblige me to pursue ~~warning~~ and solemnly appealing to the ~~go~~ understanding the patriotism and the prudence the good citizens of the State of South Carolina to ~~avoid~~ warn them of the consequences that must result inevitably result from obeying the Ordinance passed by the Convention.

The Preamble to the Ordinance rests its justification on ~~these~~ two grounds—the assertion of a right in one State First, It asserts assumes as a fact that the obnoxious laws, tho they purport to be laws for raising revenue are in reality intended for the protection of Manufactures which ~~protection~~ purpose ~~they~~ it asserts to be unconstitutional. Secondly ~~That the power of passing these laws are is not given to Congress because That the burthen of these laws does falls unequally upon~~ Differ that the operation of these laws is unequal, ~~that proper objects have not been selected for taxation and that the amount raised by them is greater than is required by the wants of the Government and that it has been applied to objects unauthorised by the Constitution~~ On this ground basis alone is placed ~~the~~ These are the only causes that are alledged to justify an open opposition to the laws of the Country and a threat of seceding from the Union if they are attempted to be enforced—~~how erroneous the statement of facts; how utterly inconclusive irrelevant the conclusions they Draw from them must~~ strict duty would require nothing more than the ~~performance of the~~ ~~d~~ exercise of those powers with which I am invested for preserving the peace of the Union and enforcing the execution of the laws whenever they shall be violently opposed. but, the imposing form which the opposition to these acts has assumed by clothing itself with the authority of one of the States of them, ~~seem to~~ perhaps may require and certainly will justify an exposition of motives, as well as a distinct enunciation of the course of ~~conduct~~ action to which they lead.

I consider then, the assumed power in ~~any one of the states forming our happy Union to declare a law passed under by virtue of an express grant of power authority given in the constitution—under the allegation that to annul a law of the U S: to annul a law of the U S by any one State of the Union as totally inconsistent with the~~ its Existence ~~and~~ utterly

unauthorised by the Constitution, inconsistent with its spirit with the principles on which it was founded and not only productive of greater evils in a greater degree of the worst of the Evils that Constitution was intended to remedy, but creating one to which the confederation weak and inefficient as it was could not be reproached. Under the Confederation no power existed to coerce the States to the comply with the requisitions made upon them by Congress. They frequently neglected to comply but no one state assumed to itself the right of refusing, because an unjust requisition had been made

By The Confederation was expressly a league and Compact between the States for the purposes therein expressed. yet no alteration could be made in it and of course no one State had a right to secede from it without the consent of all the others—after the change had been decided in Congress: yet even by the Confederation it is expressly provided that “every State shall abide by the determination of Congress on all questions which by this Confederation are Submitted to them”

The Present Constitution can not be supposed to have given an individual State greater rights than it could have exercised under the Confederation for its The very For the very For its first object of which is Declared to be the formation of a “*more perfect Union*” How then under this, can a right power be legally exercised that would make the United federal constitution the most visionary of all theories, instead of a real bond to connect us in ties of mutual interest wretched & inefficient of all contrivances ever imagined by a visionary theorist to unite a people whose local interests must necessarily at times differ instead of the solid work of sages assembled for the purpose of securing by mutual sacrifices of local interests, state prejudices, & portions of State Sovereignty, the dignity of the whole nation, its Peace its industry its commerce and its Sacred Union. If one State have a right to declare If one State have this Right all must possess it. All will inevitably exercise it whenever the case arises which by the preamble of the S. C. Ordinance is stated to be a sufficient cause for the measure proof of the unconstitutionality of the laws in question—to wit that it they operates unequally upon several different States. But that case will inevitably arise—the wisdom of man never yet devised a system of taxation that could operate equally on all who were and If the unequal operation a system of revenue is proof of its unconstitutionality, and all unconstitutional laws may be declared null void and their execution be forbidden in any State under a penalty, then indeed have we paid undeserved honors to the intelligence of the Convention who the memory of the Patriots Statesmen who composed the devised our form of Government as they successively sunk to the grave, and to the Father of his Country who has sanctioned it by his name. I confidently a They have in that case bequeathed to us an illusion instead of a constitutional air bubble liable to be burst by the first breath of State prejudice or private ambition.

Nor will in my conception of the case, will But if a State can not consistently w Nor can the alledged unconstitutionality of the laws, justify the act of ~~impeding~~ preventing their execution The Ordinance asserts a constitutional right, not the indefeasible one of resisting ~~oppression~~ acts palpably illegal and intolerably oppressive. They derive it from the nature of the ~~Compact~~—but even their ~~reasoning~~ Doctrine requires to justify the nullification of an Act of Congress That it shall be palpably contrary to the constitution Now in the laws in question it is acknowledged that they are made in ~~pursuance~~ ~~acknow~~ accordance with an express grant of power given to Congress ~~but~~ to lay Duties, but the unconstitutionality lies in the motives of those who passed the Acts and in their want of discretion in ~~equalizing~~ apportioning the amount to the wants of the country—but as in many it would be difficult if not impossible to ascertain those motives as some members might have assented to the law from a legal & others from an illegal motive it is at least ~~diffie~~ hazardous to say that a law passed ostensibly for a purpose authorised by the Constitution was in reality intended for another, and that it was therefore unconstitutional Still greater would be the difficulty of pronouncing the unconstitutionality a *palpable* one if it ~~should the principle~~ if it should be conceded that the sole object was protection not revenue, if the principle had been sanctioned by men of the first ~~standing for~~ reputation for acuteness of perception, and Even received their warm support. to be palpable the illegality must be apparent to every mind of sound discernment. plain common sense must at once perceive it without argument.}]

And Whereas the said Ordinance prescribes to the People of South Carolina a course of conduct, in direct violation of their duty as citizens of the United States, contrary to the laws of their Country, & subversive of ~~the~~ its constitution, and of ~~their Country~~, and having for its object the destruction of the Union! That ~~holy~~ union which coeval with our political existence, ~~subsisted only by and having no other bonds than patriotism and a common cause having no other tie than~~ led our fathers without any other tie to unite them than those of patriotism and a common cause to ~~glo~~ through a sanguinary struggle to glorious Independence. That ~~holy~~ sacred Union! hitherto inviolate, which ~~afterwards strengthened and~~ perfected by our happy constitution has brought us by the favor of heaven to a state of ~~ease happiness and~~ prosperity at home, and high consideration abroad rarely ~~equal~~ if ever equalled in the history of nations. To preserve this Bond of our political existence ~~as a na~~ from violation destruction—to maintain inviolate this state of national honor & prosperity, and to ~~perform a high duty required in the Exercise of the office by the confidence~~ Justify the confidence of my fellow citizens have reposed in me, I Andrew Jackson President of the U S. have thought ~~it a duty~~ proper to issue this my proclamation—stating my views of the constitution and laws as applicable to the measures adopted by the Convention of So. Carolina, and to the reasons they have put forth to justify them—Declaring the course

which I shall deem it a duty will require me to pursue—and appealing by an appealing to the understanding and patriotism of the people of So Ca: warn them of the consequences that must inevitably result from an obedience to the dictates of the Convention.

Strict Duty would require nothing more than the exercise of those powers with which I am now invested or which hereafter may be conferred upon by me for preserving the peace of the Union, and enforcing the Execution of its laws. But the imposing form aspect which opposition has assumed in this case by clothing itself with State authority perhaps may require, certainly will justify, an exposition of motives as well as distinct enunciation of the course I shall pursue.

The ordinance is founded not on the indefeasible right of resisting acts which are palpably plainly unconstitutional, and intolerably oppressive too oppressive to be endured; but on the strange position that any one State may constitutionally not only Declare an Act of Congress void but prohibit the its execution of such law within its limits that they may Do this constitutionally consistently with the Constitution; that the true intent Construction of that instrument was that a permits a state might be a member of to retain its place in the Union, and yet be bound by no other of its laws than it chooses it may choose to consider as consider as Constitutional. It is true they add that to justify this abrogation of a law that it must be palpably contrary to the Constitution; it will be seen in what sense this term is employed, but here it will be sufficient to say that by the position assumed, the State is the only judge to determine whether a law deserves that character or not. The bare statement of this position pretention; is sufficient to show not only how inconsistent it is with the terms of our social compact which expressly Declares But it evident that to say But it is Evident that to give the right of resisting laws of that description; coupled with the uncontrolled right to decide which deserve that character is to give the right power of resisting all laws—for as by the theory there is no appeal, the reasons alledged by the state good or bad, must prevail, and the only check is If it should be said that public opinion is a sufficient check against the abuse of this power, it may be asked why it is not deemed a sufficient guard against the passage of an unconstitutional act by Congress—there is however a Restraint in the last one this last case, that makes the assumed power of a state more indefensible & that does not exist in the other. There is an are two appeals from an unconstitutional act passed by congress. One to the Judiciary, the other to the people. there is no appeal from the state decision in theory; and by the practical illustration the Courts Judges the courts are closed against an application to review it & Judges and Jurors are sworn to decide in its favor But reasoning on this subject is superfluous, when our social compact in express terms declares not only that the laws of the U S. its Constitution and treaties made under it shall are paramount to the laws and Constitutions of the States, but that no federative government could maintain its national

character with such a provision. If Carolina considers the are the Supreme law of the Land—and for greater caution adds “that the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby any thing in the laws of Constitution and or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. But without this provision the and it may be asserted without fear of refutation that no federative government could exist without a similar provision. look for a moment to the consequence If Carolina considers the Revenue laws unconstitutional, and has a right to prevent their execution in the port of Charleston, ~~how can they be collected any where. the objection they argue there now, would then be a palpably consti would be clearly a constitutional one~~ In that case there would be a clear constitutional objection to their collection in every other port—& no revenue could be collected any where, for all imposts must be equal. it is no answer to repeat that a unconstitutional law is no law, so long as the question of its legality is to be decided by the ~~party interested—and~~ State itself, For every law operating injuriously upon the any local interest will be perhaps thought, and certainly represented as unconstitutional and as has been shown there is no appeal [The Excise law in Pensa. The Embargo in the Eastern States. The War. the Land tax carriage tax in Virga would have been so many signals *[for a]* dissolution of our Government and [. . .] The War into which we were forced to support the dignity of the nation and the rights of our citizens might have ended in defeat & disgrace instead of victory & honor, if any ~~one of the~~ those States who thought it improperly declared had ~~thought~~ imagined they possessed the power of ~~declaring it unconstitutional~~ annulling the act ~~that d~~ by which it was declared and denying supplies for its prosecution. Hard as some of these measures bore on ~~parts~~ several members of the Union none of them supposed they possessed that remedy. The honor of inventing this theory was reserved for ~~Statesmen of the present Day and will it is hoped find none hereafter to support it~~ the Statesmen of Carolina and its citizens have most unfortunately attempted to reduce it to practice.]

If this Doctrine had been established at an earlier day, the Union would have been dissolved in its very infancy. The Excise law ~~would~~ in Penna the Embargo & non intercourse in the Eastern States. The carriage tax in Virginia were all Deemed unconstitutional and were more unequal in their operation than any of the laws now complained of but fortunately none of those States discovered that they had the ~~right now remedy~~ right now claimed by Carolina ~~or we should have had in each of these cases, so many successful attempts to counteract important measures of the Government~~

The war also into which we were forced to supp[. . .] of the nation and the rights of our Citizens migh have ended [. . .] and disgrace instead of victory and honor if the states who supposed it ~~improperly Declared~~ a ruinous measure had supposed they possessed the right of nullifying the act by which it was declared and denying supplies for its prosecution.

Hardly and unequally as these measures bore upon several members of the Union, ~~none of them thought~~ to the Legislatures of none Did this efficient and peaceable remedy as it is called suggest itself. The Discovery of this important feature in our constitution was reserved to the present day. To the Statesmen of So C. belongs the honor. Upon the ~~cizens~~ citizens of that State will unfortunately fall the evils of reducing it to practice

If the Doctrine of a State veto upon the Laws of the Union carries with it internal evidence of its ~~absurdity being the impracticable imagination of absurdity in~~ impracticable absurdity the history of our constitutional history will give also afford a abundant proof that it would have been repudiated with Scorn and Contempt had it been proposed to form a feature in our Government.

In our Colonial State, altho ~~connected~~ dependent on ~~the same~~ for another power, we very early considered ourselves as connected by common interest with each other—leagues were formed for Common Defence—and before the Declaration of independence we were known in our aggregate character as the United Colonies of America. That decisive and important step was taken jointly; we Declared ourselves a nation by a joint not by several acts, and when the terms of our confederation were reduced to form it was in that of a Solemn league of Several States ~~forming one nation~~ by which they agreed that they would collectively form one nation for the purposes of all foreign, and some domestic of some domestic concerns, & all foreign relations ~~one Nation—and by that~~ The Instrument ~~contains~~ forming that union is found an article which evinces; a strong desire even under that imperfect association to prevent the interference of one state to the prejudice of the interests of the whole by the 13th article it is Declared declares that “Every state shall abide by the determinations of Congress on all questions which by that Confederation should be submitted to them.” Under the Confederation then no State could legally ~~Declare~~ annul a decision of the Congress or refuse to submit to its execution but no ~~sanction was given for~~ provision was made to enforce ~~their~~ these decisions—they made requisitions but they were not complied with the government could not operate on individuals they had no judiciary, no means of collecting revenue; ~~these and other~~ But the defects of the ~~Constitutio~~ Confederation need not be Detailed: under its operation we ~~were~~ could scarcely be called a Nation. we had neither ~~union nor~~ prosperity at home nor consideration abroad ~~and~~. A state of things that could not endure ~~it was put~~ and our present happy Constitution was formed—formed in vain if this fatal doctrine prevails. It was formed ~~among other great~~ for important objects; ~~for the greatest~~ they are announced in the preamble in the name and by the authority of the People of the U S. ~~who~~ whose delegates made and whose conventions approved it—and. The most important among these objects that which is ~~fir~~ placed first in rank; on which all the others rest, is “To form a more perfect Union.” Now is it possible that ~~if the even if it had not contained~~

even if there were no express provision ~~had the express provision of~~ giving supremacy to the Constitution and laws of the U S. over those of the States? is it possible? can it be conceived? that ~~the intent of an instrument made to for the purpose forming a more perfect union than that of the Confederation, could be so framed or construed as constructed by the most eminent Statesmen of assembled wisdom of our Country as to make that substitute for it that confederation a form of Government dependent for its existence on the local interest the pass party spirit, of a State or of a prevalent faction in a State—every man of plain unsophisticated understanding who hears the question is capable of answering it in a way that will give such an answer will preserve the Union. Metaphysical subtlety, and can form in pursuit of an impracticable theory, alone can frame~~ could alone have devised one that ~~would de~~ is calculated to Destroy it

I consider then the ~~Assumed~~ power to annul a law of the U S. assumed by one State ~~of the~~ incompatible with the existence of the Union ~~utterly~~ contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorised by its Spirit, ~~and~~ inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was framed

[After this view of the general question ~~of a States ri~~ of the right which a State has to nullify a law of Congress we must examine the particular application of the principle which the Convention have made in their Ordinance]

After this general view of the leading principle, we must examine the particular application of it which is made in the Ordinance.

The preamble rests its justification on ~~the~~ these grounds. It assumes as a fact that the obnoxious laws although they purport to be laws for raising revenue ~~are~~ were in reality intended for the protection of Manufactures which purpose ~~they~~ it asserts to be unconstitutional. That the operation of these laws is unequal. That the amount raised by them is greater than is required by the wants of Government and finally that the proceeds are to be applied to objects unauthorised by the Constitution These are the only causes alledged to justify an Open Opposition to the laws of the Country and a threat of seceding from the Union ~~if they are attempted to be enforced~~ any attempt should be made to enforce them. The first ~~depends~~ virtually acknowledges that the law in question was passed ~~for~~ under a power expressly given by the Constitution to lay and collect imposts, but its constitutionality is drawn in question from the motives of those who passed it. ~~now admitting that but~~ However apparent this purpose may be ~~apparent in this instance—how dangerous~~ in the present case, nothing can be more dangerous than to admit the position that an unconstitutional purpose entertained by the members who assent to a law Enacted under a Constitutional power—shall make that law void. For How is that purpose to be ascertained? who is to make the scrutiny? how often may bad purposes be falsely imputed—in how many cases ~~is it~~ are they concealed by false professions—in how many is no Declaration

of motive made? admit this Doctrine and you give to the States ~~the~~ an uncontrolled right to decide, and every law may be annulled under this pretext if therefore the absurd and dangerous doctrine should be admitted that a State may annul an unconstitutional laws or those Deemed or one that it Deems such ~~by a State shall be annulled~~—it will not apply to the present case.

The next objection is that the laws in question operate unequally. This objection may be made with truth, to every law that has been or can be passed. The wisdom of man never yet contrived a system of taxation that would operate with perfect Equality

[If the ~~alleged~~ unequal operation of a law is a proof of its being makes it unconstitutional, and all laws of that character may be abrogated in any State for that cause then indeed would the federal constitution be unworthy of the slightest Effort for its preservation—then indeed would the sages who presented it for the admiration of the World have offered ~~the~~ as the perpetual bond of our union and a model for fundamental Legislation most wretched and inefficient of all contrivances ever imagined by a Visionary Theorist instead of the solid work of Statesmen practical Statemen assembled for the purpose of securing by mutual sacrifices of local interests of State interests Pride and portions of State sovereignty the Dignity of the whole nation, its peace its industry & its Sacred Union

The two remaining objections to these laws are that the sums intended to be raised ~~is more~~ are greater than is required ~~by the~~ and that the proceeds will be unconstitutionally employed.

The Constitution has given expressly to Congress the right of raising revenue and of determining what sum is necessary to be raised. the states have no other Controul over the exercise of this than that which results from their right to change their Senators and representatives. Abuses of the discretionary powers given to Congress may undoubtedly take place, but the discretion must be lodged somewhere. Would it be safer in the hands of the conventions or Legislatures of the States? and ~~what~~ how long would our government exist ~~did~~ were it so placed. That the proceeds of the tax will be unconstitutionally applied, might be made an objection to the laws which so applied them after they were passed, but can scarcely be thought a valid one to the law for raising the revenue. These are the allegations contained in the Ordinance no man can examine them without astonishment at the ~~grave~~ strange and destructing conclusions which are drawn from ~~them~~ such principles]

If the unequal operation of a law makes it unconstitutional and if all laws of that description may be abrogated by any State for that cause, Then indeed is the federal constitution unworthy of the slightest effort for its preservation. We have hitherto relied on it as the perpetual bond of our union We have revered it as the work of the assembled wisdom of the Nation. we have trusted to it as to the sheet anchor of our Safety in the stormy times of conflict with a foreign or domestic foe. We have looked

to it with sacred awe as the palladium of our liberties—and with all the Solemnities of religion have pledged to each other our lives and fortunes here, and our hopes of happiness hereafter ~~to defend and~~ in its defence and support. Were ~~you~~ we mistaken my Countrymen in attaching this importance to the Constitution of our Country. was our devotion paid to the wretched inefficient clumsy contrivance which this new Doctrine would make it. Did we pledge our selves to the support of ~~this~~ an airy nothing, ~~this~~ a bubble that must be blown away by the first breath of disaffection. Was this self Destroying visionary theory the work of the profound Statesmen the exalted patriots ~~whose names~~ to whom the work of constitutional reform was entrusted. Did the name of Washington sanction ~~it~~ Did the States deliberately ratify ~~it~~ such an anomaly in the history of fundamental legislation: No! We were not mistaken! The letter of this great instrument is free from this radical fault. Its language directly contradicts the imputation. its spirit, ~~that is~~ its evident intent, contradicts it. No! we did not Err. Our Constitution ~~did~~ does not contain the absurdity of giving power to make laws and a another power to resist them. The sages whose memory will always be revered, have given us a ~~solid~~ practical and as they hoped a permanent constitutional compact. The Father of his country ~~when he signed it sanctioned it with his revered name did not little thought of that this last great the greatest act of his public life was would receive a construction so directly contrary to did not affix it to he did not affix his revered name to so palpable an absurdity. Nor did the States when they severally ratified ever do it under the impression that this Veto on the laws of the U S was reserved to them that they could exercise it by implication—search the debates in all their Conventions, examine the speeches of the most zealous opposers of federal authority—look at the amendments that were proposed—they are all silent. Not a syllable uttered not a vote given not a motion motion to correct the general the explicit supremacy given to the laws of the Union over those of the States or to show that implication, as is now contended, could defeat it. No! We have not Erred. The Constitution ~~shall still be is now &, shall be to our~~ is still the object of our reverence, the bond of our Union, our Defence in Danger ~~and~~—the source of our prosperity in peace. it shall Descend as we have received it, uncorrupted by sophistical construction to our posterity, and the sacrifices of local interests, of State prejudices, of personal animosities which were made to bring it into existence, will again be offered patriotically for its support~~

The two remaining objections made by the Ordinance to these laws are that the sums intended to be raised by them are greater than are required, and that the proceeds will be unconstitutionally employed.

The Constitution has given expressly to Congress the right of raising revenue and of determining the sum the public exigencies will require The States have no control over the exercise of this right—other than that which results from the power of changing the representatives who passed

them and thus procuring a repeal. Congress may undoubtedly abuse this discretionary power—but ~~so they may every other power—is it therefore to be transferred to the States~~ the same may be said of every other with which they are vested. Yet the Discretion must exist some where. The constitution has given it to the representatives of all the people checked by the representatives of the States and by the Executive power. The Carolina construction gives it to the Legislature or the Convention of a single State, where neither the people of the Different States, nor the States in their Separate Capacity nor the Chief Magistrate elected by the people have any representation. Which is the most discreet disposition of the Power? I do not ask you fellow Citizens which is the Constitutional disposition That is instrument speaks a language not to be misunderstood. But if you were assembled in general, which would you think the safest Depository of this discretionary power in the last resort would you add a clause giving it to the States or would you sanction the wise provisions already made by your constitution. if this should be the result of your deliberation when providing for the future are you? can you be? ready to risk all that we hold dear to establish for a temporary & a local purpose, that which you must acknowledge to be destructive and even absurd as a general provision. Carry out the consequences of this right vested in the Different States—and you must perceive that the crisis your conduct presents at this day would recur ~~without end~~ whenever any law of the U. S. displeased any of the States and that ~~the union would be dissolved &~~ we should soon cease to be a nation.

The Ordinance with the same knowledge of the future that characterises a former objection tells you That the proceeds of the tax will be unconstitutionally applied ~~is the next objection~~ This is liable to the ~~same~~ If this could be ascertained with certainty the objection would with more propriety be reserved for the law so applying the proceeds; but surely can not be urged against the law laying the Duty.

These are the allegations contained in the Ordinance. Examine them seriously my fellow citizens, judge for yourselves, I appeal to your to determine ~~what weight they ought to have as arguments~~ whether they are so clear so convincing as to leave no doubt of their correctness, and even if you should come to this conclusion how far they justify the reckless Destructive course which you are directed to pursue—review these objections and the conclusions drawn from them once more. What are they

Every law for raising revenue then according to the So. Ca. ordinance may be rightfully annulled, unless it be so framed as no law ever ~~can~~ will or ever can be framed. Congress have a right to pass laws for raising revenue, and the States have a right to oppose their Execution, two rights directly opposed to each other and yet is this absurdity supposed to be contained in an instrument ~~framed~~ Drawn by the most enlightened Statesmen and pure Patriots, an instrument framed for the express purpose of avoiding collisions between the States and the general government

by an assembly of the most enlightened Statesmen and purest patriots ever Embodied for a similar purpose.

In vain have these Sages declared that Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes duties ~~and~~ impost and excises. In vain have they ~~ordained that~~ provided that they shall have power to pass laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry those powers into execution and that those laws and that Constitution shall be the supreme law of the land and that the Judges in every state shall be bound thereby any thing in the Constitution or laws of ~~the~~ any State to the contrary notwithstanding." In vain have the People of the several States solemnly sanctioned these provisions, made them their paramount law individually sworn to observe them whenever they were called on to exercise any office. Vain provisions! inefficient restrictions! vile profanation of Oaths! miserable mockery of Legislation if a bare majority of the voters in any one State may on a real or supposed knowledge of the intent with which a law has been passed declare themselves free from its operation Say here it gives too little there too much, ~~here~~ it operates unequally, ~~there it~~ Here it suffers articles to be free which ought to be taxed, there it taxes those which ought to be free. In this case the proceeds ~~have been~~ are intended to be ~~laid out~~ applied to purposes which we do not approve In that, the amount raised is more than is wanted. ~~you are~~ Congress ~~it is true~~ are ~~the have~~ are ~~trusted~~ it is true are entrusted by the Constitution with the right of deciding these questions according to their sound discretion—~~on all these points~~. Congress is composed of the representatives of ~~all the people and~~ all the States, and of all the People of all the States. but we, part of the people of one State, to whom the Constitution has given no power on the subject, from whom it has expressly taken it away, we who have solemnly agreed that this Constitution shall be our Law, we most of whom, ~~who~~ have sworn to support it, we now abrogate this law, and swear and force others to swear that it shall not be obeyed. And we do this not because Congress have no right to pass such laws; that we can not alledge; but because they have passed them with improper views. They are unconstitutional from the motives of those who passed them which we can never with certainty know ~~and~~ from their unequal operation ~~and~~ tho' it is impossible in the nature of things that they should be equal, and from the disposition which we presume may be made of their proceeds altho that disposition has not been declared

This is the plain ~~language~~ meaning of the Ordinance in relation to laws which they abrogate for alledged unconstitutionality. but it does not stop there. it repeals in express terms an important part of the constitution itself and of a laws passed to give it effect which they have never even ~~suspected~~ alledged to be unconstitutional. The ~~Ordinance~~ Constitution declares that the judicial powers of the U S shall extend to cases arising under the laws of the U. S. and that ~~they~~ such laws, the Constitution & treaties shall be paramount to the State Constitutions & laws. The judiciary act prescribes

the mode by which the case may be brought before a court of the U S. by appeal when a State tribunal shall decide against ~~a law of the U S.~~ this provision of the Constitution.¹ The Ordinance Declares there shall be no appeal, makes the State law paramount to the Constitution & laws of the U S., forces ~~Courts~~ Judges & Jurors to swear that they will disregard their provisions and even makes it penal in a suitor to attempt relief by appeal.

Here is a law of the United States not even pretended to be unconstitutional, repealed by the authority of a small majority of the voters of a single State Here is a provision of the Constitution which is solemnly abrogated by the same authority

~~On this exposition of~~ On such expositions and reasonings the Ordinance grounds not only an assertion of the right to annul the laws of which it complains, but to enforce ~~them~~ it by a threat of seceding from the Union if ~~they ever shall be~~ any attempt is made to execute them.

This right to secede is deduced from a nature of the Constitution which they say is a Compact between Sovereign States, who have preserved their whole sovereignty and therefore are subject to no ~~law but their own will~~ superior, that because they made the Compact they can break it when in their opinion it has been departed from by the Other States. Fallacious as this ~~asser~~ course of reasoning is it enlists State pride, and finds advocates ~~among~~ in the honest prejudices of those who have not studied the nature of our Government sufficiently to see the ~~fundamental~~ radical error on which it rests.

The Government of the United States is one founded partly on compact between the States ~~in their Sovereign Capacity~~ partly by the assent of the people ~~in their indivi~~ collective [it was ratified by the States but ~~in a form that showed~~ its very form shewed it to be a government in which the people collectively were represented—entirely in the executive branch, partially in one house of the Legislature.

The States Did not retain their whole sovereignty; that part of it which appertained to the functions of the General government were surrendered to it. we remained as were under the Confederation One Nation consisting of several States. The General Government with defined specifically granted powers, the States severally retaining those which were not granted.

The surrender of powers thus ~~gr~~ made by the States can not be resumed without the assent of those for whose benefit they were made. And it is a fatal Error to believe that because the Union is the Effect of a compact even supposing it to have that unmixed character ~~unmixed~~, therefore ~~the~~ any one of the parties may exonerate itself from the obligation. The very nature of a compact forbids it. ~~Stat~~ Independent and unconnected States may break a treaty or compact with impunity if they have the physical power to do so but even they incur a moral guilt. States who have ~~formed~~ a not only formed a compact but ceded part their sovereignty to be held in trust for their common benefit with ~~co-States~~ other States, who have

agreed to be bound by their joint laws, who in short have become one nation with them, have no such right ~~They can not~~ No single State can at will Dissolve a union thus solemnly made. ~~The union~~ It was made for the benefit of all, and ~~provision has been made~~ care has been taken to provide by its Constitution for such changes as the interest of its members may require. No attempt had ever been made by the State which holds out these threats of disunion, the worst of all Evils; for there is none that it will not bring in its train. No alternative is offered by the Ordinance but a consent that no revenue shall be Raised in South Carolina—or a secession from union—to neither of these is the power of congress competent if a congress could be found capable of submitting to Either. To neither of these can the Executive power submit consistent with the sacred Duty imposed upon it by the constitution and the Laws. And it is the intent of this instrument to proclaim that those laws shall be executed and that Constitution preserved—if by the blessing of god, my efforts for these holy purposes can be made effectual. ~~A preparatory Effort for this purpose must be made by a paternal appeal to the patriotism and Enlightened understanding of the People immediately concerned.~~

The constitution and laws have placed in the hands of the Executive powers ~~to preserve the~~ to be exercised on proper occasions for preserving the peace and executing the laws of the Union. While it is announced that those powers will be firmly executed it is a Duty to warn ~~those~~ all who may have been deluded into an opposition to ~~the laws of the country~~ them that their position is one of peril to themselves and that the course they are urged to pursue leads to the disgrace and ruin of the Country whose rights they affect to support. ~~One observation can not but strike you my Countrymen~~ Fellow Citizens! I address you by that name in Double quality of American and native of So. Ca. Let me reason with you as a father would with his children whom he saw rushing to certain ruin and involving in it that of their devout friends.] it was ratified by the States, but its construction shows ~~that~~ it to be a government in which the People of all the States collectively are represented.

They chuse the President and Vice President. in this the States have no other agency than to direct the mode in which the votes shall be given—the candidates having the ~~highest number of~~ a majority of all the votes are chosen. The Electors of a majority of States may have given their votes for one candidate, and yet another may be chosen. the People then not the States are represented ~~by~~ in the Executive branch. for this purpose we are *one people*.

In the house of representatives there is this difference that the people of one State do not as in the case of the other Election, all vote for the same officers. The people of ~~one State~~ all the States Do not vote for all the members, each state designates its own representatives—but this creates no material distinction. When chosen they are all representatives of the United States, not representatives of ~~any~~ the particular State from which

they come. ~~The Congress is the Legislative body for the Uni~~ They are paid by the United States not by the State nor are they accountable to it ~~otherwise than by~~ for any conduct they may have pursued ~~act done or speech made~~ done or said in the performance of their Legislative duty functions. it is true that they and however they may in practice and as it is their duty to Do, consult & prefer the interest of their particular constituents, when they come in conflict with any other partial or local interest, yet as representatives of the United States ~~the interests~~ to promote the general good is their first Duty. The constitution of the United States then forms a government not a league and whether according to it be formed by compact between the states or in any other manner its character is the same. it is a government: in which all the people are represented, which operates directly upon the people individually, not upon the States. ~~and altho the~~ they States retained all the powers they did not grant, but each State having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute jointly with the other states a single nation—they can not from that period possess any power to secede because such secession ~~break~~ does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a Nation, and ~~the destruction of~~ any injury to that unity is not only a breach of faith which would result from the contravention of a compact but it is an offence against the whole Nation. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the union is to say that the United States are not a Nation, because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offence. ~~The act of~~ secession like any other revolutionary act may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression—but to call it a constitutional right is confounding the meaning terms, and can only be said done to deceive those who ~~would~~ are willing to assert a right but would pause before they made a revolution or incur the penalties consequent on a failure

Because the union was formed by a compact it is said the parties to that contract may when they feel themselves agreed Depart from it—but it is precisely because it is a compact that they cannot A compact is an agreement or binding obligation it may by its terms have a sanction, or penalty for its breach or it may not. if it contain no sanction it may be broken with no other consequence than moral guilt. if it have a sanction then the breach incurs ~~a pen~~ the designated or implied penalty. A League between independent Nations generally has no other than a moral sanction, and if it ~~have~~ should contain a penalty as there is no common superior in can not be enforced. A government, on the contrary allways has a sanction express or implied—in our case it is ~~both~~ is both necessarily implied & expressly given. ~~the destrue~~ an attempt by force of arms to destroy a government is ~~treason~~ an offence against ~~that Government~~ ~~however formed~~ it by whatever means the constitutional compact may have been formed, and ~~the~~ such government has a right by the law of self Defence to pass acts for ~~its punishment~~ punishing the offender unless

that right is modified restrained, or refused by the constitutional act. In our case it altho it is modified ~~and restrained~~, treason is ~~Defined by the Constitution but other~~ in the case of treason yet powers are expressly given to pass all laws necessary to carry its powers into Effect and under this grant they have passed laws provision has been made for punishing ~~the offences which~~ acts which obstruct the due administration of Justice

it would seem superfluous to add any thing to show that ~~the Union of~~ Nature of the union which connects us, but as erroneous opinions on this subject ~~be at the root of~~ are the foundation of doctrines the most destructive to our peace, I must give some further development to my views on this subject. No one fellow citizens has a higher reverence for the reserved rights of the ~~different~~ States than the Magistrate who now addresses you. No one would make greater personal sacrifices, or official exertions, to Defend them ~~but~~ from violation, but equal care must taken to prevent on their part an improper interference with or ~~usurpation~~ resumption of the rights they have vested in the Nation. the line has not been ~~accurately marked~~ so distinctly drawn as to avoid Doubts in some cases of the exercise of power ~~but~~ men of the best intentions and soundest views may differ in their construction of some parts of the constitution. but there are others on which dispassionate reflection can leave no doubt. of this nature appears to be the assumed right of secession. It rests as we have seen on the alledged undivided sovereignty of the States, ~~from which is deduc~~ and ~~that in their sovereign capacity they~~ on their having formed in this sovereign capacity a Compact which is called the Constitution from which because they made it they have the right to secede ~~both of these~~ both of these positions are erroneous, and some of the argument to prove them so have been anticipated.

The States severally have not retained, their Entire sovereignty It has been shown that ~~when they consented to become~~ in becoming parts of a nation, not members of a league, they surrendered many of the essential parts of Sovereignty. The right to make treaties—Declare war levy taxes—exercise executive judicial & legislative powers are all of them functions of Sovereign power. the States then for all these important purposes were no longer sovereign. the allegiance of their citizens was ~~so far as related to the legis~~ transferred in the first instance to the Government of the United States. They ~~were~~ became american Citizens, and ~~as far as the ob~~ owed obedience to the laws Constitution of the United States ~~made~~ and to laws ~~constitutionally made under~~ constitutionally made in conformity with the powers it vested in Congress. This last position has not, can not be denied. how then can that State be said to be sovereign and independent whose citizens ~~acknowl~~ owe a obedience to laws not made by it, and whose magistrates are sworn to Disregard those laws, when they come in conflict with those passed by another. What shows conclusively that the states can not be said to have reserved an ~~independent~~ undivided sovereignty, is that they have expressly ceded the right to punish treason, not treason against

their separate power but treason against the U S. treason is an offence against Sovereignty, and sovereignty must reside with the power to punish it. But The rig reserved rights of the States are not the less sacred because they have for their common interest made ~~their~~ the general government the Depository of these powers. The unity of our political character (as has been shown for another purpose) commenced with its very existence. Under the Royal Government we had no separate character our opposition to its oppressions began as *united colonies* We were the *United States* under the Confederation, and the name was perpetuated & the Union rendered more perfect by the federal constitution—in none of these stages Did we consider ourselves in other light than as forming one Nation—treaties and alliances were made in the name of all. Troops were raised for the joint Defence—how then with all these proofs ~~of a change our being united~~ that under all changes of our positions ~~considered considered ourselves as having~~ we had for designated purposes, and with defined powers, created a common national governments how is it that the most perfect of these several modes of union, should now be considered as a mere league that may be Dissolved at pleasure? It is from an abuse of terms—Compact is used as synonymous with League although the true term is not employed ~~as~~ because it would at once show the fallacy of the reasoning. It would not do to say that our constitution was only a league but it is labored to prove it a compact (which in one sense it is) and then to ~~show that as as if~~ argue that as a league is a compact, every compact must of course be a League, & that from such an Engagement every sovereign power has a right to recede. but it has been shown that in this sense the States are not Sovereign, and that even if they were & the national constitution had been formed by compact there would be no right in any one State to ~~Secede~~ exonerate itself from the its obligation

So obvious are the reasons which forbid this secession that it is necessary only to allude to them. the Union was formed for the benefit of all. it was produced by mutual sacrifices of interests & prejudices, can those sacrifices be recalled. can the States who magnanimously ~~gr~~ Surrendered their title to the territories of the West recal the grant, will the inhabitants of the ~~Western~~ Inland States agree to pay the Duties that may be imposed without their assent by those on the Atlantic or the Gulph for their own benefit. Shall there be a free port in one State and onerous duties in another No one believes that any right exists in a single State to involve all the others in these and countless other evils, contrary to its ~~plighted faith~~ engagements solemnly made. ~~No one can believe that the other States can~~ Every one must see that the other States in self Defence must oppose it all hazards

These are the alternatives that are presented by the Convention a repeal of all the Acts for Raising revenue—leaving the government without the means of support, or a ~~submission to the~~ an acquiescence in the dissolution of our Government by the secession of one of its members.

~~The first~~ It was known ~~when it~~ The first was proposed ~~to~~ that it could not be listened to for a moment. It was known ~~that~~ if force was applied to ~~resist~~ oppose the execution of the laws, that it must be repelled by force, that congress would not without involving itself in disgrace & the country in ruin accede to the first proposition, and ~~their neglect to do so~~ yet if this is not done by a given day, ~~on the equally impracticable or and or their failing to do~~ or if any attempt ~~to~~ is made execute the laws, ~~is by~~ The state is by the ordinance declared to be out of the Union. ~~This is the course to which a m a few the influence of a few.~~ The majority of ~~that~~ a convention assembled for the purpose ~~of~~ have Dictated these terms or rather this rejection of all terms in the name of the People of South Carolina ~~and its Governor has called on the Legislature to raise an Army for the purpose of supporting its independent Sovereignty~~ It is true that ~~officer hints at~~ the Governor of the State speaks of the submission of their ~~claims~~ grievances to a convention of all the States ~~for~~ which he says they “sincerely and anxiously seek and Desire.” yet this obvious and constitutional mode of obtaining the sense of the other States on the construction of the federal compact and amending it if necessary, has never been attempted by ~~So. Ca.~~ before those who have urged the State on to this destructive measure. The State might have proposed the call of ~~the~~ a General Convention to the other States and Congress if a sufficient number of them concurred, ~~would~~ must have called it. But the first Magistrate of So. Ca. when he expressed a hope that “on a review by Congress and the functionaries of the General Government of the merits of the controversy” such a Convention will be accorded to them” must have known that neither Congress nor any functionary of the General Government ~~had any~~ has authority to call such a convention unless it is demanded by two thirds of the States. The suggestion then is another evidence of the reckless inattention to the provisions of the Constitution with which this crisis has been madly hurried on, or what is worse of ~~the~~ an attempt to persuade the people that a constitutional remedy had been sought and refused. if the Legislature of So Ca “*anxiously desire*” a general convention to consider their complaints why have they not made application for it in the way the Constitution points out. The assertion that they ~~have~~ “earnestly ~~sought~~ seek” it is ~~falsified~~ completely negatived by the omission. ~~It is given to omniscience alone to read in the hearts of men the lurking motive of their conduct. Mortals can only judge of them by the evidence²~~

~~This my fellow citizens of the U S~~ then is the position in which we stand. ~~one of th~~ a small majority of the Citizens of one State in the Union have elected Delegates to a State convention, that convention has ordained that all the revenue laws of the United States must be repealed or that they are no longer a member of the Union. The Governor of that State has ~~demande~~ an Army ~~from~~ recommended to the Legislature the raising an Army to carry this secession in to Effect, and that he may be empowered to give clearances to Vessels in the name of the State. No act

of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed but such a state of things is hourly apprehended and it is the intent of this instrument to proclaim ~~While it~~ not only to announce that the Duty imposed on me by the Constitution “to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,” shall be performed to the extent of the powers already vested in me by law or of such others as the wisdom of Congress shall devise and entrust to me for that purpose—~~at the same time~~ but to warn the citizens of South Carolina who have been deluded into an opposition to the law of the ~~Danger Peril~~ danger they will incur by obedience to the illegal and disorganizing ordinance of the Convention, & to exhort ~~those who have not given their assent to the course it proscribes all others~~ those who have refused to support it to persevere in their ~~op refusal to support it and~~ in their determination to ~~preserve~~ uphold the constitution and laws of their Country—and to adjure all as they love the peace, the honor and the very existence of their country the welfare of the State itself for whose rights they contend—their own honor and to point out—to all the perilous situation into which the good people of that State have been led, and that the course they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very State whose rights ~~they they are told to support~~ they affect to support

Fellow Citizens! of my native State, Let me ~~reason with you as~~ not only ~~warn~~ admonish you as the first Magistrate of our common country not to incur the penalty of its laws but use the influence that a father would ~~with~~ over his children whom he saw rushing to certain ruin. In that paternal language with that paternal feeling let me tell you ~~Fellow~~ ~~cit~~ My Countrymen that you are deluded by men who are either deceived themselves or wish to deceive you Mark under what pretences you have been led on to the brink of insurrection and treason on which you stand. First ~~all the evils that were produced a fall in the price a diminution of the value of your staple commodity caused by over production in other quarters and the consequent depreciation in the value of your Lands were the sole effect of the tariff laws. The Effect of those laws were confessedly injurious, but the injury evil was greatly exaggerated by an unintelligible Doctrine that the unfounded theory you were taught to believe that its burthens were in proportion to your export, not to your consumption of imported articles. your pride was roused by the lament assertion that a submission to those laws were termed a state of Vassallage and (by a kind of political sacrilege) the principle of resistance to them was inculcated placed raised and that resistance to them laws made by the representatives of the People would raise those who opposed it to on a level with the heroic resis opposition of our fathers to the oppressive laws of G B. and and that resistance to them was equal in patriotic merit to the opposion our fathers offered to the oppressive laws of G B.~~

you were told that this opposition might be peaceably might be constitutionally made—that you might enjoy all the advantages of the Union and bear none of its burthens. ~~you believed their you advanced to the~~

point at which it was necessary to conduct you before the mask which concealed the hideous features of Disunion was taken off, every measure which Eloquent appeals to your passions to State pride to the love of freedom to your native courage, to your sense of injury Every measure Eloquent appeals to your passions, to your State pride, to your native Courage to your sense of real injury were used to prepare you for the Period when the mask which concealed the hideous features of Disunion should be taken off. it fell and you ~~can now~~ were made to look with complacency on objects which not long since you would have regared with horror look back to the arts which have brought you to this state look forward to the consequences to which it must inevitably lead! look back to what was first told to you as an inducement to enter into this dangerous carreer. The great political truth was repeated to you that you had a right ~~to~~ the revolutionary right of resisting all laws that were palpably unconstitutional and intolerably oppressive. ~~They~~ it was added that the right to nullify a law rested on the same principle but that it was a peaceable remedy. This character which was given to it made you receive with too much confidence, the assertions that were made of the ~~character~~ unconstitutionality of the law and its oppressive effects

Mark my fellow citizens that by the admission of your leaders the unconstitutionality must be *palpable* ~~to~~ or it will not justify either resistance or nullification. What is the meaning of the word *palpable* in thise sense in which it is here used? That which is apparent to Every one, that which no man of ordinary intellect will fail to perceive—is the unconstitutionality of these laws of that description? Let those who once approved & advocated the principle of ~~which they~~ protective duties, answer the question and let them choose whether they will be considered as incapable then, of perceiving that which must have been apparent every man of ~~plain sense could perceive~~ common understanding, or as imposing upon your ~~understanding now~~ confidence and endeavouring to mislead you now—in either case they are unsafe Guides in the ~~dangerous~~ perilous path ~~in which they are leading you~~ they urge you to tread. Ponder well on this circumstance and you will know how to appreciate the mock heroic language they address to you. They are not champions of Liberty emulating the fame of our ~~fathers of~~ revolutionary Fathers nor are you an oppressed people contending ~~agains~~ as they repeat to you against worse than colonial Vassalage—you are free ~~and happy~~ members of the of ~~the most~~ a flourishing and happy nation there is no Settled design to oppress you you ~~feel an~~ have ~~felt the~~ indeed felt the unequal operation of laws which may have been unwisely, ~~but not illegal~~ unconstitutionally passed—but that inequality must necessarily be removed. at the very moment when you were madly urged on to the ~~parricidal~~ unfortunate course you have begun—a change in public opinion had commenced, the ~~near approach~~ of the nearly approaching payment of the public Debt and the consequent necessity of a ~~reduction~~ diminution of Duties, had already produced

~~material~~ a considerable reductions ~~on the Duties of on the articles chiefly~~ used in your State and that too on some articles of general consumption in your State and, in few years a wise and just system of revenue adequate to our wants and equally imposed would have will undoubtedly be adopted by the representatives of the Nation. the importance of this change was underrated and you were authoritatively told that no farther alleviation of your burthens was to be expected at the very time when the conditions of the country imperiously Demanded such a modification of the Duties as should reduce them to a just and equitable Scale. But as if fearful of the Effect of this change in allaying your Discontents, you were precipitated into the fearful state in which you now find yourselves.

I have urged you to ~~take a retrospect of~~ look back the means that were used to ~~urge~~ bring you on, to the position you have now assumed and forward to the consequences it will produce. something more is necessary. Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part—and consider its Government—the model uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many Different States, giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of American Citizens protecting their commerce, securing their literature and their arts facilitating their intercommunications for convenience & commerce, Defending their Frontiers, and making their name respected in the remotest parts of the Earth. Consider the Extent of its territory its increasing and happy population, its advance in science and the arts in religion in general education and in all the improvements arts which render life agreeable and the sciences which elevate the mind. See Education spreading the lights of religion morality and general information in every Village and into every cottage in this extend wide extent of far territories & States. behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge, and support. Contemplate the unrestrained and View the continued & rapid intercourse between the inhabitants of twenty four of our different States unobstructed by the necessity for passports or the scrutiny of revenue officers and see its glorious flag waving over a proud navy—and cargoes the productions of its Look on this picture & of happiness and honor, and then say we too are citizens of America! Carolina is one of these proud States, her arms have Defended, her best blood has cemented this happy union—and then add with if you can without horror & remorse, this proud nation we will no longer have this happy union we will Dissolve, this source picture of peace and prosperity we will deface this intercourse we will interrupt this these smiling fields this this free intercourse we will interrupt, these fertile fields we will deluge with blood the protection of that glorious flag we renounce, the very name of Americans we will no longer bear Discard! And for what mistaken men for what Do you throw away these inestimable blessings for what will would you exchange your share in the advantages and honor of the Union? for the Dream of a separate independence, a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your

neighbours, ~~for can you~~ and a vile Dependence upon a foreign power. if ~~you could~~ your leaders could succeed in Establishing a separation, what would be your situation are you united at home? are you free from the apprehensions of civil discord or from a more fearful consequence which it is unnecessary to name. Do ~~your Southern neighbours with continued contests for po~~ our neighbouring republics every Day suffering some new revolution or contending with some new insurrection—do they excite your envy? their fate would inevitably be yours could you succeed. But the Dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to ~~assure you~~ announce that you can not succeed. The Laws of the United shall be executed, peaceably if they are not violently opposed, with an adequate force if they are. I have no discretionary power on the subject my Duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you, they could not have been deceived themselves. They knew that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the Execution of the law and they knew that such opposition must be opposed by force. Their object is ~~now apparent an alternative which it is known can not~~ is disunion. but be not deceived by names disunion by armed force is *treason* are you ready to incur its guilt. if you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act, be the dreadful consequences, on their heads be the dishonor, but on yours may fall the punishment on your unhappy country State will inevitably fall all the evils of the ~~approaching conf~~ conflict you force ~~on~~ upon the government of your Country. It can not accede to the mad project of Disunion of which you would be the first victims. its first Magistrate can not if he would avoid the performance of his Duty. the consequence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow Citizens, here; and to the friends of good government throughout the World. its enemies have beheld our prosperity with a vexation they could not conceal it was a standing refutation of those of their slavish doctrines & they will point to our Discord with the triumph of malignant joy. ~~will you give them this triumph? it is yet time to disappoint them in the moment of fancied exultation—restore tranquillity to the will you disappoint the hopes of those who trusted~~ It is yet in your power to disappoint them! it yet time to show that the Descendants of the Pinkneys the Sumpters the Rudledges and of the thousand ~~other names of the Revo dear to high~~ other names which adorn ~~your re~~ the pages of our Revolutionary history will not abandon that Union to support which, so many of them fought & bled and died. I adjure you as you honor their memory—as you love the cause of freedom ~~which they~~ to which they Dedicated their lives, as you prize the peace of your country and the laws of its best Citizens, and your own fair fame, to retrace your steps. ~~blot from your arch~~ Snatch from the archives of your State, the Disorganizing Edict of its Convention. Bid its members ~~to~~ reassemble and to receive and promulgate the decided expression of your will to remain in the path which alone can conduct you to safety prosperity & honor. tell them that compared to Disunion

all other evils are light because that will bring with it an accumulation of all, and that there is no Evil of which you complain that may not speedily be removed.

~~Do thus and rely with confidence o~~ Declare that you will enter into no field ~~not enter into~~ never take the field unless the star spangled banner of your Country shall float over you, that you will not be stigmatized when dead and dishonored and scorned ~~when li~~ while you live as the authors of the first attack ~~on the peace~~ and Constitution of your Country. its Destroyers you can not be. you may Disturb its peace, you may interrupt the course of its prosperity, you may cloud its reputation for stability—but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return ~~and the spot on its fame will remain~~ and the stain upon ~~our~~ its national character will be transferred and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who ~~Disturbed its peace~~ caused the Disorder

Fellow Citizens of the United States! The ~~alarming~~ threat of unhallowed Disunion, the names once respected of those by whom it is uttered the array of military force to support it ~~are all~~ denote the approach of a ~~period in our history~~ a crisis in our affairs which ~~our existence as a nation~~ the continuance of our unexampled prosperity, our political existence and perhaps that all free governments may Depend. The conjuncture demanded a free, a full and explicit enunciation ~~of my~~ not only of my intentions but of ~~my reasons~~ principles of action ~~and of the frank exposition of my~~ and as the claim ~~put forth~~ asserted by a State of a right to annul the laws of the Union and even to secede from it at pleasure, a frank exposition of ~~the views~~ my opinions in relation to the origin & form of our Government, and the construction I give to the instrument by which it was created, seemed to be proper, and even necessary. relying upon your support I can only expect to obtain it ~~by having~~ if I have entertained a legal and constitutional opinion of my Duties. ~~I therefore promulgate publish them to you generally as well as to your representatives.~~

Whatever errors ~~there may be~~ you may find in the reasoning by which I have ~~drawn the~~ arrived at the conclusions to which I have come, I think I can rely with confidence that I shall receive your undivided support in my Determination to execute the laws ~~of the Union~~ and all such measures as the wisdom of Congress shall devise for their support—to preserve the Union by all constitutional means, to avert if possible by moderate but firm measures ~~all recurrence~~ the necessity of a recurrence to force, and if be the will of heaven that the ~~occasion~~ recurrence of its first primeevil curse on man for the shedding of a brothers blood should ~~fall primeevil~~ fall upon our Land, that, it be not called Down by any offensive act on the part of the United States.

My Countryment, the whole of this momentous case is before you. On your concord, on your undivided support to your government Depends ~~whether will permit the fair fabrick of our liberties is to be Destroyed is to~~

~~sink in ruin before~~ a the decision of the great question it involves—public opinion every where is powerful here it is omnipotent—if you should decide, fatally in my opinion decide that a State may annul an act of Congress ~~and~~ or recede from the Union, if ~~any~~ even any important part of the Nation should concur in the Carolina Doctrines on this subject It can not change my conviction of Duty or prevent my attempt to execute it—but it ~~will~~ may render those attempts ~~useless~~ inefficient. But if as I trust ~~but~~ only one spirit will pervade the Nation and that spirit should inspire a cry from Maine to Louisiana that the union must be preserved, the vow will be obeyed the union *will* be presrvd we shall still be a nation, respected the more for the decision we shall have shown in a time of no common Danger ~~and we may~~. New confidence will be inspired in republican institutions, and we may ~~still~~ yet hope to hand them down to our children unimpaired ~~by our~~ preserved, invigorated, by our prudence our wisdom & courage in their Defence. unanimity and a strong unequivocal expression of it may avert the Evil that threatens us. Madness itself could inspire our brethren to persevere in ~~a contest which~~ for principles which a universal reprobation of their course should condemn as unsound nor ~~persever~~ in a contest for their support ~~of them which~~ which they must perceive to be utterly hopeless.

~~May he who directs the destinies of nations grant~~ the great ruler of nations grant that the signal blessings with which he has favored ours may not by ~~our folly and~~ ~~ma~~ the madness of party or personal ambition be disregarded & lost, and may ~~by he~~ by his wise providence ~~bring all the members with the~~ bring those who ~~pr made~~ have produced this crisis to see the folly before they feel the misery of civil strife, and inspire ~~a respect to the~~ a returning veneration for that Union which if we may Dare to penetrate his Designs he has chosen as the only means of attaining the high Destinies to which we may reasonably aspire

[*Endorsed by Livingston:*] Drft of the Proclamation on the proceedings in S. Carolina

AD, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJJs).

1. Article 3, Section 2 of the constitution gives federal courts jurisdiction in “all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made . . . under their Authority.” Article 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 provided that any decision by the highest court of a state against the validity of a federal law, or upholding the validity of a state law against the federal constitution, laws, or treaties, “may be re-examined and reversed or affirmed in the Supreme Court of the United States upon a writ of error” (*Statutes*, 1:85–86).

2. In his November 27 message to the South Carolina legislature, James Hamilton Jr. predicted that “on a calm and dispassionate review by Congress, and the functionaries of the General Government, of the true merits of this controversy, the arbitration, by a call of a Convention of all the States, which we sincerely and anxiously seek and desire, will be accorded to us” (*SDoc* 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 66, Serial 230).

To John Pemberton

Private

Decbr. 10th. 1832—

The President with his respects to Mr Pemberton informs him that his cook has left him without any notice notwithstanding he had a written contract & paid him \$35 pr month during the summer when he had nothing to do, & forty or forty five dollars during the sitting of congress—Millions for defence not one cent by compulsion.¹ ?Can a good cook be got in Philadelphia if so engage him thro a friend for me, I want a man to live in the house, & all his time at his business. Until I get one I will have to get my dinners from a confectioners. I am informed my cook has opened a boarding house in this city, and has taken members of congress to board, and never did I hear or know that he was not attending to his business untill we had like to have went without our dinner to day when I was informed that he had in the habit for some time of not being in the kitchen until 2 oclock & all the business was done by his assistant, a black cook, hired by me and to day he not attend at all.

AN, PHi (21-0981). Pemberton replied on December 14 (below).

1. South Carolina congressman Robert Goodloe Harper had coined the phrase “Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute” during the XYZ controversy with France in 1798 (*Philadelphia Gazette*, June 25, 1798).

To Martin Van Buren

Decbr 10th. 1832

My Dr. Sir,

I have only time to say to you, I have recd. your letter but have had no time to reply to it—judge Marcy has left the city without placing in my hands any recommendation for Govr. Throop—this you know as to me would be useless. The Reckless Senate with Poindexter who is still at his secrete & dirty work may make a call.¹

I send you my proclamation read it, & say how you like it. The Union will be preserved[.] yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-0986).

1. On December 11 the Senate adopted a resolution offered by Poindexter calling for Samuel Gwin’s 1831 and 1832 recess commissions, Taney’s July 19 opinion (above), and previous attorney generals’ opinions on recess appointments (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:285). AJ submitted them to the Senate on December 17.

From Martin Van Buren

Albany Decr. 10th 1832

My dear Sir

The enclosed is from a highly respectable source & may amuse you at least. At your leisure drop me a line upon the subject. My remark was, or was intended to be, that you had no blood relation in *this* Country.¹ I am engaged in an operation here by which I hope to render you essential service on the Indian Question & of which I will advise you in a day or two.² The Message gives very general satisfaction. Mr McLanes report has made some stir amongst the Tairiff people but I hope it will all go well. The manufacturers have been greatly weakened in this quarter by having been seperated from the wool growers, an immense class, in consequence of the injustice committed by the former upon the latter. They now hope for a reunion from the single & direct reference which is made to the wool grower but I hope the latter will have patriotism enough to submit to their share of a concession necessary to the general welfare. It might have been wiser to have avoided singling out any particular article of the raw materials. The report is admirably written as are also those of Gov Cass & Gov Woodbury³ Do me the favor to remember me cordially to those gentlemen and say that in my humble opinion, their reports, which I have read with great attention, reflect much credit on the administration.

Congratulate Mary Lewis for me and remember me kindly to Mrs Donelson and to all your house hold and believe me to be very truly yours⁴

M. Van Buren

P. S. I hope the account of Nelsons success is correct. Where is your good fortune to end. Mrs. Broom the mother in Law of Mr. E. Livingston & the mother of an unfortunate youth who are entreated to pardon has this moment called upon me in great distress. I have assured her that if you can consistently with your Country pardon her son you would do so with pleasure—that the case was one of great delicacy & she must make allowances for your situation &c.⁵

ALS, T (21-0988). AJ replied on December 15 (below).

1. In his speech at the Tammany Hall festival on November 26, Van Buren had said that AJ was “without a single blood relation in the world” (*Albany Argus*, December 4). On December 5, New-York Life Insurance and Trust Company president William Bard sent Van Buren a Jackson genealogy furnished by New York City businessman Thomas Suffern, showing that Suffern’s maternal grandfather was the elder brother of AJ’s father (DLC-73). Van Buren now forwarded it to AJ. A later endorsement on the envelope by James A. McLaughlin reads: “From the loss of his mother’s and father’s papers the Genl. is unable to say whether or not the statement within is strictly correct.”

2. On December 17 and 18, leading New York politicians in Albany, among them William L. Marcy, Silas Wright, Azariah Flagg, John A. Dix, and Benjamin F. Butler, addressed two appeals to Governor Wilson Lumpkin of Georgia to pardon the imprisoned

missionaries Samuel Worcester and Elizur Butler. They urged that AJ's reelection had sealed the vindication of Georgia's sovereignty, and that an "exhibition of magnanimity" in its wake would speed the Indians' removal and put to rest "all danger of conflict" between state and federal authority at a time of "unpleasant agitations" in South Carolina (Milledgeville *Federal Union*, July 4, 1833; *Globe*, July 20). Van Buren forwarded the appeals to Lumpkin through John Forsyth on December 18 (Van Buren Papers, DLC).

3. On December 5 Louis McLane had submitted the annual report of the Treasury Department to Congress. He proposed a \$6 million reduction in revenue to be achieved by further lowering tariff rates on protected manufactures. He called for eliminating the "anomaly" of a "heavy and burdensome" duty on imported raw wool, which had in turn necessitated an abnormally high rate on manufactured woollens. With the industry firmly established, both duties could now "be very materially reduced, and gradually removed" (*HRDoc* 3, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 9–10, Serial 233). Secretary of War Cass and Secretary of the Navy Woodbury had submitted their annual Department reports to AJ on November 25 and December 3 respectively. AJ enclosed them to Congress with his annual message on December 4.

4. Mary Ann Lewis had married Alphonse Pageot, secretary of the French legation, at the White House on November 29.

5. U.S. chargé John Nelson had landed at Portsmouth, N.H., on December 5 with the claims convention he had concluded with the Two Sicilies on October 14. Edward P. Livingston had solicited AJ to pardon his brother-in-law Charles C. Broom on July 2 (above).

To Lewis Cass and Levi Woodbury

Washington, Decr. 12. 1832.

Gentlemen,

I have received a communication from Hanson Gassaway Esq. on the subject of the allegations he has made in reference to the Navy Board, their clerks, the Ordinance Department, and persons identified with it.

He, in alluding to the denial made to the Secretary of War by one of the parties to one of the allegations against him, states that "the evidence which (he) shall offer to rebut his round assertions will apply to persons in the Navy Commissioners Office; and it occurs to (him) that the most correct method of arriving at the truth is by a commission to hear and report all the evidence in relation to the two Departments."¹

He asks "to be placed in a situation "where all the *facts* can be brought to light, and where the witnesses on both sides can be brought to authoritatively to answer the interrogatories." The character of Mr. Gassaway and the attitude he occupies in this matter are such that I do not feel authorized to decline granting his request. It is complied with by me as an act of justice to all parties concerned; and is not to be understood as indicating any opinion in respect to the matters to be enquired into.

You will therefore, under this view of the case, raise the commission requested by appointing Genl. VanNess and Amos Kendall Esq. commissioners, vesting them with the necessary authority to take down in writing the testimony of such witnesses as may be referred to by either of the parties on the points touching the allegations of Mr. Gassaway. You will

of course advise the parties of the appointment of the comrs., whom you will require to make to you a full report of the evidence which they may take, and at as early a period as possible as it is desireable to have the matter settled. I hope you will give attention to the subject without delay, least Mr. Gassaway may think himself injured by our neglect, as he says "there is an important witness, whose testimony will bear on persons in both Departments, and who, unless immediate steps are taken to compel his attendance, will be beyond the reach of process." The Secretary of War will shew this (with the enclosed letter, which he will preserve) to the Secretary of the Navy, or furnish him with a copy of it. Very Respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Let the investigation into the Navy department be suspended till further orders except taking the whole testimony of the witness indicated
A. J

P.S. Mr Gassaway's letter is inclosed, let it be returned with the report of the Testimony, when made. A. J.

LS in George Breathitt's hand with postscripts by AJ, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Draft by Breathitt, DLC (41). AJ enclosed and quoted Hanson Gassaway's December 11 letter to him (DNA-RG 107, M222-31), complaining of the inadequacy of the Navy and War Department investigations that AJ had ordered on November 13 (above) into Gassaway's charges of official corruption. Woodbury instructed John P. Van Ness and Amos Kendall on December 21 (DNA-RG 45, M209-7), and further instructed them on February 4, 1833, that AJ wished it "distinctly understood that this inquiry is not understood to be on the conduct of the present or former members of the navy board, with a view to implicate them, or to put them on trial upon the present occasion for any supposed departure from official duty, as no suspicion of that kind is entertained." Van Ness and Kendall took extensive testimony, with Gassaway participating in the questioning. They reported to Woodbury on July 27, 1833, that they had found some irregularities but "no direct proof" that the Navy Board actions complained of by Gassaway "were done with any sinister intention, or that any one, whose conduct it was our duty to investigate, had any undue influence in producing them. Not, however, considering it our province to decide on those points," they submitted "the whole mass of testimony as taken, upon which you will be able to form an opinion for yourself" (*HRRep* 194, 24th Cong., 2d sess., Appendix pp. 2-3, Serial 307).

1. William Wade had denied Gassaway's charge of having a corrupt interest in a contract to supply iron water tanks. Van Ness and Kendall found "nothing in the facts disclosed which, in our opinion, tended to prove improper conduct in any of those whose acts it was our duty to investigate" (*HRRep* 194, 24th Cong., 2d sess., Appendix p. 17, Serial 307).

From John Coffee

Florence 12th. Decr. 1832—

Dr. Sir,

I have lately received two letters from the Agent for the Chickasaw Nation Col. Ben Reynolds, which seem to require that I should communicate to you, and that you may the better understand the subjects therein

contained. I enclose both letters. Although I regret to tax your time, with reading those letters, yet I think it right and proper that you should be advised of the subjects mentioned.

Col. Reynolds letter of the 7th. Inst. will shew you that he is reported, or rather charged with being a defaulter to the Govt. for a very large amount—including the last annuity paid out to the Nation—principally on account of his accounts for said expenditure not being returned in the last quarter, say by the 30th. of Sept. last—when the fact is, that the annuity was not paid out untill towards the last of October—the delay in payment, is accounted for, in the proceedings of the treaty held by me with the nation. My Journal shews, that I requested the Agent to hold back the payment of the annuity, untill the business of the treaty should close—this was agreed to by the Chiefs, for they all agreed in the opinion, that nothing could be done with the Indians after receiving the money—that they would buy whiskey and drinks and break up the business—there was a perfect understanding on this subject, by all concerned—from this it will be seen that Col. Reynolds is not blameable for failing to make his returns, in the time specified. And I regret that he should be, censured, for what I was perhaps in part the cause. I have known much of the transactions of Col. Reynolds, as agent, and I know him to be vigilant, and attentive to his duties, and have no doubt but he is strictly correct in his official transactions—and if his accounts are not in the forms required, it may be occasioned by his want of information at the time, made out—he is most assuredly an excellent officer. I hope he will be able to give entire satisfaction to the department, to which he is attached, and to yourself; and if the explanations which he has sent on are not satisfactory—he ought to be advised of the deficiency, and be permitted to explain further—he is most certainly doing all he can for the interest of the Govt. and the true interest of the Nation—with those feelings, it will be hard to censure him. Col. Reynolds letter of the 12th. Inst. (this date) will shew you that the sub Agent Major John L Allen, with a delegation of, four Chickasaws, to wit, Levi Colbert, George Colbert, Pitman Colbert, and the old Chief Tishamingo, are making a secret movement to the City. It is unknown what the objects are—but it is believed to be something appertaining to the late treaty—and from the great secrecy observed by them, it is evident they do not wish, either the agent, or myself, to know any thing about it—yet it seems strange that they wish to keep us ignorant of the project—they must intend to make some movement in opposition to the true understanding of the treaty, or they would not wish to keep me ignorant of their intentions—there was nothing during the formation of the treaty that would authorise such a movement—all our intercourse during the whole time, was open and frank, on *my part*—but the course of the subagent is the most extraordinary, the he should quit his post in a secret manner, without notifying the agent of his movements, is evidence that

he is doing something in opposition to the views of the Agent—and it is equally suspicious towards myself, he exhibits in his conduct, suspicious towards myself, of something wrong, and grossly so, to warrant him in the course he is pursuing. If you have ever taken the trouble to look over the Journal of my proceedings at the treaty—youll see a remark, that it become necessary for me, to request certain persons, to withdraw from the Indian Camp, on account of their using an improper influence with the Indians &c. There was at the same time, pretty good reasons to believe that the subagent Allen, was among the number who was endeavouring to prevent the Indians making the treaty at that time—alleging that they might do better, by sending a delegation to Washington—thinking probably that they could get in, by way of escort to the party. Although Allens conduct, would have justified the suspicion, resting on him at the time, I was unwilling to believe it—and when the other men was removed, I did not think he could do any harm alone, therefore seemed not to notice his conduct in that way—indeed he suspected I noticed him, and spoke to me on the subject, declaring his innocence, I replied that I had not charged him, nor expected that he had done any injury to the cause—but subsequent events confirms me in the belief that he was guilty at that time, but was not able to succeed—and that he is still carrying on his plan. If he shall arrive at the city, and make any statements at variance with the expressions of the treaty I hope any action thereon will be suspended untill correct information can be had. I discovered at the treaty, that no reliance, can be put in Pitman Colbert as interpretor—he will explain Just to suit his own purpose, and if noticed, he will say that he did not understand well and was likely to make mistakes—with great respect Your Obt. svt.

Jno. Coffee

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (21-1002). AJ forwarded this letter to Lewis Cass on December 30 (below). Coffee enclosed letters that Benjamin Reynolds had sent him on December 7 and 12 (DNA-RG 75, 21-1006). Reynolds's first letter said that he had been charged as a defaulter for \$23,634.39, mainly in annuities he had not yet reported paying. Reynolds defended his management of the agency and asked Coffee to explain to AJ. Reynolds's second letter warned of a secret Chickasaw delegation leaving for Washington for reasons unknown, presumably about "something connected with the late Treaty." On December 14, Coffee wrote Cass that he had just learned from another source that he would be "charged with using threats to the nation to get them to sign the treaty." Coffee branded the charge "positively false" and said he would come to Washington as soon as possible to defend himself, bringing Reynolds as a witness (*SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, p. 555, Serial 246). Coffee had sent his official journal of the treaty proceedings to Cass on November 12 (DNA-RG 75, T494-2).

From James Williams Crawford et al.

Columbus, O. Decembr. 12th. 1832—

Dear Sir,

Your recent message to Congress was received here two days since; and you will excuse us, a few of your republican fellow citizens of Ohio, for indulging the congratulations due to you for the enlightened sentiments it breathes, and for the second demonstration of the people of this union in your triumphant re-election to the station you now occupy.

No man has ever before received so direct an expression of the public confidence of our citizens, in any contested election, as yourself. This must be gratifying to one whose principle it was to "neither seek nor decline office," affording as it does the highest evidence of the estimation in which you are held by the democratic party of the United States, who united in your first election, and again, in the late contest, sustained the measures of your administration. We feel proud as American freemen, that we can look back on the past scenes of your public life, and behold it unclouded by a single *speck* derogatory to your fame as a patriot and a statesman. This gratification is heightened in the bosoms of those who now address you, from the reflection, that while the spirit of faction has raged around us, Ohio has stood by you, a faithful sentinel in the hour of your threatened overthrow; and the bearer of this letter, Genl. Alexander Mc.Connell, is the messenger charged with the twenty one votes recently given you as our chief magistrate.¹

Genl. Mc.Connell is one among the old school democrats of our state, who has for many years represented the people of the district in which he resides, in the two branches of our General Assembly. From the soundness of his political principles, and worth as a man he enjoys, in an eminent degree, the confidence of the democracy of this state. Many of us whose signatures are attached, settled in this state prior to the adoption of the Constitution.

Democrats in '98, we have never seen cause to relax our exertions in defending the great principles, which, at that important era in our history, were the creed of every true republican. Such of us as can refer to that early period of our political existence, have to express our regret that the fundamental doctrines of that day have in some instances been encroached upon by the introduction of new creeds and systems, irreconcilable with the pure faith that then dwelt in every democratic bosom. The repudiated principles of the old federal school have recd. new life by an accession of numbers; and the tax upon us is rendered two fold, to see, that by no practiced deception, any among their number shall be *mistaken* for those who fought and struggled with the venerable father of American democracy, *Thomas Jefferson*.

When you, Dear Sir, was announced as a candidate for the Presidency, and we had enjoyed the opportunity of ascertaining your political senti-

ments and opinions; when, indeed, we had a correct view of your stern, inflexible adherence to the great political landmarks of the republican party, we hesitated not to rally under your standard. We put forth all our energies, and called into action the slumbering—and the dispirited—and awakened them to the cause in which we have so gloriously triumphed. In your elevation to the first honor of this government, we anticipated a complete and effectual restoration of the principles and policy of that illustrious statesman to whom we have alluded. So far as relates to the principles advanced in your various messages to Congress, and the measures therein recommended, we have the satisfaction of knowing that it is your fixed determination to bring back the action of the national government to its constitutional limits, and to practice upon the doctrines it inculcates. But we must be permitted to say, that from some cause, sufficient reference has not been had to the political opinions entertained by many who have found favor from the Executive. This has no doubt been the consequence of misinformation. “Once a federalist, always a federalist.” We may as well calculate on seeing “the Ethiopian change his skin, or the Leopard his spots,” as to see a federalist *in principle* turn democrat.² Unless the principal offices of the government are filled with men attached to the pure principles of democracy, as taught and practiced by Jefferson, those *principles* can never be restored to their pristine purity, and perpetuated. Men hostile *in feeling*, (no matter how artfully disguised) to such principles, will always aim to elevate the aristocracy, and depress the democracy. It is our happiness, however, to know, that the fault of appointing such men to stations of honor and trust, is not with yourself. Knowing the difficulties with which you have had to contend, and the measures resorted to by the combined factions which exist in the Country to thwart the measures of your administration, and to prevent your re-election to the Preside~~ncy~~, *we d*etermined not to press this subject upon your consideration, until by *[re-]*election, you was placed beyond the reach of your political enemies. Now that that glorious event is accomplished, we shall hope to find an excuse for the free and frank expression of our political opinions on this all engrossing subject. It has often been remarked that plain, unsophisticated, candid *truth*, is seldom spoken in the presence of the Princes and may we not suppose the same dissimulation and want of candor in the presence of a plain, practical, American President? So far as Ohio is concerned, we are confident in the belief that we are not obnoxious to the imputation. What party was it, Dear Sir, that secured to you, and to the great republican cause of the nation, the electoral vote of Ohio in '28 & '32? Was it procured by the aid of federalists or democrats? We assert, without the fear of successful contradiction, that for every federal vote in Ohio, you received Ninety nine from the hand of the old School democrats. The federalists, almost to a man, throughout this state, are violently opposed to your person and your administration and they will stop at no means to prostrate you, and with you, the friends who have struggled for

your elevation. There are those among them too, who, for selfish ends, and for a chance among the offices within your gift, have *crept* into the democratic ranks. Shall we pull down the Separation wall, Sir, that draws the dividing line? We are sensible of your devotion to the principles we all as a party avow, and that nothing will be neglected on your part to give them permanency under your administration.

We have ventured to be thus frank and explicit, under a full conviction of the kindness in which you will receive our intimations—and we have, in conclusion, to tender you the assurance of our profound regard and consideration.

Jas W Crawford
Thomas Morris
D. T. Disney
Thomas Scott
Jer. McLene

[Twenty-eight additional signatures follow.]

[Endorsed by AJ:] address & congratulations of sundry respectable Citizens of Columbus Ohio, & recommendation of Genl McConnell who brought on the electoral vote—of Ohio. A. J. Genl McConnell to be invited to dine A. J.

LS, THer (21-1014). James Williams Crawford (1788–1859) was an Ohio state senator. Thomas Morris (1776–1844), also a state senator, was elected U.S. senator on December 15. David Tiernan Disney (1803–1857), later a congressman, was speaker of the Ohio house of representatives. Former judge and legislator Thomas Scott (1772–1856) was register of the Chillicothe land office, appointed by AJ in 1829. Former Ohio secretary of state Jeremiah McLene (1767–1837) had been elected in October to a seat in the next Congress.

1. Alexander McConnel or McConnell (1791–1853) was a sometime Morgan County state legislator and a Jackson presidential elector in 1832. Solicited to stand for the presidency in 1823, AJ had famously replied that “My undeviating rule of conduct through life . . . has been neither to seek, or decline public invitations to office” (*Jackson Papers*, 5:253).
2. Jeremiah 13:23.

From David Mitchell Saunders

Gallatin December 12th. 1832

Dear Sir—

Some weeks since I addressed you a communication, which I caused to be placed in the hands of Major Eaton some short time before his departure for Washington As it related to a subject of some little interest to my self, and as I fear it has not come to your hands, I am induced to address you a second time. During the contest for Senator before the people of this county I espoused with much interest the cause of major Eaton, and was in some degree instrumental in procuring the votes of

our Representatives to be given to him. While the question was being discussed before the people of the county, the course that I pursued brought me in colision with Gen Desha. For the purpose of injuring me and effecting the cause I espoused, he detailed a conversation, that had taken place between you and himself, in which as he alleges, you applied many opprobrious eppithets to me personally. These remarks I shall not now repeat. My only object in now addressing you, is to ascertain what is the state of your feelings at present towards me—and I am solicitous to know if you entertain any opinion prejudicial or otherwise.

I am now a candidate for the Legislature and as there is every probability that Gen Desha will attempt to bring your remarks to bar upon me, with the view of injuring the man whose claims I shall advocate I fondly hope that you will unhesitatingly place me in a situation, that I may be enabled to defend myself.¹

The conversation to which he alludes is reputed to have taken place I think in March 1830, and was not detailed to me until within a few months past. Under the peculiar circumstances by which I am at present surrounded I hope you will find a sufficient apology for my obtruding myself upon your time or patience. I remain with sentiments of regard—your obt servant

David M Saunders

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr. Sanders—recd. 26th Decbr—answered 30th 1832—answer within A. J.

ALS, DLC (41). Saunders (d. 1835) was a lawyer in Gallatin, Tenn. John Eaton wrote AJ on December 28 about his previous letter, and AJ replied to Saunders on December 30 (both below). Former Tennessee congressman Robert Desha (1791–1849) of Gallatin had broken with AJ over the Eaton affair.

1. In August 1833 Josephus C. Guild was elected state representative for Sumner County over Saunders and two other candidates.

From Samuel Gwin

Clinton Mi Dec 13. 1832

My dear Sir

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance Col. Danl. W. Wright, who is the bearer of the electoral vote of this state to your city.

Col Wright is a devoted friend, uncompromising in his principles & a pure patriot. He was in himself a host, in the part of the state in which he resides, in the recent contest. He raised the Van Buren flag early in the contest & victory has followed.

In regard state matters he can give you fully the views of an overwhelming majority of the people of the state, as he has been long a member of the legislature & recently a member of our convention.

He can explain to you fully the manner Gov P. was elected to the place he now fills & the sentiments of the people in regard to his recal.¹

Any recommendations he may make for persons to fill offices in this state may be strictly relied on as his information is general.

Hoping that you enjoy health & possess renewed energy in the cause of our happy country & Union I remain your obdt st

Saml Gwin

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr. Gwinn introducing Col Wright M-& refering to his information &c &c—A. J.

ALS, TNJ (21-1035). Daniel W. Wright (1797–1844), a lawyer, was a former state legislator and a delegate to Mississippi's 1832 constitutional convention.

1. George Poindexter had been governor of Mississippi in 1820–22. In 1830 he had been appointed by the governor and then elected by the legislature to complete the Senate term of the deceased Robert H. Adams, which expired in 1835. Poindexter at that time had declared himself a supporter of AJ's administration. His subsequent defection had brought Jacksonian calls for his ouster. Resolutions censuring Poindexter's conduct and urging his resignation were introduced in the Mississippi state senate in January 1833, but did not pass.

From James Alexander Hamilton

New York Decbr 13th 1832

My dear Sir,

I received yesterday The Proclamation under your Frank for which very kind & flattering attention receive my thanks. The paper I have read again & again with extreme interest & pleasure The whole is treated in a masterly manner but the elevated and cogent & clear views you have taken of the nature of the Government have afforded me the utmost satisfaction Knowing that the ~~result~~ end of the measures of S. C. must and is intended to be secession I have reflected a good deal on the subject and had interchanged opinions with two of the soundest men in this City who both expressed opinions coincident with those you have taken without however sustaining them with as many & as strong grounds as you have taken

I trust in heaven the paper will be read by the People of South Carolina & that sinking into their hearts it may as it ought to do arest their mad career

Measures have been taken in this city to have a public meeting on Saturday next It will be crowded & conducted in a manner to produce much effect There will be strong resolutions agnst Nullification in favor of carrying into effect the views expressed by you ~~in favor of the~~ in your message in relation to the Tariff—In favor of the execution of the laws—denouncing foreign interference And an address will be sent to you in which we ~~will~~ pledge ourselves to sustain in in the Course you may pursue to preserve the Union.¹

I pray God to preserve your life among other reasons that you may preserve this Union. Your friend & svt

James A Hamilton

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Col. J. A. Hamilton on the proclamation recd.
Decbr. 15th. 1832 A. J.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. A Democratic Republican meeting at Tammany Hall on December 15 unanimously approved AJ's nullification proclamation. Its resolutions voiced sympathy for southern grievances but concurred "in the determination of the President to enforce the laws while they exist, and to preserve the Union, and the whole Union, full and entire, unmaimed and unmutilated, at every sacrifice and at every hazard." The meeting directed that its proceedings be forwarded to AJ and also authorized another general meeting of all who approved the proclamation. That meeting, held outdoors on December 19, drew a crowd estimated at ten thousand. It too adopted resolutions to be forwarded to AJ, pledging unreserved support for the Union and the proclamation (New York *Evening Post*, December 17 and 20).

To John Coffee

Washington Decbr. 14th. 1832

My Dr. Genl,

your letter of the 30th. ultimo has been received, and its contents duly noted—and by tomorrows mail, a remittance will be made to you of \$15,000, being the unexpended ballance of the appropriation for surveying the creek cession in alabama, by the secretary of the Treasury. This divided amongst the suvayors, will meet the payment to their markers & chain men, and the survayors must await an appropriation for the ballance.¹

I am to day informed by a letter purporting to be written by George Colbert Tussamigo &c, with their marks appended without a witness, that they chiefs have met and made another treaty, which they are coming on to have adopted in lieu of the one made by you. I cannot believe this to be true. I have sent the Treaty to the Senate, and if there should be any difficulty will apprise you of it have it posponed and request you to come on.²

Your dear daughter is well and doing well, and you may rest assured I will watch over her with a fathers care, she shall want for nothing, and her prudence & amiableness of deportment will ensure her the affection and attention of all. The family are all well, Mary will write you which will be inclosed to you under cover of the envelope that incloses this & to her must I refer you for the news of the placce, as you will see from the proceedings of the Nullifyers of the South, that I have anough to do.

Can any one of common sense believe the absurdity, that a faction of any state, or a state, has a right to secede & destroy this Union, and the liberty of our country with it, or nullify the laws of the Union; then indeed is our constitution a rope of sand; under such I would not live. I have

always thought ours was first a confederated government and perpetual Union of thirteen sovereign & independants state, granting to congress the power to declare war & make peace, make estimates of the amount of revenue wanted to carry on the revolutionary war, & apportion to each state its ratio, and not having the power to lay & collect taxes, it could only recommend to the states to do it, & make a requisition on the legislature of each state for its quota. Congress having no power to lay & collect taxes, or to regulate trade with foreign nations it was found that our union was imperfect and a constitution was proposed to the people—and in the language of the instrument, “we the people to make a more perfect Union, do ordain & establish the following &c &c. This more perfect union made by the whole people of the United States, granted the General government certain powers, and retained others; but no where can it be found where the right to nullify a law, or to secede from this union has been retained by the states—no amendment can be made to the instrument, constitutionally, but in the mode pointed out in the constitution itself, every ~~thing~~ mode else, is, revolution or rebellion. The people are the sovereigns, they can alter & amend, and the people alone in the mode pointed out by themselves, can dissolve this union peaceably. The right of resisting oppression is a natural right, and when oppression comes, the right of resistance & revolution is are justifiable, but the moral obligations is binding upon all to fulfill the obligations as long as the compact is executed agreeable to the terms of the agreement. Therefore when a faction in a state, attempts to nullify a constitutional law of Congress, or to destroy the Union, the ballance of the people composing this union have a perfect right to coerce them to obedience. This is my creed, which you will read in the proclamation which I sent you the other day. No man will go farther than I will to preserve every right reserved to the people, or the states—nor no man will go farther to sustain the acts of Congress ~~made~~ passed according to the express grants to congress. The Union must be preserved and it will now be tested, by the support I get by the people. I will die with the Union.

Present me to Polly & all your family & believe me your friend—write me where & what Hutchings is about.

Andrew Jackson

P.S. if you can come, it will give me pleasure to see you here

ALS, THi (21-1046).

1. The \$15,000 payment promised by AJ exhausted the \$50,000 Congress had appropriated in May for surveying the Creek cession. In accordance with Coffee's estimate of \$70,000 needed to complete the work, Treasury secretary McLane had requested another \$20,000 from Congress on December 12 (*HRDoc* 10, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 23, Serial 233), but no additional appropriation was made this session. The surveys were completed in the summer of 1833.

2. AJ had submitted the Chickasaw treaty to the Senate on December 12. Levi Colbert and others had protested it to AJ on November 22 (above).

From John Pemberton

Philada. Decr. 14. 1832

My Dear Sir,

Mr. Parkinson had engaged a cook for you, before my arrival here to leave ~~here~~ this on the 20th. instant. The ~~terms~~ best terms he could make was Forty Dollars per. month, ~~with~~ and his and his families expenses paid to Washington. Mr. Parkinson says he is considered to be a superior cook and an industrious honest ~~and industrious~~ man, ~~which I hope may prove all true~~—his name is Prevaux, he was for several years cook, to the late President.¹

I have been after Mr. James Page and the other gentlemen I was to see, but they were not at home. I hope to see them tomorrow and will write you the result by the next mail.² ~~Most respectfully~~ I am your friend & obdt servt

John Pemberton

ALS draft, PHi (21-1050).

1. On December 22 John Prevaux signed a contract with AJ to live in the White House and work exclusively as AJ's cook for \$40 a month. He was to leave only on two months' notice, and not while Congress was in session (THer, 21-1123). Parkinson was probably Philadelphia confectioner George Parkinson.

2. James Page (1795–1875) was a Philadelphia lawyer and politician. Pemberton wrote again on December 15 (below).

From Maunsel White

New Orleans Decr. 14th 1832

Dear Sir,

I received your kind Letter of the 17th Sepr. in reply to mine of 31st. August, consenting to do me the Honor, as well as the favor to become the God Father of my child & appointing my Neighbour Judge Harper to be your Proxy; I should have long since replied with the full Expression of my Gratitude & thanks but I was anxious to hear of your safe arrival at Washington, for which place you mentioned you intended to set out the next day.¹ Your arrival there was anounced to us here about the time that the cholera broke out, which produced the most appalling scenes I ever saw, nor can the account of it, be well exaggerated It was a most awful visitation & our Gratitude to the author of our Existence can never be too great, for having protected us during such a scene of Pestilence. In the midst of it our Election came on & to me it is a source of the most Sincere pleasure as well as Gratulation to find in the result, that I have not been mistaken in the Opinion which I ventured to give you of the change which the veto would make, & were it not for the cholera the majority you obtained here would be much greater, yet under all Circumstances, it will

gratify you I am sure, to be informed that in the midst of Gloom & death, your Firm Friends were seen wending their way to the polls, inwardly hoping that their mite would add to the mass and contribute to place you Once more in a Situation to save your country; there is now no doubt of the result & I congratulate you & our Country on the happy event; think you then, if I shall not reserve the name of *Veto* to my Son, yes & I do hope you will applaud me for doing so. Andrew Veto Jackson from being born not longer than a quart Bottle is now a fine strong healthy child, gay & lively, & if little things may be compared with great ones looked as unpromising as your Enemies would have made your Election, but the result in both cases proves the short sightedness of Man, & is to me a Source of much joy. The christening I intend shall take place so soon as our minds are more at ease from the excitement produced by the cholera & the Election & when it may be prudent to indulge ourselves in Joy & Gayity.

In a poscript of your Letter above mentioned you ask me to inform you if you had not ordered some cases of Claret Wine with the other articles, sent from hence for your use, on Examining your Letters on the subject I find that you have not but if you wish them sent, be assured of the pleasure it will give me to do so. Our cotton market has been so far quite favorable to the planter, & prices have ranged from 9 or 12½ ¢ lb. within a few days the demand has not been so good but, I don't apprehend any material decline. I hope the well merited praise bestowed on your manager for his last years Exertions, will induce him to continue them & turn you out as favorable a result this season. I have nothing to add but my best & most sincere wishes for the preservation of your Health and prosperity while I remain your ever devoted & Sincere Friend & obt Servt.

Maunsel White

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Col M. White N. O. recd. 29th. Decbr 1832—to be answered. A. J.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. AJ had appointed Samuel Hadden Harper (1783–1837) U.S. district judge for Louisiana in 1829.

To Martin Van Buren

Washington 15th. Decbr. 1832—

My Dr Sir

yours of the 10th. instant was duly received, but I was so crowded with business that I had not time to reply on its receipt. you will have seen from the proclamation which I enclosed you, that I have had, & still have, my hands full in attending to the nullifiers *pari passu*. I am now

waiting for the information from the assembly of So. Carolina, of their having passed their laws for raising an army to resist the execution of the laws, which will be a levying of war, when I will make a communication to congress, laying before that body, the *ordinance of rebellion*, and the *acts of treason*, ask for the power to call upon volunteers to serve as the Posse commitatus of the civil authority, to open our courts which they have shut, direct process to be Issued against the leaders, direct them to be prosecuted for treason, have them arrested wheresoever to be found, delivered over to the authority of the law, to be prosecuted, convicted, & punished.¹ If the assembly authorises twelve thousand men, to resist the law, I will order thirty thousand to execute the law. To this I may add, the request for the Custom house to be removed to Castle Pinckney or Sulivans Island, and the power in the Sec' of the Treasury, to demand the payment of duties in cash, deducting the interests, from all vessels entering a port where the states may have enacted laws, to resist the payment of the duty. It will not do *now* to temporise, or falter, or it undermines the stability of your Government & might shake it to its centre—when by crushing this wicked faction in its bud, you strengthen our republican Government, both at home & abroad. From every quarter I am assured of the firm support of the people. If I am, the Union shall be preserved, & the laws executed with triumph.

I thank you for the enclosure—the statement made of the time when my father came from Ireland, and the names of his children, are correct. This is stated in the Biography of Jackson, wrote by Eaton, & may have been taken from that, or it may be really true.² I shall, when I have more leisure, look at it with more attention, an scan the relation with more scrutiny. Let me hear from you soon give me your opinion of the plan I have chaulked out to execute the laws, and put down nullification, rebellion, and secession, twinn brothers of each other.

I am desired by judge Overton to present you his kind regards. The family all desire their kind respects to you, in which your friends Earle & Breathitt are included. in haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-1058). Van Buren replied on December 27 (below).

1. Article 3, Section 3 of the constitution says that "Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort." Van Buren's December 27 reply queried AJ's definition.

2. The Jackson family genealogy drawn by Thomas Suffern and sent by Van Buren to AJ on December 10 stated that AJ's father, Andrew, emigrated from Ireland in 1765 and had three sons, Hugh, Robert, and Andrew. All this information appeared on the first page of John H. Eaton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*. The first edition in 1817, co-authored by John Reid, said "about the year 1765," but Eaton's revised 1824 edition said "during the year 1765."

From John Pemberton

Philadela. Dec 15th 1832

My Dear Sir

The following gentlemen whose names have been laid before you, as proper persons to fill the situation of U.S. Bank Directors wish their names withdrawn.

James Page, Esqr says "willing as I am to make sacrifices and encounter responsibilities in a good cause, there are reasons (mostly of a personal kind) which prompt me to decline an acceptance of the trust adverted to." Mr Page is for the first time a director of a State Bank and has probably but little knowledge of banking.

Mr Samuel Moss (his name, was suggested to me by Mr R. M. Whitney) requests that his name may not be proposed as a Director of the Bank for the following reasons, using his words "Having expressed freely in public my hostility to the institution, I dont think I could feel pleasant while at the board Being much flattered with the honor it would have conferred on me &c."

George Emlen Esqr. would not serve he is not in good health.

Frederick Stoevers says he knows nothing of Banking and never wants to be in one.

Wm Geisse I fear would want confidence in himself

Joseph R. Evans would not serve being in the Philadelphia bank.

John A. Brown will not go into the board with Mr Nicholas Biddle, he has been a director & and ~~has been~~ was elected by the Stockholders—the President Mr Biddle and he could not agree—apropos Mr Brown says it is *impossible* for any individual in a few days to investigate into all the doings of the Bank of the U.S. and give a correct report of its state; he says it would require months of close investigation to come to any just knowledge of its affairs.

Mr John Naglee is a director of the "Northern Liberties Bank" and has been for many years, he is also a large stockholder in the same and would not leave it. It is a very difficult matter to get proper persons to serve as U.S. Directors who are not partisans of the Bank, it is to be deplored but it is too true. I will send you the names of any that may occur to me, if I can find them that are fit and will serve. Most respectfully and truly your friend

Signed John Pemberton

ALS copy, PHi (21-1055). James Page was a director of the new Western Bank of Philadelphia. Reuben Miles Whitney (1788–1845) had been a BUS director from 1822 to 1824 and had testified against Biddle's management before the House investigating committee in the spring. George Emlen (1784–1850) was a lawyer and former state legislator. Samuel Moss (1783–1835), Frederick Stoevers (1784–1866), Francis William Geisse (c1782–1863), and Joseph Russell Evans (1783–1848) were Philadelphia merchants. Evans had been a director of the Philadelphia Bank since 1817. John A. Brown (1788–1872), son

· December 1832 ·

of Alexander Brown of Baltimore, operated the Philadelphia house of the family's merchant bank and had been a BUS director from 1824 to 1826. John Naglee (c1781–1852) had been a director of the Bank of the Northern Liberties since 1823.

To Sarah Yorke Jackson

Washington City Decbr. 16th. 1832

My Dear Sarah,

I hope you and the dear little Rachel, with Andrew are all in good health, and that you are entirely recovered from your confinement.

But not hearing from yourself, & when Andrew last wrote me, the dear little daughter was afflicted with the thrash, makes me more anxious to hear from you again

It is now late at night, and I have only taken up my pen to ask you how you all are, as I am so pestered with business, nullification, & many perplexities, that I have no time to write you in the day

I have just recd. a letter from Saml who is well & doing well, and also from A. J. Donelson Chapel Hill, who is also well—all here, with Earle, & Breathit, unite with me in kind wishes to you & your houshold.¹ Kiss little Rachel for me, & you & Andrew accept my prayers for yourselves & the sweet babe, & present me kindly to Thomas Emma & John, and believe me your affectionate father

Andrew Jackson

ALS, Mrs. Henderson C. Ward (21-1063).

1. Samuel R. Donelson was in Philadelphia to study medicine. Andrew Jackson Donelson (1815–1861), son of Rachel Jackson's late brother William Donelson and first cousin of AJ Jr., was a freshman at the University of North Carolina.

To James Knox Polk

—confidential—

Decbr. 16th. 1832—

The President with his respects to Col J. K. Polk, of congress—encloses him a note from Mr Page of Philadelphia, a man of high character & in whom confidence may be placed) This is done to add to the information heretofore given the Col, to shew him that the hydra of corruption is only *scotched, not dead*, and that the intent is thro' wolfs recommendation, to destroy the vote of the people lately given at the ballot boxes, & to rally around the recharter the present session of congress *two thirds*

An investigation kills it and its supporters *dead*. Let this be had—call upon the Sec' of the Treasury who must agree with me that an investigation by Congress is absolutely necessary

P.S. Have Sullivan, a Government director before the committee—attend to this A. J.

ANS, DLC-Polk Papers (21-1064). *Polk Correspondence*, 1:575. In his December 6 annual message to the Pennsylvania legislature, Governor George Wolf had defended the Bank's utility and hoped that neither "a too strict adherence to a literal construction of the Constitution" nor "the imprudent, intemperate, and impetuous zeal of its friends" would prevent "a renewal of its charter sufficiently restricted, checked and guarded" (*Philadelphia National Gazette*, December 8). AJ's annual message on December 4 had called for a "serious investigation" into the Bank's affairs to determine if the public deposits there were "entirely safe" (Richardson, 2:600). On December 13 the House of Representatives referred the subject to the Committee of Ways and Means, which reported on March 1, 1833. The majority found that the Bank's management was sound, its reserves were ample, and the deposits were safe. Polk and two other committee members dissented. Government director John T. Sullivan testified before the committee in February that Nicholas Biddle habitually concealed knowledge of major Bank operations from its board (*HRRep* 121, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 236).

[*Enclosure*]

Extract of a Letter from Phila. 14th Decr.

"The selection of Toland was most unlucky—his report has done great harm, Never was man so much out of place as he, acting as Bank Investigator. Nothing short of a thorough and *independent* investigation of this legaliz'd corruption will do. It is now more necessary than ever to roll back the tide of success rais'd by the Governours attention to the question and Tolands report, upon which our political enemy are rapidly sailing. I have been disappointed in Mr. Wolfe, no matter. There is a time for all things."

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mr. Page on the necessity of congress acting at once, & to raise a committee of investigation.

Extract, DLC-Polk Papers (21-1066). On November 26, Louis McLane had appointed Henry Toland, a former Bank director, to inspect its books and "ascertain the security of the public moneys, and the solvency of the bank." Toland had reported on December 4 that the BUS was doubtlessly sound, with assets more than double its liabilities. McLane forwarded his report to the House on December 10 (*HRDoc* 8, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 233).

To Lewis Cass

(confidential)

W— Decbr 17th. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

~~We must be prepared for the crisis.~~ If I can judge from the signs of the times Nullification, & secession, or in the language of truth, *disunion* is gaining strength, and we must be prepared to act with promptness, and crush the monster in its cradle before it matures ~~itself~~ to manhood. We must be prepared for the crisis.

The moment that we are informed that the Legislature of So Carolina has passed laws to carry her rebellious ordinance into effect which I expect tomorrow we must be prepared to act. Tenders of service is coming to me daily and from Newyork, we can send to the bay of charleston with steamers, such number of troops as we may please to order, in four days.

We will want three divisions of artillery, each composed of nines, twelves, & Eighteen pounders—one for the East, one for the west, and one for the center divisions. How many of these calibers, are ready for field service

How many musketts with their compleat equipments are ready for service. How many swords & pistols & what quantity of fixed amunition for dragoons. Brass pieces for the field, how many, & what caliber.

At as early a day as possible, I wish a report from the ordinance Department, on this subject, stating with precision, how many peaces of artillery of the caliber, are ready for the field—how many good musketts &c &c, and at what place in desposit. yrs respectfully

Andrew Jackson

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] rough draft of letter to sec of war 17th. Decbr, 1832, on the subject or ordinance & stores musketts & fixed ammuniton A. J

ALS draft, DLC (41).

To John Coffee

Washington Decbr. 17th. 1832

My Dr. Sir,

I have only time to say to you that yr amiable daughter with all the ballance of the family are well, & to inclose you a letter from her to her young friend with a request that you deliver it.

Hoping to see you soon, & referring you to my letter of the other day I remain yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, THi (21-1079).

From Joel Roberts Poinsett

Confidential

Charleston
17th. December 1832

Dear Sir

I returned last night from Columbia, where the union party assembled in convention. Nearly two hundred members attended and the party was represented from the mountains to the sea board. The best spirit prevailed throughout and we have expressed in strong language our determination to adhere to the Union and to resist the arbitrary proceedings of the Majority. I will tomorrow send you a copy of the address and remonstrance which was signed by two hundred of the most respectable men in the state and which represent more truly the feelings of the state than the ordinance and acts of the Legislature.¹

Your proclamation has just been brought me. I am sure, knowing me as you do, you will not question my sincerity or my motives, when I say, That I regard it as a most able exposition of the principles of our government, an affecting appeal to the citizens of South Carolina, and a wise, determined and firm resolution to save the country from destruction. It does you infinite credit and will tend to elevate your well deserved reputation more highly than any other act of your life. These men are reckless and desperate and I have little hope of a peaceful termination of this conflict—we will be prepared to assist the government in forcibly putting them down. Our convention has declared itself permanent, and appointed a Committee, under the name of a Committee of Correspondence, but really an executive Committee of five to conduct the business of the party. It consists of J. L. Petigru and myself from Charleston Daniel Elliott Huger and J. Manning from the Middle Country and Robert Cunningham of the Upper Country—of this Committee I am Chairman and on me will devolve the task of organising all the means of resistance in our power.² This was done without the knowledge of what government might do—and therefore shows the firm determination of the party to maintain the union at all hazards.

It may be necessary to send you a messenger in a day or two. We cannot trust this post office and that of Georgetown is in bad hands, so that our nearest point is Fayette. I was requested while at Columbia to urge the removal of Mr. Rothmahler post master at Georgetown So. Ca. and the appointment of Thomas Heriot an officer in the army during the last war.³ This is the unanimous wish of the union party in that district. I am Dear Sir, very respectfully your Obt. Sevt.

J. R. Poinsett

ALS, DLC (41).

1. A Union and State Rights Party convention opened at Columbia, S.C., on December 10. On December 14, its 180 delegates adopted a Remonstrance and Protest against the “*tyranny and oppression*” of the nullification ordinance, particularly its test oath proscribing men from office “for an honest difference of opinion,” its deprivation of the right to trial by an impartial jury, its direct violation of the constitution in obstructing Congress’s authority to collect revenue, and the plan to enforce it by creating a standing army “dangerous to the liberties of the people.” Disclaiming “lawless and insurrectionary violence,” signers pledged to oppose the protective tariff and protect their rights by legal means and to “maintain the character of peaceable citizens, unless compelled to throw it aside by *intolerable oppression*” (Charleston *Courier*, December 21, 1832).

2. James Louis Petigru (1789–1863), Daniel Elliott Huger (1779–1854), Richard Irvine Manning (1789–1836), and Robert Cunningham (1786–1859) had all served in the South Carolina legislature. Petigru had been state attorney general, Huger a judge, and Manning governor.

3. Erasmus B. Rothmahler (c1803–1861) had been Georgetown postmaster since 1823. Thomas Heriot (c1789–1839) replaced him in June 1833.

From William Carroll

Nashville, December 18th. 1832.

My dear Sir;

I received by last nights mail your letter of the 4th. instant with the accompanying copy of your message to Congress. I had previously read your message with great attention, and I can truly say that I was much gratified with it. The picture of our foreign and domestic relations is such as ought to excite feelings of pride and exaltation in the breast of every lover of his country and its free institutions.

The conduct of the majority in South Carolina to say the least, is very extraordinary, and however much we might all deplore the necessity of coersing her to do her duty, yet no hesitation should take place in adopting such a course if the emergency requires it. As you have said, the Union must be preserved, and surely it will not be pretended by any one, that this most important object can be attained, if a State is permitted to secede merely because she may imagine that an act of Congress is oppressive in its character, and opposed to her interest. Our happy government covers such a vast extent of Territory that it is unreasonable to expect that the interest of its different sections will always be the same. We must therefore always be ready to act in a true spirit of compromise, and upon all subjects *that* course which is most likely to come the nearest to doing Justice equally to the whole should be pursued. If it is believed that the constitution of the United States is defective in any of its provisions, it points to the remedy itself. Let the people in convention alter or amend. If this remedy had have been asked for in a peaceable and friendly way by South Carolina I have no doubt it would have been acceded to by the other States of the Union. But now, after she has played the part of a brigidocio, bid defiance to the laws of the Union, and through her chief Magistrate makes a parade

about the organization of a city Legion and State guard, it is time that she should be co-ersed into her duty if milder measures will not answer. And if such a course should become necessary, however much it might be deplored, I cannot but persuade myself that you will be sustained in it by every other State in this great confederacy. It is of much higher importance to sustain the integrity of the Union, than to indulge the whims of a single State who may complain about imaginary wrongs. There is one expression in the Governors Message which struck me with peculiar force, and which indicates very clearly a wish for a convention of the States. He observes, "*I cannot, however, but think that the arbitration by a call of a convention of all the States which we sincerely and anxiously desire will be accorded to us.*"¹ If this desire was so sincere and anxious why was the measure not asked for, before a call of their own convention and the passage of their extraordinary Ordinance. They cannot expect the indulgence of such a desire until they recede from the position they occupy and shew a little more respect for the laws and constitution of the Union. I still hope however that the whole matter will be adjusted on amicable terms. That part of your Message which relates to the tariff is so just and equitable, that it seems to me that even South Carolina and her hot spurs will be pleased with it. What more can be asked than a reduction of the duties to the expenditures of the government.² If this is not satisfactory, and she still persists in her revolutionary measures, the strong arm of the government must be employed to check her mad career. You may rely upon my hearty co-operation in every thing that has for its object the preservation of the Union, and when all peaceable measures have failed in the attainment of this important object, a resort must be made had to arms if necessary.

I agree most cordially with you in the necessity of a general expression of opinion in relation to this matter, and with that view I have requested Mr. Hunt and Mr. Hall to call the attention of the people throughout the State to the subject in their papers of to morrow; And to fix upon Saturday the 29th. instant for a meeting at this place. We shall endeavour by the proceedings of our meeting to give such a tone to public sentiment in Tennessee, as to preclude the possibility of doubt in relation to the views of this State.³ In relation to this highly interesting subject I shall conclude with the expression of an ardent hope that you may yet be able to bring it to a satisfactory close, and ~~that~~ thus be the means under Providence of giving permanency to our happy form of government

I can communicate nothing of an interesting nature in relation to our local matters. Five days since a case of Cholera was reported, but no one has occurred since, and our town is in the enjoyment of excellent health.

I shall always be pleased to hear from you when you have leisure to write a line. Will you do me the favor to present my respects to Mr. Van Buren, should he be in the city, and also to Major Eaton. I am, dear Sir, most sincerely your friend

Wm. Carroll

ALS, DLC (73).

1. Carroll quoted Governor Hamilton's November 27 message to the South Carolina legislature (*SDoc* 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 66, Serial 230).

2. AJ's fourth annual message on December 4, 1832, had hailed the imminent extinction of the national debt as allowing a further reduction in tariff rates, and reiterated the recommendation, first voiced in his third annual message the year before, that "the whole scheme of duties be reduced to the revenue standard as soon as a just regard to the faith of the Government and to the preservation of the large capital invested in establishments of domestic industry will permit" (Richardson, 2:598).

3. William Gibbs Hunt (1791–1833) edited the *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, and Allen A. Hall (c1803–1867) edited the *Nashville Republican and State Gazette*. On December 19 both papers editorialized against nullification and announced a public meeting for December 29. Carroll presided at the meeting, which adopted resolutions denouncing nullification and secession and approving AJ's proclamation (*National Banner*, December 31).

From Mary Ann Eastin Polk

Wills Grove Decb 18th 1832

My dear Uncle

As I am enclosing some letters to you, I cannot forbear troubling you with a few lines to congratulate you on your late signal triumph, over all your enemies who I hope will now remain contented where the people has put them by common consent. The triumph of our Friend Mr. Van Buren is complete. Will you be so good as to present him my compliments & congratulations on the occasion.

Mr. P. & Eliza join me in love & good wishes to you & believe me your Ever affectionate friend & niece

M A Polk

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Mary Polk recd. 1rst. answered 2nd. Janry 1833—A. J.

ALS, DLC (41).

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Decbr. 19th. 1832—

Dr Andrew—

I am fearful Sarah has not yet recovered as I have not heard from her, nor received the her promised letter—how is she, and as the *dear baby* got well of the thrash, and how is the family generally.

I have nominated John Donelson to the senate as survayor, under the Mexican Treaty, having found the recommendation of Genl Carroll judge Overton, & the Revd. Mr McCoy; This will give him a salary of two thousand dollars a year from the date of his commission, and from the convulsed state of Mexico, it may be a long time before he is called upon

to perform this duty, and after he reports himself, he can await the orders of the commissioner Col Mc.REE at any point he may choose. This you will apprise John of, his nomination will be acted on soon.

I enclose you some valuable Grass seed handed me by Col Mason who says he collected it in a six month drough, and in a luxuriant & perfect growing state. I wish you to plant or sow it in the garden or some place where it will be preserved, if it will succeed in our climate it will be invaluable as it fattens cattle better, it is said, than any other food, even the best grain *take care of it.*

Write me often for I have no time to write you & Sarah.

Kiss Sarah & my dear little Rachel, who I want to see, for me & believe me affectionately yrs

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC (41).

From James Buchanan

St. Petersburg 20 December N.S. 1832

Dear General,

Although nearly fagged out I cannot suffer Mr. Clay to depart without addressing you a few lines. My official Dispatch will contain all the news relative to the conclusion of the Treaty. After reading it, if you should approve of the manner in which I have conducted the negotiation, it will be a great satisfaction for me to know that I have obtained your approbation.¹

We have received news of the most favorable character respecting the Presidential election from Pennsylvania & New York. Although I have always believed with great confidence in your re-election; ~~but~~ yet there is a difference between the firmest belief & absolute certainty which all those have experienced whose feelings have been warmly enlisted in any cause. In reading the Pennsylvania Newspapers I have a hundred times regretted that I could not be present to take that part in the election which my personal feelings & a regard for the best interests of my country would have dictated. And here permit me to observe that although the professions of others may have been more loud, you have not a friend on earth who rejoices more sincerely than myself at the victory you must have gained over the combined forces of National Republicanism, Anti-Masonry, Bankism & all the other isms which have been arrayed in opposition to you. Long may you live to enjoy this triumph & may your declining years be passed in peace & happiness!

There are some reasons ~~which~~ why in my opinion ~~why~~ Mr. Clay, if convenient, should be transferred to some other situation. I shall leave those to be explained to you by himself. I need scarcely add that they are wholly

independent of the discharge of his official duties. Indeed no person could have performed these better & they have been arduous during the negotiation. Besides he is a young gentleman of good talents of amiable disposition & agreeable manners: & from his knowledge of the French would make a most useful secretary of Legation at any Court in Europe.²

Should his wishes for a change of situation be gratified, you would confer a great favor upon me by knowing the character of his successor yourself, & then I shall have a sure pledge that he will be both competent & agreeable. Indeed unless the ~~man~~ should possess great caution, agreeable manners & a knowledge of the French language, instead of being advantageous to our Country at this Court he might do us a serious injury. There was a gentleman of New York whose name I think is M'Keon—& a member of the Legislature of that state highly recommended to me before I left the Country.³ I never saw him & therefore cannot be a judge. I leave all however to your own choice, with this observation, that if the individual should come to me recommended by yourself I will diminish his expenses considerably by inviting him to become a member of my family as Mr. Clay has been. If not I shall at least try him before I incur any risque in regard to his manners & temper. I shall ever thank you for your advice upon a former occasion in relation to a similar matter. In making this selection perhaps you will have the goodness to consider one circumstance. The person may I trust before very long have to remain here as ~~Secreta~~ Chargé d'affaires. The melancholy death of my brother & the ill state of health of my mother an only surviving parent—& a sister who is very dear to me may make it my duty to ask for permission to return home sooner than I intended. These feelings however shall not interfere with my public duties whilst any thing of importance remains to be done in St. Petersburg; though it is certain that a residence in this country can never become agreeable to a man of my feelings. I ask it as a favor therefore with which I know you will comply, that you would direct that your instructions should be sent ~~to me~~ speedily as to what course I shall pursue in regard to the Treaty concerning maritime rights. Should a favorable opportunity offer, is it your wish I should renew the negotiation?⁴

I have not received the scrape of a pen from the Department of State since I left home.⁵ I suppose this must be the common practice as I cannot ~~suppose~~ imagine I would be made an exception. I have often been mortified on this subject in conversing with my brother Diplomats. They keep up a constant correspondence with their respective Courts; & I have had to evade many questions when a direct answer would imply that I had heard nothing on the subject from Washington. Although it would by no means be necessary to follow, to the extent, the example of European Courts in this respect, yet I think one of the Clerks in the Department of State, if the Secretary cannot spare time, might at least acknowledge the receipt of important Despatches, & send such documents enclosed in the form of a letter as the Presidents message, the reports of

the Secretaries & Postmaster General, & any thing which occurred in Congress of importance to be known at the Legations abroad. For the Tariff Bill as it passed I was indebted to mere accident. I have not received an American Newspaper for more than two months & my friends in writing to me refer me to the papers for political information. I do not yet know who ~~was~~ were the candidates for Congress in my own district at the last election⁶

A few days since I received a letter from Baring & Brothers informing me that ~~they had received orders~~ in consequence of instructions from the Department of State they would pay my salary & contingent expense after the first of January next. For this additional token of your kindness please to accept my ~~kindness~~ thanks. It was utterly impossible, whilst merchants of Amsterdam continued Bankers of this Legation that I should not have had difficulty in settling my accounts.

Excuse me for the liberty I take of writing so freely to you. Mr. Clay will be able to give you much interesting information in regard to this Country. Please to remember me kindly to the members of your Cabinet, particularly to Major Barry, Mr. M'Lane & Mr. Taney. Tell the former I long since expected to have heard from him. Make my best & kindest respects to the ladies of your family & Mr. Donelson & believe me ever to be your grateful & affectionate friend

James Buchanan

P.S. I beg your special attention to my supplemental letter to Mr. Livingston. I do not call it a Despatch & hope it will not be placed on record as such. I shall dress it up in form & send it hereafter by the first opportunity. It contains the whole substance of what occurred at this extraordinary interview⁷

ALS, DLC (41). Copy, PHi (21-1098). *Works of James Buchanan*, 2:306–8.

1. Buchanan and Nesselrode had concluded a commercial treaty on December 18. On December 20 Buchanan wrote Livingston detailing the negotiations (*Works of James Buchanan*, 2:271–98). John Randolph Clay carried that dispatch, the treaty, and this letter to Washington, arriving on February 20, 1833. The treaty was submitted to the Senate on February 22, approved by a vote of 40 to 0 on February 27, ratified April 8, and proclaimed on May 11. On March 21 AJ replied to this letter, praising the treaty and Buchanan's work (*Works of James Buchanan*, 2:328–29).

2. Clay elected to stay on in Russia, and returned bearing AJ's March 21 reply.

3. New York City attorney John McKeon (1808–1883) was a state assemblyman and later congressman.

4. Buchanan's brother, George Washington Buchanan (1808–1832), had died in September. His mother, Elizabeth Speer Buchanan (1767–1833), died in May 1833. His ailing sister was Jane Buchanan Lane (1793–1839). AJ on March 11 and Livingston on April 5, 1833, instructed Buchanan to continue pursuing a maritime treaty, but authorized him to return home if family matters required or if the negotiation proved hopeless (DNA-RG 59, M77-136).

5. No instructions had been sent to Buchanan between March 31 and November 10. Livingston explained to Buchanan on April 5, 1833, that his original instructions were so comprehensive that there had been little reason to write since (DNA-RG 59, M77-136).

6. In October 1832, Anti-Masons Edward Darlington, William Hiester, and David Potts Jr. were elected to Congress from Buchanan's multi-member district.

7. On January 9, 1833, Buchanan sent Livingston a dispatch, dated December 20, relating his interview that day with Nesselrode. He said Nesselrode had called him in, read Baron de Sacken's October 14 protest to the State Department, and himself complained vigorously of American newspaper slanders against the Russian government. Buchanan assured him that Sacken's complaints were unfounded, that Americans' minds had not been poisoned against Russia by stray news reports, and that AJ had no control over the press, as proven by its frequent abuse of him. Buchanan acknowledged to Nesselrode that AJ probably had "some influence" over the *Globe*, and in reporting to Livingston he urged that Blair "abstain at least from severe editorial attacks against the Emperor" and that both the *Globe* and AJ make pointed acknowledgment of the Emperor's "good feelings" as shown by his assent to the commercial treaty (*Works of James Buchanan*, 2:298–306).

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 20. Decr. 1832

My dear Sir,

I have frequently wrote you heretofore on the subject of my expences in Mexico. It seems that there is no prospect of my Rank being increased, and without some addition to my salary or allowances it is impossible for me to remain; indeed nothing but the hope of securing that object on which you place very properly so high a value, and upon which my own desires are all deeply engaged could have kept me here so long. I am convinced from the very extensive ground work I have laid that it is in my power to do more on that subject than any other man who could now be sent, no matter how great his address or how splendid his talents; and if I fail, no other need attempt the enterprize untill the present condition of things shall change. Had not such a complete breaking up of the Government taken place a few months back, I should have effected the object before this—and now with the Administration about to come in, I must feel my way for a short time—however in the Santa Anna party I have friends with whom I can do as much, and who will do as much for me, as any of those who have gone out; it will merely require a little time as I think to set the agency in movement. Without arrogance however I think I may say that my services since placed in this Legation, entitle me to some consideration from the Government, and it most certainly afforded me the highest gratification to receive your letter of September last conveying to me your opinion on the subject. Yet to be "entitled to the thanks of the Nation" whilst the Nation suffers me almost to starve, is but meagre consolation; let Mr. Poinsett be consulted on this matter and he can say at a word how inadequate is the compensation allowed me to support that rank which I am compelled to sustain in this expensive City.¹ In truth My dear Sir, I have sunk nearly \$5000. since my residence here, a sum that I can but illy spare from my decreased means.

After making one more fair effort to attain the object we have so much at heart, I shall retire; if I am successful that of itself will release me—if I fail it will be necessary to follow some other pursuit better calculated to advance my pecuniary interests before it is too late in life for me to do so. In the mean time you may perhaps do something to aid me in my expences here. It is this—to let Government pay my house Rent—and this may well be done under the head of the contingent expences of the Legation. I have been recently informed by a Gentleman now here that our Minister in Spain during the years of 1820, '21 '22 & 23 did so—and perhaps it has continued since—indeed my informant said that he understood it to be the practice of all our foreign Ministers to charge House Rent as one item of contingencies: I beg you My dr Sir to let the Departmt. of State be examined on this subject and if House Rent is allowed inform me—if it is not *generally* done, then I pray you to permit me to do so, if any *single precedent* is to be found that warrants the practice. House Rent is a prodigious item in our disbursements in Mexico—the Br. chargé d'affaires pays \$1800 pr. ann. for a House not in the business part of the City. That of the French Minister is \$2200. I am compelled to put up with a moderate sized house in the suburbs at \$800—and hire one room in the City for an office at \$20 pr. month. The last item for an office I charge to the Government—but were I allowed a residence by my Government as other Foreign Ministers are, I could procure an eligible situation within the city at from \$1000 to \$1200 pr. annum in which the proper apartments for an office would be included and so the office here saved. Indeed I find that it will be necessary to have two rooms for the purpose, so as to receive visitors in the one where the books and papers of the Legation are not kept—and this will cost the Governmt. about 400 to 450 Dols.—nearly the half of the sum I ask to be allowed me.

My application appears the more reasonable, when we recollect that all our other public officers are allowed either a residence or an equivalent. Our Military officers are either found a House, or they charge for “*Quarters*” as we all know. Even the Indian Agents are allowed by Government to build a dwelling house at the public expence and I knew one who not only built the dwelling House, but a large & complete cotton Gin also, that was included under the *item of a dwelling House*. Pray My dear Sir write me on this matter, and either through the Department of State or some Congression provision, procure me at least this small aid to my disbursements—it is but a drop to the Government, but an important matter to me. If on appealing to the practice as recognised by the proceeding of past times such charges are found to have been admitted, then nothing more is necessary than to inform me of the fact—if on the contrary there is no precedent, then pray establish one.

I hope you will also repeat the recommendation to Congress of allowing the chargés a Secretary as well as to a Minister. Why the difference? No good reason can be assigned for it. It is true the officer is of lower grade,

but there is nevertheless the same duties to perform, and our Government not only compel a chargé to live on half the salary of a Minister—but more strange yet—he has to perform *double duty*—for half the salary of a Minister, he must do all that the Minister & his secretary both had to do. What a monstrous absurdity. Now with all other powers except the U. States, a chargé has the competent number of Secretary's & attache's as they are called—all indeed that is allowed to a Minister of the highest Grade, except a *private Secretary*—that they have not. The British chargé d'affaires had two Secretaries when I first arrived here—one has returned home, but another in his place is daily expected. The French chargé had one Secretary, and one other called a chancellor to the Legation—and so with every other foreign agent. Even the Prussian Consul General had a Secretary. Mr. Montoya from Mexico to the U. States has his Secretary. The Ministers here from the South American Republics all have their secretaries. And it is considered strange, and sometimes been remarked upon, that I am not allowed one. All this I submit to your friendly care. I know that you will do for me whatever is in your power; and I know also that you have decision & Independence enough to do Justice at all hazard—and that to incur responsibility on a proper occasion never had any terrors for you. I remain My Dear Sir ever and faithfully your friend & Most obedt Svt.

A: Butler

ALS, DLC (41). On February 7, 1833, AJ sent to Congress a January 31 report from Livingston urging that every diplomat abroad be granted an allowance for house rent, stationery, and clerk hire (*HRDoc* 94, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 234). AJ wrote Butler about it on February 14 (TxU, 22-0374).

1. AJ on September 4 had tendered Butler “the thanks of your Countrymen” (above).

From James O'Hanlon

Columbia 20th Decr. 1832

Dear Sir,

On coming to Town to day I find much excitement &c among the *Nullies* both in & out of the Legislature. Your able and patriotic Proclamation has almost given some of them the *Cholera*, and it would not *shew well* for them to let it pass in silence.

Governor Hayne has issued *his proclamation and general orders* copies of which I herewith send you. Also—Prestons (a man I have long since branded as one of the worst, for his age, in the whole country) resolutions¹

I shall not presume upon your patience to speak about these puny efforts of reckless ambition.

I would write you a long letter did I deem it necessary and give you more fully what is passing here. The public prints contain enough in all

conscience to shew the unhappy state of affairs amongst us—and I apprehend they will be much worse before they can get better.

The Union men are openly threatened with every kind of violence—and in this District where our number is small we are told “we must not assemble together—that it is *treason* and *Rebellion* against the sovereignty of the State.” I am put down first on the list, of those who have incurred the guilt of Carolina Treason &c. If the opposite party do half they threaten the time is close at hand when you may expect to learn of some *lawless act of violence*. They are trying to keep themselves up by raising volunteer companies and making great shew of power. I doubt not however but that your Proclamation will have a very happy effect upon the minds of the people—those who have been deluded into the villiany of Nullification. As my health is bad—(having not entirely recovered from a severe attack of the fever) and I wish to return to *Fort Marion*—(the name of my residence) this evening, I have only time, to thank you for your kind attention in sending me a copy of your admirable Message—as well as the proclamation. Your letter of the 6th. that came with your Message came safe to hand. I read part of it to the Union Convention Confidentially when in secret session and they received it with involuntary applause. It seemed to give them more life and spirit than any thing that had been said—though many very good speeches were made to nerve and strengthen their resolves But when they knew *who* had said that the Ordinance &c &c wasere “Treason and rebellion” some cried out “*enough*,” “what have we to fear, we are right and God and Old Hickory are with us”²

I understand the Legislature have appropriated 400,000 dollars (the most of which to be used at the discretion of the Governor) for the *defence* of the state’s.³

I must not omit to thank you for the kind assurance of a welcome to Mrs. O’Hanlon and myself, should I visit you, *when* “*no imputation*” could be cast upon me “for shrinking from any duty I owe my country.” The *condition* will be remembered. In the mean time I remain your friend

James O’Hanlon

20th. Decr 1832

The Legislature will adjourn this evening. Please excuse the clumsy manner in which I have written you. I will write Major Lewis in a few days. In haste J. O’Hanlon

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] O’Hanlon recd. Decbr 26th. 1832—A. J.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. On December 17, after AJ’s proclamation had reached South Carolina, the state legislature adopted resolutions by representative William Campbell Preston (1794–1860) that requested new governor Robert Y. Hayne to issue a proclamation warning South Carolinians against AJ’s attempt “to seduce them from their allegiance, exhorting them to disregard his

vain menaces, and to be prepared to sustain the dignity, and protect the liberty of the State against the arbitrary measures proposed by the President.” On December 20, Hayne issued a proclamation repelling AJ’s “dangerous and pernicious doctrine” and summoning South Carolinians “to be fully prepared to sustain the dignity and protect the liberties of the State, if need be, with your ‘lives and fortunes’” (*SDoc* 30, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 99, 111, Serial 230). The same day, Preston reported ten resolutions attacking AJ’s proclamation, which passed both legislative houses by large majorities (*Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina*, December 1832 session, “Legislative Proceedings,” pp. 56–60).

2. O’Hanlon had been a delegate to the December 10–14 Unionist convention at Columbia.

3. On December 18, the state legislature appropriated \$200,000 to purchase arms and ammunition if the governor thought it necessary, plus another \$200,000 for a contingent fund at his disposal (*Acts and Resolutions*, pp. 11, 13).

From John Dabney Terrell

Browns Hotel Washington city
Decbr. 20th. 1832

Genl Jackson

my own business called me to Richmond and to this place, I was asked by Levi Colbert safely to deliver the memorial and treaty of that nation into your hands.

It is much to be deplored, that any dissatisfaction should exist. I have conducted the matter confided to my care, with a just caution and prudence, no man in this city knows my business—no man has seen the papers. This was the injunction of the chiefs—I have fulfilled it. I was at that treaty. If the President has any wish on his intimation of it, promptly & frankly I will answer every interrogatory he may put. I understood that Major Allen having some old accounts to settle at this place would accompany the delegation and leave Tuscumbia on the 8th. instant Accept sir the assurance of my perfect consideration.

Jno D Terrell

ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-136).

From William White Crawford

West Tennessee Fayette County Dec. the 21st. 1832

Much Honoured & Dear Sir

This is the first time I have attempted to write to you since your election to the high station which you now hold. though it has not been from a want of respect for you that I have not written to you often but knowing the multiplicity of business that from day to day crowds upon you I have

deferred writing untill the present time I do assure you sir that my feelings are much agitated at the course which South Carolina is taking & to my mortification I have a relation amongst the ring leaders to wit Stephen D. Miller & I am sorry to own him as a relative. You know well Sir that my old Father shed his blood at the battle of the hanging Rock in the struggle for independence & I have a very distinct recollection of the scars which he bore from that place to his grave & as long as I have a nerve to raise my arm I will stand forth in his stead to defend the cause of my happy country.¹ I have the honour to command a Regiment of Tennessee Troops & when ever it is necessary or my country calls me I am ready to defend the Union to the last moment of my existance

I acknowlede that my feelings are up to think that a few designing men should try to divide our Union

I expect dear Sir you are by this time pretty well accustomed to solicitations for appointments & I amongst the rest am an applicant in behalf of my brotherinlaw Elisha S Campbell for the office of Receiver of publick moneys in the Chocktaw Nation Young Mr Campbell is a young man of great promise & I think him well qualified for the office. I will vouch for his honesty & fidelity & if you will be so good as to comply with this request you will meet my warmest wishes. Inclosed you will find a copy of a recommendation (the original of which is in the hands of the Hon. James K Polk) from the citizens of Mississippi state. I allso refer you to Mr. Polk who is acquainted with Mr. Campbell²

If this request should meete your approbation please let me know as soon as convenient[.] I am Sir with every sentiment of esteem your sincere friend

Wm. W. Crawford

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Col. Wm. W. Crawford incloses a copy of a recommendation for Mr Campbell for register choctaw cession & makes a tender of the service of his Regt. to put down the nullifiers—he is the cousin of Govr. Miller—to be answered

ALS, DLC (41).

1. Crawford's mother and Stephen D. Miller's mother were sisters. Miller had presided at the opening of South Carolina's nullifying convention. Crawford's father, James Crawford Jr. (c1755–1816), was wounded at Hanging Rock in August 1780.

2. Crawford enclosed a copy of a November 5 address to AJ from sixty-three Mississippians headed by Felix W. Baird, recommending Elisha S. Campbell for a land office appointment in the Choctaw cession (DLC-41). Campbell had written Polk with another copy on December 7 (*Polk Correspondence*, 1:556–59).

To Maunsel White

Private, in haste & for your own eyes

Washington Decbr. 22nd. 1832

My Dr Col.

I find from a letter received from my son, that my cotton crop, as well as that of my neighbours, has in a great measure failed—that I will not raise more than one third of a crop—he informs me it is well handled, and I suppose by the first of the Newyear will be ready for market. I have directed him to ship it, as usual, to you, and the only instructions I have to give you, is that you exercise your own judgment when to sell it—as I am confident you will obtain the best price for it, that your market will offer. Unless you find that my son is in Nashville when the sale is made, you will remit it as usual to Mr Josiah Nichols of Nashville. I expect my son & daughter on to see me this spring, and if they visit me, they cannot get back to the Hermitage in time to receive the amount of sales, and from the expence of my family there, the amount of the sale of the cotton will be required to meet them.

you will have seen the rebellious course adopted by the state of So. Carolina and my proclamation based upon that ordinance. The right of a state to nullify the laws of the Union, or to destroy it, is so absurd, and reduces our confederated government & perpetual Union, & the more perfect union based upon it, worse than a rope of sand. I believe the people are the sovereign power they have the right to form for themselves what government they please, & when so formed, it can only be altered, amended or dissolved by themselves & in the way they have pointed out in their own constitution. My views you will see fully developed in the proclamation—and if really the virginia doctrine prevails, that a state has a right to secede, & the others have no right to preserve the Union, it reduces every thing to anarchy & strikes at the very existance of society.¹ On this principle a state has the right to secede from the Union, a county has a right to secede from a state, and I as a member of society may allege, that society has infringed on my reserved rights, therefore my natural rights occur, & I dissolve the social compact, rest upon my natural rights. ?What anarchy & confusion such doctrines lead to.

We must look for the reserved rights of the people & the states in the constitution, and for the granted powers; *all not expressly granted to the general Government are reserved to the people & to the states*²—surely the people & the states, must be contented with the enjoyment of all their reserved rights—& when each keep within the pale of the constitution, harmony must prevail—when either attempt to transend it, colision ensues. *The Union must be preserved*, & every patriot will unite with me in preserving it—and the opposers of the law must be coerced to obedience if

necessary to preserve it, or our Union, & liberty with it, is gone forever[.]
with my best wishes yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, C-S (21-1135).

1. The precepts underlying nullification and secession derived from the compact theory of the constitution and the doctrine of state interposition, first set forth in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions in 1798 by James Madison and Thomas Jefferson.

2. AJ paraphrased the Tenth Amendment to the constitution.

From Anthony Butler

Mexico 22. Decr. 1832.

My dear Sir,

The subject alluded to in my last in which I spoke of the injustice done both to your Administration and to myself by the remarks of Mr. Slade in the House of Representatives were the following. In contrasting the Acts of the last Administration with those of the present and where throughout, his object is to disparage yours—he speaks of the Treaties Negotiated by each: He denies you any credit for the arrangement with England, the Treaty with Turkey, or of that with Mexico. It is with the last that I have any concern. He says “this Treaty was Negotiated by Mr. Poinsett during the last administration, and the ratification delayed by the Mexican Government” leaving it to be inferred and evidently intending that it should be believed, that the Treaty existing between us and Mexico was the same Treaty concluded by Mr. Poinsett & the Mexican Plenipotentiaries. Now if Mr. Slade really believes this himself, it serves to prove what little pains, gentlemen take to inform themselves on subjects of a public character, and about which they undertake to instruct the public—asserting matters directly contrary to the facts in the case, and so misleading public opinion instead of informing it. If on the contrary this Mr. Slade was acquainted with the facts, and perverted them to suit the purposes of a party, no epithet of contempt or detestation could be applied to him that he ~~did~~ would not merit.¹

Now it is well known that on my arrival in Mexico Mr. Poinsett was not only so unpopular personally as to fear for his life—but that unpopularity had been transferred to his Government, his Country and his Countrymen. The party who had just obtained power he was particularly obnoxious to—and so little did he believe it possible to effect any thing useful with them, that he urged me to abandon Mexico, as being a hopeless effort to conciliate the Men in power. You remember the tone of my first letter to you on this subject, of which Mr. Poinsett was himself the bearer; and referring you to him for information as to the prospect before us, I urged strongly that you would permit me to return—considering it utterly impracticable to do any thing with the Administration then at the

head of the Government. I was not permitted however to return, and after a few months was able to perceive that the Members of the Governmt. were not so impracticable and difficult of management as they had been described to me. What has been the fruit of all this? Why that very few complaints have been made by any of our Citizens during the past 3 years but what were immediately attended to and redressed, if the means of redress were in the power of the Governmt. Not a single new case has occurred to increase the pecuniary demands of our Countrymen on this Governmt. and all that now remain to be liquidated are those which were created, by illegal seizure of ships, or excessive duties demanded—all happening before my time—since my direction of this legation, but one case of the seizure of a Vessel occurred, and not more than two or three cases of excessive duties—in every instance satisfaction was immediately made me. In the case of the Vessel seized, I really doubted myself from a view of the papers whether the seizure was not strictly proper and legal. She was nevertheless discharged and *permitted to sell her Cargo*—altho' the greater part of it consisted of *prohibited* articles.

We will come back to the Treaty as spoken of by Mr. Slade. Now so far from this being the Treaty negotiated by Mr. Poinsett and the ratification delayed—The Treaty by him was rejected—17 articles of which being struck out by the Congress. In a Treaty of Commerce & Navigation between the U. S. and any foreign power there will necessarily be an Agreement between all our Treaties in regard to the great Land marks we have set up, and in that respect there is but the same resemblance which the Treaty of Mr. Poinsett himself bears to all its predecessors—but I insist that the Treaty now in force is not only not the Treaty Negotiated by my predecessor, but is a new Treaty and differing from the one he concluded in many *essential* features. For instance the Treaty of 1828 following the language of that between Mexico & G. Britain permitted the Mexican Government *to exact money from our Citizens*, by the name of *forced loan* whenever a necessity was supposed to require it. After much discussion I compelled the Mexican plenipotentiaries to strike these words out—and thereby obtaining a modification of the former Treaty of most important character. I also succeeded in obtaining an Article regulating and guaranteeing the inland Trade with Missouri, which Mr. Poinsett could not effect—and except these two articles, which are surely of the first magnitude the Treaty is just such an one as all our Treaties of Commerce are.²

Let the one Negotiated by me be compared with that of 1828, a Copy of which will be found in the Department of State, and the differences will appear. I think this matter should be put to rights by a few remarks on the subject in the Globe, not only in Justice to the Administration, but in justice to me, for I confess that it has been my fortune to have filched from me ~~the small~~ within the last 2 or three years all the credit to which I am entitled ~~within the last two or three years~~ for services rendered my

country that I am getting a little sore on the subject. The first thing of this sort which appeared was in a correspondence between Col. Richard M. Johnson and a Committee appointed in N. York to invite him to a dinner. In the invitation they dwell upon his public services, and amongst others speak of his efforts to carry through Congress a Law to abolish *imprisonment for Debt*, which they highly applaud for its humane as well as just policy—and they congratulate him on being able to secure for his own State (Kentucky) this great benefit, which he has been patriotically and benevolently laboring to confer on the Union at large. Colo. Johnson in his reply has not candor enough to disclaim the Merit imputed to him.—for although he does not say in so many words that he did achieve that advantage for Kentucky, he by his silence leaves it to be inferred that he did so. When in truth the thing was done two years before Col. Johnson ever moved it in Congress. Who did it? Myself. I was chairman of the Committee who originated the subject. The report was every word written by me. The Law was framed by me. Mr. John Pope, Thos. P. Moore (now in Columbia) and myself carried it through the House of Representatives in Kentucky, and Mr. Barry & Mr. Bledsoe supported it with their splendid efforts in the Senate. Yet the credit of this is taken from me, and bestowed on Colo. Johnson who had no more to do with it, than you had.—and never stirred the question in Congress untill after we had gained the Victory in Kentucky.³ Besides I have read very recently a stupid book written by one Thos. L. McKenney called a “Tour to the Lakes” in which he speaks of certain events of the last War—and places all the credit to account of Col. Croghan—and these incidents Col. Croghan had no more agency in than Col. Johnson had with the bill for abolishing imprisonment for Debt. Whatever merit was due for the services to which Col. McKenney alludes was due to me, all was done by me personally or under my immediate orders—yet all is bestowed on another. In this tour Col. McKenney speaks of Col. Croghan being with him, but I cannot permit myself to believe for a moment, that Col. Croghan would so far forget what was due to another or to his own character as a Gentleman & a soldier as to see appropriated to himself that to which he had no claim. I take it for granted therefore that the error is an offspring of this Col. McKenney’s own imagination.⁴ I have written you a long letter and mostly occupied with matters exclusively my own. I hope you will however pardon me, in consideration of its sole object being to obtain justice for myself. Since my location here I have not only had others to usurp what was my due—but I have been grossly slandered, and calumniated, all of which shall be settled when I return,—amongst others I have a claim on Mr. Clay that he shall not escape if we ever live to meet again.

I am daily expecting to hear from the Elections in the U. States of which nothing has transpired as yet. As to your reelection, I have never doubted but I wish to see the Majorities—and especially to see the result

in Ohio & Kentucky. Wishing you all the happiness this world can afford
you I remain Most Respectfully & truly your friend

A. Butler

ALS, DLC (41).

1. William Slade (1786–1859), a State Department clerk under Adams and now a Vermont Anti-Masonic congressman, had given a House speech beginning May 5 in which he compared the diplomatic record of the Adams and Jackson administrations. Belittling the latter’s “boasted diplomacy,” he listed among its few treaties: “*Mexico*.—Treaty of commerce, navigation, and limits Negotiated by Mr. Poinsett during the late administration. Ratification delayed by the Mexican Government until after the time limited in the treaty. Re-negotiated by this administration” (*Register of Debates*, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 2772–73).

2. Poinsett had concluded a commercial treaty with Mexico in February 1828. The Senate approved it, but the Mexican Congress rejected fourteen articles and never ratified it (*Treaties*, 3:414–15). Poinsett was recalled in 1829, having been accused by the Mexican government of meddling in its internal affairs. Article IX of Poinsett’s 1828 treaty, closely following Article X of an 1826 treaty between Mexico and Britain, provided that citizens of both countries should be exempt from compulsory military service; “nor shall any forced loan be imposed upon them, nor shall they be subjected to any other charges, or contributions, or taxes, than such as are paid by the citizens of the States in which they reside.” The Mexican government had contended that the wording allowed forced loans against aliens if they were levied against Mexicans as well. The corresponding Article IX of Butler’s 1831 treaty omitted mention of forced loans. Article XXXII provided for regulating and protecting the overland trade between Missouri and New Mexico (Clive Parry, ed., *The Consolidated Treaty Series*, 77:48; *ASP Foreign Relations*, 6:953; *Treaties*, 3:605, 621–22).

3. A Working Men’s meeting in New York City on March 26, 1832, had nominated Richard M. Johnson for vice president with Jackson and accorded him credit “more than to any other man” for the “persevering and masterly support of the *abolition of imprisonment for debt*” that led to its triumph in Kentucky and elsewhere. A letter from Johnson endorsing working men’s measures was read at the meeting (*Workingman’s Advocate*, March 31, 1832). Johnson had entered the U.S. Senate in 1819 and introduced a bill to abolish federal imprisonment for debt on December 10, 1822. Kentucky had abolished it by a law of December 17, 1821. Butler had chaired and John Pope and Thomas Patrick Moore (1797–1853) had been members of the house committee that framed the Kentucky abolition bill. William T. Barry was then lieutenant governor. Moore was later a congressman and was appointed minister to Colombia by AJ in 1829. Jesse Bledsoe (1776–1836) had been a state and U.S. senator.

4. Thomas Loraine McKenney (1785–1859) had headed the War Department’s Indian Affairs office from its creation in 1824 until his removal in 1830. His *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes* (1827) recounted his 1826 journey to present Minnesota to negotiate a Chippewa treaty. Army inspector general George Croghan (1791–1849) had accompanied him part-way. McKenney’s narrative praised Croghan’s exploits on the northern frontier in the War of 1812, where Butler had fought as a U.S. infantry colonel.

From Martin Van Buren

Albany Decr 22d 1832

My dear Sir

I trouble you with the enclosed that my letter to Forsyth may pass through your hands. You may seal it or deliver it open to him at your election. If you have not already conversed with him this may furnish

the opportunity. We shall give you the best aid in our power to overcome existing difficulties. The “Argus” of this mornng. has broken ground as to the course N.york ought to pursue—that will be regularly & steadily followed up. I will direct a copy of the paper to be sent to you. Please to read the Number of to day. The manufacturers will give us all the trouble they can but we shall ultimately all get right. The great body of the people feel precisely as they should do & the Gov & the Legislature will, the former I know, & the latter I trust do their duty. *Our* people are somewhat restive under the attempts of the opposition to convert some portions of the proclamation into a condemnation of the State Right doctrines of Virginia, & the South. You will see how that matter is treated in the Argus.¹ They find some difficulties in holding meetings from the proneness of the other side to act upon the principle I have referred to, & from a general disposition to say harsh things which may do harm where good is intended. In Nyork this matter has been gotten over well. The safe conduct of our affairs here, requires, from the diversity of opinion which exists in regard to the Tairiff, & the violence of feeling which has grown out of the late election, great discretion & good temper. Whatever I can do to keep matters in a right course shall be done.

Remember me cordially to Major & Mrs. Donelson, Major Lewis & Mr. Earl & Mr. Breathit & believe me to be very truly yours

M. Van Buren

P. S. I enclose you a letter from little Smith who is ~~at school~~ pursuing his studies among the Yankies—which please to burn when you have read it, or rather give it to my Son.

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] M. Van Buren The letter of his son Smith enclosed to the Major with

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-1131).

1. On December 22 the *Albany Argus* applauded the unanimity of support for AJ’s proclamation and preservation of the Union, while condemning “base and miserable” opposition efforts to claim AJ as an opponent of state’s rights. These “incendiary” claims, it charged, were made with the apparent aim of driving Virginia and Georgia to South Carolina’s defense, precipitating a crisis and perhaps a war, and “rising as the country sinks.” New York’s true course should be to “go with the President, with her whole heart, against Nullification,” and then for reconciliation by reducing the tariff.

To Martin Van Buren

Washington Decbr. 23rd. 1823.

My Dr. Sir,

your letter of the 19th. instant has this morning been received with its inclosure; which, I herewith, as requested, return it to you

We can make no appointment, as you are aware, of a minister to Mexico until Congress will make the appropriation. this it will not do, until our minister returns from Columbia, if even then. The present revolutionary movements in Mexico, with the uncertainty when stability may be given to its government, is also now in the way, and until we have some assurance that the, *de facto*, government will remain long enough to form the Treaty of limits we cannot urge with propriety upon Congress the necessity of sending a minister there.

you may assure him in yr reply that he is not forgotten, but those events that have occurred in Mexico, was not foreseen, nor were the causes that has prevented an appropriation, within our controle to prevent—the first moment that offers that we can with propriety act we will do so—and I know his patriotism too well, not to believe that with this our course he will be content.

You see the course of the nullifiers in the virginia assembly.¹ I was aware of the combination between them, & Calhoun & Co, and the haste, they leaders in So. Carolina, had shewn was to get their Rebellious ordinance before the Virginia Legislature that their nullifying doctrines, & rights of secession, should be sustained by them. It was no time to temporise the subject must be met, & to do it successfully, it must be boldly met at the threshold, or all was lost. This abominable doctrine that strikes at the root of our Government and & the social compact, & reduces every thing to anarchy, must be met and put down or our union is gone, & our liberties with it forever. The true Republican doctrine is, that the people are the sovereign power that they have the right to establish such form of Government they please, and we must look into the constitution which they have established, for the powers expressly granted, the ballance being retained to the people, & the states. When we Look into the confederation of the thirteen *united* states of america, we find there a perpetual Union & that it might last forever, we find the express power granted to congress to settle all disputes that may arise between the states. What next—we find upon experience, that this perpetual union & confederation is not perfect—in this discovery—“We the people of these United States,” “to form a more perfect Union” &c &c, do ordain & establish this constitution as the supreme law of the land.² When we look into this instrument, we can find no reserved right to nullify or secede—but we find a positive provision, how it is to be altered or amended; These must be adopted or it must be changed by revolution—when this is attempted by a state a perfect right remains in the other states & the people, if they have the

power, to coerce them to obey the laws & preserve their moral obligations to the other. Let us remark one absurdity out of thousands that could be named. Congress have power to admit new states into the Union. Under Territorial Govts. they are bound by the laws of the Union, new states cannot force themselves into the Union; but the moment they are admitted, they have a right to secede & destroy the confederation & the Union with it. The virginia doctrine brings me in mind of a bag of sand with both ends opened, the moment the least pressure is upon it, the sand flows out at each end. The absurdity is too great to be dwelt on. The people of virginia are sound. The Union will be preserved, & Treators punished, by a due execution of the laws, by the *Possee comitatus*—in haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-1147).

1. On December 13 Governor John Floyd had conveyed South Carolina's nullification ordinance to the Virginia House of Delegates with approving commentary. On December 20 a committee reported thirteen resolutions which declared the tariff unequal and oppressive and denounced the unconstitutional doctrines of AJ's proclamation, but also reproved nullification as a precipitous remedy likely to produce civil war. They appealed to both sides to forbear from force, and to Congress to interpose a settlement by reducing the tariff (*Richmond Enquirer*, December 15 and 22). The resolutions were debated into the new year.

2. AJ paraphrased the Preamble to the constitution.

To Andrew Jackson Jr.

Washington Decbr. 24th. 1832—

My son

Inclosed, I send for your brother John, a commission as surveyor under the Treaty of limits with Mexico—you will give it to him as early as possible, that he may acknowledge its receipt, and address a note, of acceptance, or non acceptance to the secretary of state. I have wrote him fully on the subject, and he will be the best judge what to do in the matter. From the distracted state of Mexico at present, it may be some time before her commission is ready to meet ours.¹

I have received no letter from you or any of the family since yours of the November last—surely the boys, Byron and jame must have reached you shortly after the date of your last letter. ?How is yr dear Sarah & my little Rachel. I fear Sarah has lingered in her bed, or I would have heard from her—present me kindly to her & all your houshold & kiss the sweet little Rachel for me and believe me affectionately yrs.—say to Thomas & Emma, they must be very selfish, as they keep all their happiness to them selves. I scarcely hear of them I have written to Col M. White that you will ship our cotton to him for marktett & that it being a short crop it will be soon on the water to him &c &c.

Andrew Jackson

P.S. Your filly is now in good condition—\$2000 has been proposed for her—shall I take it. A. J.

ALS, DLC (41).

1. AJ again confused AJ Jr.'s brother John Donelson with his cousin John Donelson Jr.

To Edward Livingston

Decbr. 24th. 1832

The President with his respects to the secretary of state, will thank him to turn to the act of congress “To carry into effect the limits under the treaty with Mexico” & give me his opinion when the salaries of the commissioners & surveyor commence. What is his construction of the proviso in the act, “that the salaries of these officers shall not commence until ordered into service. Has the commissioner Col McRee, been receiving his salary since the date of ~~the~~ his commission—please answer this inquiry, because no one will accept a commission which will prevent him from engaging in other business, if he is not to receive the salary attached.

AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). To run the Mexican boundary line, a July 3 Act had appropriated \$2,500 for a commissioner's salary, \$2,000 for a surveyor's, and \$1,200 for a clerk's, provided that the salaries “not commence until they shall be ordered into service” (*Statutes*, 4:558–59).

To William McLean Berryhill

(Private)

Washington Decbr. 25th. 1832—

My Dr. Sir,

I have recd. your letter and that of My dear Harriets. The request could not be granted. The division of the companies having been made by the secretary of war some time gone by, for reasons that still exist, & suttlers appointed to each, the secretary of war would not unite them—therefore, Mr. Wilson was appointed. If it had been proper to have altered the rule adopted, it would have given me pleasure to have gratified Capt Nowland & Harriet.¹

I have not time to say more—you will have seen that added to all my other perp[lexities] that of the nullifiers of the South ha[. . .] [. . .] med an attitude that occupies [. . .] of my time, & thoughts. *The Union* [. . .] *be preserved*; and in putting d[own] rebellion, & treason, when it as[umes] that shape, our republican gov[ernment] based upon that perpetual unio[n] formed by our Confederation, made more perfect by the people of the United States, will be made more stable both at home &

more respected abroad. I refer you to my proclamation for my views, & determination, which will be fully carried out. With my respects to your amiable family in which Harriet is included believe me very respectfully yr friend

Andrew Jackson

ALS, T (21-1160). Facsimile, *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, May 1965, p. 588. Part of the manuscript is missing. William McLean Berryhill (1785–1836) was a Nashville merchant.

1. Edward W. B. Nowland, husband of Berryhill's daughter Harriet Craig Berryhill Nowland (1809–1864), had been appointed sutler to four companies at Fort Gibson in February. The death on November 12 of John P. Decatur, another sutler at the fort, created a vacancy that was filled by Thomas Edmiston Wilson (1804–1880).

To Martin Van Buren

Washington Decbr. 25th. 1832

My Dr. Sir,

I have recd. to day under cover to me the inclosed letter, from our mutual friend judge Overton, with the request that I would forward it to you, which I comply with, with much pleasure.

I have just recd. a letter from Mr Poinsett who says, “nothing but force will stop the career of these madmen in the south”—he sends me the proceedings of the union convention & says, they are collecting strength, & the moment the nullifiers raise an army to resist the laws, they will organise & arm, in their defence.

If so, & they call for aid, it will be promptly yielded, and the moment the nullies authorise an army to be raised & enter upon it, it is then *a levying of war* and *Treason within the terms* of the constitution. I will on that event Issue my proclamation ordering them to disperse, directing a prosecution against all they leaders for rebellion & Treason, and order a sufficient force as the posse Comitatus of the Marshall, or his deputies, seize their leaders—Where to be found, regardless of the force that surrounds them—deliver them into the hands of the judicial authority of the United States & let it decide whether they have committed rebellion or Treason against the U. States. I will do my duty, preserve the Union, and strengthen it, both at home & abroad

The absurdity of the virginia doctrine is too plain to need much comment. If they would say, that the state had the right to fight, & if she has the power, to revolutionise ~~her~~ ~~go~~ it would be right—but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that the other states have equal rights, and the right to preserve the Union. The preservation of the Union is the supreme law. To shew the absurdity, congress have the right to admit New states—when territories, the are subject to the laws of the Union—the day after admission they have the right to secede & dissolve it. We gave five

millions for Louisiana¹ we admitted her into the Union, she too has the right to secede, close the commerce of six states, & levy contribution both upon exports & imports—a state cannot come into the union without the consent of congress, but it can go out when it pleases—such a union as this would be like a bag of sand with both ends open—the least pressure & it runs out at both ends. It is an insult to the understanding of the sages who formed it, to believe that such a union was ever intended—it could not last a month. It is a confederated perpetual union, first made by the people in their sovereign state capacities, upon which, we the people of these U. States, made a more perfect union, which can only be dissolved by the people who formed it, & in the way pointed out in the instrument—or by revolution. I write in haste for your own eye—with a tender to you of the joys of the season, & the return of many happy ones, I am in haste yr friend

Andrew Jackson

P.S. When I sat down, it was to inclose you the judges letter—but the subject of nullification Rebellion & treason in the south, you see, employs my thoughts, & I gave them, in the crude manner you will see. A. J.

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-1162).

1. In 1803 the U.S. had purchased the entire Louisiana territory from France for \$15 million in cash and assumed debts.

[Enclosure: John Overton to Van Buren]

Private

Nashville Decr 12th 1832

Dear Sir

Though apparently late, permit me to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind notice of me, whilst in London.¹ About the time of your return to the U. States, I was among your friends at the Baltimore convention

Our mutual friend, the President, has long known my views in relation to yourself, and the local bearing of N. York, on the other states, when taken in connexion with its prominent commercial trait of character

Unanimity among its own people, is all that is wanting to develope the useful effects of its inherent advantages; among which, it should not be forgotten, that the great mass of the people are highly republican in their habits and sentiments. With the extent of its territory, population, and wealth, what more should be desired, to make it the pivot, on which all should rest. Nothing but unanimity, and taking care, by a long course of careful consideration and rearing, that you have, by the general consent of N.Y, some one, of integrity, talents, and notoriety with the nation, to present to its view, in time

At present, in you, we meet with just such a man as the Country wants, to succeed the General. It was this conviction that carried me to Baltimore

in a weak state of health, now much restored, to throw in a mite; not to elect General Jackson, for that object, I considered secure, but to defend, and preserve you, for the attainment of a higher object—to lay the foundation of *permanent Republicanism and Union*. Now, then, it is believed, that the God of nature looks to the people of N.Y for the highest trust which could be assigned to man. It is that state alone, in all probability, which must preserve the Union. Ages may pass away before we meet with another Washington, Jefferson or Jackson in the South or West. We should not calculate on it. Would to God that NYork may see the propriety of acting in concert, as Virginia has uniformly done

Then, there would be no difficulty, as the three great States of N.Y. Pennsyla. & Virginia, uniting as they do, in political principles, would with attention, agree in other matters; thus saving, in all time to come, the Union from dissolution

Virginia, with the South, and South Western states, never can agree, or get along with a Chief from one of those, densely settled, manufacturing eastern states. The proximity of N.Y, would serve as a barrier, and by force of sympathy, with other causes, would keep the New Englanders in order, and the *Union* from being lost in the vortex of consolidation, towards which, with them there is, and will be, a constant tendency—

Involved, necessarily, in this state of things, is a National Bank, such as we have seen Internal Improvts, with consequent, illimitable taxation, both direct and indirect beside other innumerable trespasses on the reserved rights of the states

Enough has been said, and more perhaps, but you will excuse, and attribute it to anxiety for my beloved country

With Genl Jackson, at present, we can get along, with some trouble, but no fear as to the result. It is the *future*, about which I am most anxious. It is to you, and N.Y. that all sagacious men must look, for the continuance of the work begun by General Jackson—for, at least the next half century; by which time, it is hoped, Republicanism will be too firmly established, ever, afterwards, to be shaken.

I congratulate my country that you have triumphed over your enemies; and *per Saltum*, have been placed in the attitu[de] designed by providence²

Present me to Messrs Wright, Flagg & Dix of Albany—Bloodgood, Fish and Cambreling of N.Y with Mr Tallmadge, with whom I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted at the convention of Bale, but particularly to Mess Wright & Flagg, with the first of whom I conversed freely, and ~~with~~ to the latter feel gratified for his kind attentions & sending me pamphlets[.]³ Accept the assurance of my highest Resp. & best wishes for the [*preservation*] of life & health

Jno. Overton

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-1166).

1. Van Buren had written Overton on September 21, 1831, about his first days in London (Overton Papers, THi).

2. *Per saltum* means in a single bound or all at once.

3. Silas Wright, Azariah Flagg, state adjutant general and later U.S. senator John Adams Dix (1798–1879), insurance president Abraham Bloodgood (1764–1837), merchant Preserved Fish (1766–1846), Churchill Cambreleng, and Nathaniel P. Tallmadge had been delegates, with Overton, to the May convention at Baltimore that nominated Van Buren for vice president.

To Edward Livingston

Decbr. 26th. 1832—

The secretary of state will cause to be made out, agreeable to the enclosed resolution, all appointments from members of Congress, going back to the 3rd. day of March 1825. This is one year previous to the date in the resolution, and before which, all the appointments of members of Congress by Mr Adams was made to fill his cabinet, & foreign missions—for the full information of the Congress & the nation I will add the others, as it is supposed, the object is to contrast this, with Mr Adams administration—if this be the object, & I can see no other, then all the facts ought to be known. You will have to call upon the Secretary of the ~~House~~, & Senate & Clerk of the House for a roster of the member from the 3rd of March 1825 to this date—or the journals may shew.

AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). On December 26 the House of Representatives passed, by 102 to 73, a resolution requesting a list of all congressmen who, since April 13, 1826, had received executive appointments either during their terms or within twelve months after (*House Journal*, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 97–101, Serial 232). On December 27 State Department clerk Daniel Brent wrote Senate secretary Walter Lowrie for a certified list of members (DNA-RG 59, M40-23). Matthew St. Clair Clarke (1791–1852) was clerk of the House. Livingston reported to AJ on January 5, 1833. He listed fifteen then sitting or recent congressmen who had received appointments since April 13, 1826, and four more between then and March 3, 1825 (DNA-RG 59, 22-0032). On January 7 AJ Donelson wrote Livingston at AJ's behest, asking to separate the lists of sitting and former members (DNA-RG 59, M179-72). Livingston submitted the revised report to AJ on January 23, and AJ sent it to the House the same day (*HRDoc* 76, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 1–3, Serial 234).

From Martin Van Buren

Albany Decr. 27th. 1832

My dear Sir

Your last has in consequence of the obstructions in the travelling been long detained by the way.¹ It gives me sincere pleasure to find from its contents that the unusal & severe crisis of in our public affairs finds you in such fine health & spirits. I agree with you fully, that any thing which would wear the appearance of faltering in the course which you consider pointed out by your duty, might, be fatally injurious to the country, and

detrimental to the character of Republican Governments; sensible that you must estimate your standing with the people too well, to think any thing beyond what is absolutely necessary requisite, to keep the public mind satisfied, that happen what may you will do your duty. Depend upon it my dear Sir, that there is scarcely an individual in the country who doubts that for a moment, & that there is no man who can forbear to the last point with more safety than yourself. I like your suggestions in respect to your proposed application to Congress in respect to every step you propose to take; but am not sufficiently acquainted with the law of Treason to decide whether the *mere passage* of the bills would constitute the crime & justify the measure you speak of. That should be well and carefully looked into, and no position assumed in your communication to Congress upon so delicate a point, which is not palpably correct; as the doctrine of a *constructive levying of war* is justly unpopular in this Country; rendered the more so by the abuses of it in Europe. In all your communications to congress therefore I would confine my request, as strictly as possible, to the employment of the forces granted by them to exigencies which render its exercise indispensable to the due execution of the laws. The extent to which the hopes of the people rest upon you, & the intense anxiety that nothing should be done that can be avoided, which lessens the chances of an amicable adjustment, will excuse, if they do not require, the observance of a greater degree of caution than might otherwise be deemed necessary. You will say I am on my old track—caution—caution: but my Dr Sir, I have always thought, that considering our respective temperaments, there was no way perhaps in which I could better render you that service which I owe you as well from a sense of deep gratitude as public duty.

I regret to see that ~~some~~ the discussion of some of the doctrinal points of the proclamation, the most assailable of which might perhaps have been omitted without weakening the force or probable effect of that document, is likely to bring you in collision with Virginia. Whilst you carry the great body of the people in the other states with you upon the vital point, you will I am sure receive the dissent of that state with those feelings of toleration & magnanimity, which you have never failed to exhibit in all *honest* differences of opinion, upon points in respect to which men are so apt to disagree as the theory & proper operation of our peculiar system of Government. As matters stand, & as they are I think likely to remain there is no difference of opinion between you which interferes with the performance of your duty according to your own views of it; and the present is not a season for the settlement or discussion of abstract propositions. They disclaim indignantly the right of a state to ~~inter~~ resist the execution of the laws, whilst she is in the Union, and insists that such resistance is criminal, and admits, as who can deny, your duty to see to their execution. South Carolina has not, & will not Secede. She will avail herself of the mediation of Virginia and postpone the operation of her ordinance of this there cannot be reasonable doubt. It would be worse than madness

in her to refuse to do so, & her leading men will be stimulated to it by the pressure of their internal dissensions. Even if she succeeds most of the Virginians will admit, that it is a question for the remaining members of the confederacy to decide, whether they will form a new Government, or wage a war agt her to compel her to remain in the Union, and that the right of deciding upon the subject, whether the authority attempted to be exercised over her is authorized by the constitution or not, is reciprocal, as well also as the means of redress. If so that question is fitly to be decided by Congress, where you also mean to go for your means & authority. But my second sheet is nearly full & my letter already as long as you have time to read. I would have written you yesterday but have been engaged with the Gov in looking over his message. I hope & trust that he will respond fully to your last message upon the Subject of the Tairiff.² If so the public opinion here will soon settle down right & our members will be strengthened in their good intentions Look at the Argus of to day. Remember me kindly to all your family & accept my sincere prayers for your health & happiness

M. Van Buren

ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (21-1183).

1. This was AJ's of December 15, above.

2. New governor William L. Marcy's annual message to the New York legislature on January 2, 1833, branded nullification as "fatally repugnant" to the Union and upheld the principle of tariff protection, but offered New York's generous acquiescence in such modification as would "remove all just ground of complaint, and afford substantial relief to every real grievance" (Charles Z. Lincoln, ed., *Messages from the Governors*, vol. 3 [Albany, 1909], pp. 420-21, 427-28).

From Adam Diller

Lancaster Pa. Decr. 28, 1832

Sir,

From the rebellious disposition manifested by South Carolina, it will perhaps become our painful duty to defend our happy Union by military force. Should you think it expedient to make a call from Pennsylvania, my services are hereby tendered to the Government, not only as Major General of a Division; but if requested, I will immediately proceed to raise a company or battalion of mounted riflemen, who shall be ready to march whenever required.

There are in my Division, at this time, two troops of horse, one company of Artillery, eleven companies of infantry, and two of riflemen, all volunteers, handsomely equipped and well disciplined. I am fully convinced these would all march in defence of the Union whenever the President may see fit to demand their services.

· December 1832 ·

An early answer to this communication would exceedingly gratify,
Your Faithful and Obedt. Servt.

Adam Diller
Major Genl. 4 Division Penna. Mil

[*Endorsed by AJ:*] Major Genl Diller Pa tender of service &c &c—referred
to the Dept. of War A. J.

LS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-113). Diller (1790–1859) was later adjutant general of
Pennsylvania.

From John Henry Eaton

28 Der. 32

I had forgotten that Mr. Saunders gave me a letter for you. I recollect now
that he did and it is yet amongst my papers.

The substance tho, I detailed to you, as you will recollect; & in a letter
to Mr. Payton, who also was knowing to Mr Saunders conversation,
I detailed what you said, substantially this—“That Genl. Desha had told
you of some rude & improper remarks made by Mr. Saunders, & that you
answered, had he made them in your presence, you would have slapped
him or any other man; but that your answer grew out of the communica-
tion made to you by Desha”

This I stated to Payton, & requested him to make it known to Saunders.
Before this my letter has reached Gallatin[.] Yrs

Eaton

ANS, DLC (41). David M. Saunders had written AJ on December 12 (above). AJ replied to
him on December 30 (below). Payton was likely Balie Peyton (1803–1878) of Gallatin, later
a congressman.

To Lewis Cass

Decbr. 30th. 1832—

[The President with] his respects to the secretary of war, incloses for
his perusal a letter just recd from Genl Coffee, who will be here in a few
days; in all the present week. This letter was omitted by mistake to be
forwarded, with those from the agent, Col Reynolds.

The sub-Agent, has been behaving badly I fear—but as his acts are
improper, he must meet his fate of removal.

AN, DNA-RG 75 (21-1206). AJ enclosed John Coffee's letter of December 12 (above).

To David Mitchell Saunders

Washington Decbr. 30th. 1832

Dear Sir

your letter of the 12th. instant has been recd. and I hasten to reply to it. I will first remark, if this *tale bearer* Genl Desha, had stated the facts as they really took place you would have fully understood them without any explanation from me.

I never had any idea, before the intelligence given me by Genl Desha but ~~you~~ that you were & ever had been my friend, I had always considered you so, and I knew that ~~on my part neither by word or deed~~ had I had given you no cause ~~for you~~ to be otherwise

Some time early in the year 1830 Genl Desha visited me, and ~~in his conversation stated~~ introduced a conversation that had taken place between you and him, in which you had used some of the most *rude*, & *opprobrious* epithets with regard to myself. To which I answered, that if you or any other person ~~had~~ made use of such language in my presence old as I was I would have slapped him—my language was based upon the information given by Genl Desha, who at that time, I had no ~~doubt~~ idea but that he was a man of truth & related the facts truly but soon afterwards, I had proof of his want of viracity, in his falshoods about Major Eaton which he had propagated & in which he had been detected & exposed, and the falshoods which he had communicated to Colo. Burford ~~and~~ when his tale about your opprobrious epithets were passed by me to the credit of his fondness for *tatling*, and I thought no more about it. The Scriptures says “blessed is the peacemakers.”¹ The reverse must be true; and Genl Desha for his tatling must have brought down many curses upon himself. and I now assure you that this was the only occasion, that I ever had any cause for hostile or unpleasant feelings towards you.

Major Eaton, after his return to this city named the circumstance to me, informed that he had recd. a letter from Mr Payton on the subject, and I requested the major, in reply, to state the facts I have here repeated, which I suppose he has done.

With my respects to your lady and best wishes for yourself, I am very respectfully yr mo. obdt. servt.²

Andrew Jackson

ALS draft, DLC (41). Saunders replied on January 15, 1833. He explained that he had written Desha in 1830, when the two were friends, censuring AJ's reported plan to appoint Samuel Houston to some high office. Saunders thought preferment to Houston would degrade Houston's estranged wife, Eliza Allen, who was Saunders's niece. He had also sent an anonymous critical piece to the *National Intelligencer*. Desha had shown both the letter and the newspaper piece to AJ, who called Saunders a “contemptible puppy” and other names, which Desha had then reported back to Saunders in order to alienate him from AJ and Eaton (DLC-42).

1. Matthew 5:9. David Burford and others had reported to AJ in 1830–31 that Desha was saying AJ had turned against him over the Eaton affair and was interfering in Tennessee elections, both of which AJ said were lies.

2. Saunders's wife was Jane Dwyer Saunders.

To Edward Livingston

Decbr. 31rst. 1832

The President with his respects to the Secretary of State, incloses for his perusal, a private letter just recd. from Mr Buchanan Rusia. This in done that you may take occasion, to speak to the chairman of Foreign relations on the subject of our ministers salaries—you are at liberty to extract so much of Mr. B. letter as relates to that subject & return the letter.

AN, NjP-Livingston Papers (mAJs). AJ enclosed James Buchanan's letter of October 13 (above). Livingston submitted a report to AJ on January 31, 1833, on the inadequacy of American diplomatic salaries, which AJ forwarded to the House of Representatives (*HRDoc* 94, 22d Cong., 2d sess., Serial 234). William S. Archer chaired the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Draft by Francis Preston Blair on the Bank of the United States

[This undated text was evidently intended for use in a message to Congress. It does not resemble anything in Jackson's delivered messages. It was most likely composed sometime between 1831 and 1833.]

Within the limits of this District the powers of Congress are as complete as those of the respective State Legislatures within the limits of the states. I entertain the Opinion, therefore, that a Bank may be established at the seat of Government, endowed with faculties to aid the Treasury in the collection & distribution of the public Revenue. The wisdom of Congress could doubtless devise regulations in connexion with such an Institution, as would enable it operating through similar Institutions as its agents in the several states, to secure all the public advantages of the present Bank of the United States, without incurring the hazards & mischiefs, which appertain to this Institution as at present organized. For the benefit, which would be conferred on the state Banks in becoming the Agents & Depositories of that immediately connected with the Treasury, there is no doubt, but that the several state Legislatures would associate the state interests with such local Institutions & guarantee the safety of the Deposits entrusted to them for safe keeping & disbursement. By the coop-

eration of state Legislation with that of Congress, both uniting to impart the credit of the General & Local Governments to the federal & state Institutions, a safe Bank currency might certainly be created, every where redeemable in specie, which would more adequately supply, ~~as the Bank of the United States~~ the circulating medium of commerce for the country than that now furnished by the Bank of the United States & its Branches; for the notes or rather checks issued by the latter, are not payable in specie at the points where they are issued—

I consider it essential to the preservation of the liberties of the people & the Independence of the states if a Bank Government must be established in the Union, that it partake of the nature of our Institutions. It should be assimilated, by a division of its powers, to our federal & state Governments, that the checks & balances thus produced, may protect against the tyranny, which there is reason to apprehend from an Establishment, holding an absolute controul over the currency. A controul over the currency, is in effect a controul over the ~~value of~~ property of the country, & must resolve itself into a controul over the people. This great power is now held by a Board of Directors in Philadelphia a majority of whom is elected by the President of the Bank of the United States, by virtue of the proxies obtained from the stock holders. The whole power of the Institution is thus concentrated in one hand. The Genius & tendencies of the Bank as at present organized are monarchical & consolidating.

A national Banking Institution is considered necessary by the Advocates of the present Bank, for the purposes of the Treasury—to equalize the currency—to perform the operations of Exchange—and to prevent the excessive issues & overtrading of the State Banks. May not all this be effected by a national Bank established in the District of Columbia, associated with State Institutions chartered for the purpose of cooperating with it, in such design? Such a system of Banking may be considered an anomaly—& so our federal & state System of Government was considered—yet it has worked well. I should hope therefore that the wisdom of Congress—the State Legislature’s cooperating—might produce an association of Banks, which could effect every thing desirable in relation to the currency, avoiding the objections to the present Bank of the U.S. by dividing the powers among them upon some plan analogous to that of the General & State Governments—the Federal Institution performing the business of foreign & domestic exchange—the local Institutions discharging ~~exclusively~~ the functions now exercised by them, accommodating borrowers with loans & furnishing a currency, peculiarly local—

AD, DLC (38).

Calendar, 1832



Jan 1	From Ethan Allen Brown. ALS, DLC (40 & 59; 19-0566). Criticizes the frippery of Brazilian court ceremony, praises republican simplicity and AJ, and predicts his reelection.	
[c]Jan 1]	From Louis McLane. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Argues by legal precedent against executive intervention to return the Princess of Orange's stolen jewels until judicial condemnation proceedings against them have concluded.	
Jan 1	From Samuel Moore. ALS, DNA-RG 46; ALS, DNA-RG 233; ALS copy, DNA-RG 104 (19-0571). <i>HRDoc</i> 57, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1-3 (Serial 217). Submits the annual report of the U.S. Mint.	
Jan 1	Receipted bill from James C. Hall for \$30 for an operation for hydrocele. ADS, DLC (40).	
Jan 2	<i>To Edmond-Charles Genêt.</i>	3
Jan 2	<i>From Anthony Butler.</i>	4
Jan 2	<i>From Wilson Lumpkin.</i>	10
Jan 2	From Wilson Lumpkin. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-75). LC, G-Ar (19-0593). Pronounces Cherokee enrolling agent Reuben Thornton "unfit" and recommends William Hardin to replace him.	
Jan 3	From Brown Brothers & Co. et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-15). Request the appointment of a consul (James McHenry) at Manchester, England. AJ approves.	
Jan 3	<i>From John Pemberton.</i>	14
Jan 3	<i>From John Randolph.</i>	15
Jan 3	From Samuel Smith. ALS, THer (19-0599). Recommends John S. Hollins for navy agent at Baltimore if Isaac Phillips dies.	
[c]Jan 3]	From Frances H. Williamson. ALS, DLC (60; 19-0600). Introduces her son, new midshipman James C. Williamson, to thank AJ for his kindnesses.	
Jan 3	Check to Thomas Sim for \$132. DS, DLC (40).	
Jan 3	Check to Nicholas Philip Trist for \$100. DS, DLC (40).	
Jan 4	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0615). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:194. Nominates Army officers for promotion.	

- [cJan 4] From James Atkins. DS, DNA-RG 59 (19-0607). Asks to remit his costs as well as fine for assault and battery and to release him from jail. Approved by AJ Jan 4.
- Jan 4 Release for prisoner James Atkins and remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0603; T967-1).
- [cJan 4] From Mary Magruder. DS, DNA-RG 59 (19-0613). Requests release from confinement and remission of her fine and costs for petty larceny. Approved by AJ Jan 4.
- Jan 4 Release for prisoner Mary Magruder and remission of her fine and costs for petty larceny. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0612; T967-1).
- Jan 4 From Roger Brooke Taney. LC, DNA-RG 60 (T412-3). *HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., p. 861 (Serial 387). Supports Henry Ashton's claim for \$200 as additional prosecution counsel in William Berry's Washington murder trial.
- [cJan 4] From Isaac Wallace. DS, DNA-RG 59 (19-0618). Requests release from confinement and remission of his fine and costs for petty theft. Approved by AJ Jan 4.
- Jan 4 Release for prisoner Isaac Wallace and remission of his fine and costs for petty theft. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0617; T967-1).
- Jan 4 From Edward Douglass White et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommend Gillies Thompson for a Latin American consulate.
- Jan 4 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Levi Woodbury. ALS, DLC (19-0611). Says AJ wants to see him at noon on business.
- Jan 5 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0628). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:195; Richardson, 2:561. Submits Seneca-Shawnee and Ottawa treaties for advice and consent.
- Jan 5 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits a concluding report on Henry F. McCracken's suspension from employment on the Delaware breakwater.
- Jan 5 *From John Henry Eaton.* 16
- Jan 5 From Josiah Nichol. ALS, DLC (40). Reports on AJ's accounts and the delay in shipping his cotton because of low water.
- Jan 5 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Navy lieutenant James M. Watson's commission for signature.
- Jan 5 Remission of fine and costs and release from confinement for Richard Hall, convicted of assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0621; T967-1).
- Jan 5 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-70). Says AJ wishes to confer with him over a House call for information on the boundary between Arkansas and Mexico.
- Jan 6 From William Marshall. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (19-0631). Resigns as marshal for Indiana. Noted by AJ to appoint him Indian agent.
- Jan 6 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval warrants for signature.
- Jan 7 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0640). LC,

- DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:196. Nominates Edward Gilchrist for assistant naval surgeon.
- Jan 7 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 49 (19-0633). Recommends approving the location of Potawatomi reservations in Indiana under an 1828 treaty. Approved by AJ.
- Jan 7 From Josiah Nichol. 20
- Jan 7 From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi; Envelope, DLC (59; 19-0635). Recommends Michael E. Israel and opposes John Conrad for marshal in Pennsylvania.
- Jan 7 From John Pemberton. ALS draft, PHi (19-0638). Introduces Michael E. Israel, applicant for marshal in Pennsylvania.
- Jan 7 Shoemaker's bill from Henry L. Cross. ADS, DLC (40). Runs to Mar 9. Receipted Apr 17.
- Jan 7 Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$969.38. DS, DLC (40).
- Jan 7 Check to self for \$50. DS, DLC (40).
- Jan 7 Roger Brooke Taney to Edward Livingston. Copy, DLC (40). *HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 861–63 (Serial 387). Argues for the legality and propriety of dismissing condemnation proceedings against the Princess of Orange's stolen jewels and returning them to the Dutch minister. Reaffirms opinion on Jan 11 after reading district attorney James A. Hamilton's report of the facts.
- Jan [8] From Henry Baldwin. ALS draft, PMA (mAJs). Presents a home-made linen shirt and cravat in honor of the 8th of January.
- [cJan 8] From James Nelson Barker et al. Printed, *Nashville Republican*, Feb 18, 1832 (mAJs). Offer a set of astral lamps made from Pennsylvania coal, to commemorate the 8th of January.
- Jan 8 To James Nelson Barker et al. Copy, PHi (19-0642). *Nashville Republican*, Feb 18, 1832. Gives thanks for the gift of astral lamps commemorating the 8th of January.
- Jan 9 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0655). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:196. Nominates land office registers and receivers.
- Jan 9 From Edward Livingston. LS, DNA-RG 46; LS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0644). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 46, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 217). Reports that legislation is required to implement a reciprocal reduction of shipping duties with Colombia.
- Jan 9 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-22). Transmits and concurs in Taney's Jan 7 opinion in favor of arresting judicial proceedings and returning the Princess of Orange's stolen jewels.
- Jan 9 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits James L. Henderson's midshipman's warrant for signature.
- Jan 9 Check to James C. Hall for \$30. DS, DLC (40).
- Jan 10 To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 46; DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0657). *HRDoc* 46, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 217); Richardson, 2:561. Transmits Livingston's Jan 9 report proposing legislation to effect a mutual reduction of shipping duties with Colombia.

- Jan 10 From William Hall et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14).
Recommend Lewis Lehmanowski for office.
- Jan 10 From Barnabas Palmer et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26).
Recommend John White for consul at Ponce, Puerto Rico.
- Jan 11 From Charles Biddle. 21
- Jan 11 From James Burnett. DS, DNA-RG 49 (19-0661). Requests a
location and partition of his family's Potawatomi reservations
under an 1821 treaty.
- Jan 11 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits the
Aug 8, 1831, Ohio Shawnee treaty for Senate approval.
- Jan 11 From J. Dayne. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29).
Recommends Penrose Robinson for Indian agent.
- [Jan 11] Check to Andrew Jackson Jr. for \$50. DS, DLC (58; 19-0664).
- Jan 12 To Enoch Reynolds. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0671). Appoints him
acting second comptroller during James B. Thornton's illness.
- Jan 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0672). *Senate
Executive Proceedings*, 4:197; Richardson, 2:562. Submits the
Aug 8, 1831, Ohio Shawnee treaty for advice and consent.
- Jan 12 From Levi Woodbury. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0676). LC,
DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits nominations of assistant naval
surgeons.
- Jan 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0674). LC,
DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:198.
Nominates assistant naval surgeons.
- Jan 12 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits
William Marshall's appointment as Indian agent in Indiana.
- Jan 12 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Reports on
War Department officers delinquent in rendering their accounts.
- Jan 12 From A. DeSaternand. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29).
Requests appointment as French teacher at West Point.
- Jan 12 From James Alexander Hamilton. 22
- Jan 12 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (19-0665). LC,
DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Recommends approving Pierre Moran's
sale of his Potawatomi treaty reservation to Havilah Beardsley
and voiding an underpriced previous sale to Richard Godfroy.
- Jan 12 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Recommends
dismissing assistant naval surgeon Gideon White Jr. for twice
not taking his examination due to intemperance.
- Jan 12 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports on
Navy Department officers delinquent in rendering their accounts.
- Jan 12 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits
naval warrants for signature.
- [Jan 12] Copy of Jan 10 and 12 Senate proceedings (*Senate Executive
Proceedings*, 4:196-97) on Edward Livingston's nomination as
secretary of state and on rescinding a Feb 3, 1831, resolution
against appointing out-of-state residents to office. D, DLC (40).
- Jan 13 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0680). *Senate
Executive Proceedings*, 4:197. Nominates William Marshall for
Indian agent in Indiana.
- Jan 13 From George Mifflin Dallas. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-15).

- Transmits the Jan 3 memorial of Brown Brothers & Co. et al., and recommends James McHenry for consul at Manchester.
- Jan 13 From Juan José Flores. LS and translation, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Compliments AJ and promises to respect American treaty privileges with Colombia in the new state of Ecuador. Noted by AJ to reply.
- Jan 13 *From Martin Van Buren.* 23
- [Jan 13] *Decision on the Dutch jewels.* 26
- Jan 13 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (19-0678). Amends the phrasing of Livingston's letter to Roger Bangeman Huygens conveying AJ's offer to procure the release of the Dutch jewels by pardon or nolle prosequi.
- Jan 13 Edward Livingston to Roger Bangeman Huygens. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M38-5). Hamilton *Reminiscences*, p. 225. Conveys AJ's offer to procure the return of the jewels.
- Jan 14 From James T. English. DS, DNA-RG 59 (19-1199). Requests a pardon for assault and battery, for which he is confined for inability to pay fine and costs. Approved by AJ Feb 21.
- Jan 14 *From James Alexander Hamilton.* 27
- Jan 14 From Susan Records. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-131). Requests the payment of naval prize money due her late husband Daniel Records.
- [Jan 14] From George Tyler. DS, DNA-RG 59 (19-0766). Prays release from jail and remission of his fine and costs for petty larceny. Approved by AJ Jan 18.
- Jan 14 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports on William P. Zantzinger's application to be reappointed naval purser.
- Jan 14 Check to self for \$220. DS, DLC (40).
- Jan 14 [Daniel Brent] to Andrew Jackson Donelson. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-22). Reports no recommendations for James B. Gardiner on file in the State Department.
- Jan 15 From Peter Alba. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). *TPUS*, 24:629. Transmits petitions recommending James Gadsden for governor of Florida Territory.
- [Jan 15] From James Pendleton et al. and from Charles D. Brodie et al. DSs, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). *TPUS*, 24:629-31. Recommend James Gadsden for governor of Florida if William P. Duval resigns.
- Jan 16 To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 46; DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0722). *HRDoc* 57, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 217). Transmits the annual report of the U.S. Mint for 1831.
- Jan 16 *To the United States Senate (not sent).* 28
- Jan 16 From John DePauw. ALS, *Ther* (19-0698). Recommends Joseph M. Hays for register of an Indiana land office.
- Jan 16 From Constant Mathieu Eakin. Abstract, DNA-RG 156 (19-0701). Applies for appointment in the Army ordnance or topographical corps.
- Jan 16 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49; Copy, DNA-RG 233 (19-0703). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Explains, in furtherance

- of his Oct 26, 1831, response to R. J. Walker's complaint, that the GLO intends not to survey confirmed fraudulent Spanish claims in Louisiana and Mississippi but to sell them as public land, so as to provoke a judicial test of title.
- Jan 16 From James McHenry. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-15). Asks AJ to establish a consulate at Manchester and appoint him to it.
- Jan 16 From James Brown Ray. ALS, THer (19-0720). Recommends Joseph M. Hays for register of an Indiana land office.
- Jan 16 From Hugh Lawson White. ALS, NjMoHP (19-0731). Transmits papers from James Eddington.
- Jan 16 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits two midshipmen's warrants for signature.
- Jan 17 To Hardy Murfree Cryer. 32
- Jan 17 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0744). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:199-200. Nominates a marshal and territorial judges.
- Jan 17 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0747). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:200. Nominates Hugh S. Legaré for chargé d'affaires to Belgium and two consuls.
- Jan 17 From Peter Vivian Daniel. ALS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0736). Recommends James G. Bryce for an appointment in the West.
- Jan 17 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0738). LS draft, NjP (mAJs). Submits State Department correspondence on the claims negotiations with France.
- Jan 17 From John Pemberton. ALS draft, PHi (19-0740). Recommends John Steele for marshal in Pennsylvania and James Wiltbank for naval chaplain, and explains his standards for making recommendations.
- Jan 17 From James Whitcomb. ALS, THer (19-0749). Recommends Joseph M. Hays for register of an Indiana land office.
- Jan 17 Apothecary's bill from Joel Wright. D, DLC (41 & 45; 19-0752). Runs to Oct 9. Noted by AJ querying charges, and certified by Wright's clerks on Dec 1 and 2, 1834, that supplied articles were prescribed by AJ's family's doctors. Receipted.
- Jan 17 Order to reimburse D.C. marshal Henry Ashton for \$500 paid to Francis S. Key for legal services in the U.S. suit against Joseph Nourse. ANS, DNA-RG 217 (M235-684).
- Jan 17 Benjamin Drake Wright to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 217 (M235-679). Submits his account for services as U.S. attorney in Florida private land claim cases. Payment approved by AJ Feb 3.
- Jan 18 To James Alexander Hamilton. 33
- Jan 18 To the United States Senate. Printed, *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:200 (19-0768). Richardson, 2:562. Transmits State Department correspondence on the claims negotiations with France.
- Jan 18 Release for prisoner Thomas Nichols and remission of his fine and costs for stealing. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0758; T967-1).
- Jan 18 Release for prisoner George Tyler and remission of his fine and costs for petty larceny. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0765; T967-1).
- Jan 19 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0794). LC,

- DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:203.
 Jan 19 Nominates Thomas M. W. Young for Marine lieutenant.
 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0796). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:200. Nominates Benjamin S. Bonsall for marshal in Pennsylvania.
- Jan 19 From William Taylor Barry. ALS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0775).
 Encloses recommendations for James G. Bryce.
- [cJan 19] From Linn Banks et al., Samuel Bard and Thomas Carskaden et al., William Carson et al., and Lawrence Taliaferro Dade et al. DSs, DNA-RG 46 (19-0769, 19-0772, 19-0779, 19-0781).
 Virginia legislators recommend James G. Bryce for a territorial judgeship.
- Jan 19 From John Hunt Brodnax. 34
- Jan 19 From Rufus McIntire et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Maine congressmen recommend John White for consul at Ponce, Puerto Rico.
- Jan [19] From John Milton Niles, Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, and Norris Willcox. Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0784). Recommend Florida district judge Joseph L. Smith for reappointment.
- Jan 19 From Noah Amherst Phelps. Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0788).
 Recommends Florida judge Joseph L. Smith for reappointment.
- Jan 19 From William Cabell Rives. Abstract, DLC (17-0300). Reports universal acclaim for AJ's annual message and favorable prospects for European peace.
- Jan 19 From Henry Dana Tracy. D, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Copy, DNA-RG 84; Copy, DLC (19-0790). Presses his indemnity claim for illegal Peruvian seizure of his ship *Esther*.
- Jan 19 From Joseph Mills White. 35
- Jan 20 To Lewis Cass. 36
- Jan 20 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Pledges "full effect" to AJ's order to distribute Indian annuities directly to individuals and families, not chiefs.
- Jan 20 To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0805).
HRDoc 68, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 217); Richardson, 2:562. Resubmits and endorses a Feb 18, 1831, War Department proposal to settle a private claim to the site of Fort Delaware.
- Jan 20 From Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24).
 Recommends Gillies Thompson for consul at Ponce, Puerto Rico. Appointed by AJ.
- Jan 20 Appointment of Gillies Thompson as consular commercial agent at Ponce, Puerto Rico. DS, DNA-RG 59 (19-0803).
- Jan 20 From Joshua Stow. Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0800). Recommends reappointing Florida district judge Joseph L. Smith.
- Jan 20 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits John H. Maulsby's midshipman's warrant for signature.
- Jan 21 To Lewis Cass. Abstract, DNA-RG 75 (M18-3). Encloses a Jan 20 House call for information on private purchases of land reserved to individual Choctaws in the 1830 removal treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek.
- Jan 21 To John Coffee. 37

- Jan 21 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0807). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *HRDoc* 76, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 217). Reports on individual land reservations under the Choctaw removal treaty, showing that none have since been sold.
- Jan 21 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (19-0813). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Recommends granting Michell Ouilmett and Elizabeth Ouilmett Welch permission to sell their reservations under an 1826 Potawatomi treaty. Approved by AJ.
- Jan 21 From William Patterson & Sons et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-8). Baltimoreans recommend Benjamin W. Frazier for consul at Buenos Aires.
- Jan 21 From Pennsylvania congressmen and others. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommend Penrose Robinson for Indian agent.
- Jan 21 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Asks if the Senate has confirmed Edward Gilchrist for assistant naval surgeon, as his services are needed.
- Jan 22 *From Johann Georg Goentgen.* 38
- Jan 23 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233; Draft, DNA-RG 59 (19-0819). *HRDoc* 215, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220); Richardson, 2:562. Presents Canadian Cyrenius Hall's indemnity claim for wrongful U.S. seizure of his schooner *Julia* at Venice, Ohio, in 1817.
- Jan 23 *From Ratliff Boon.* 48
- Jan [23] From George Peabody et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Recommend Nathaniel West Jr. for claims commissioner under the French treaty.
- Jan [23] From Joseph Peabody et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Recommend Nathaniel West Jr. for claims commissioner under the French treaty.
- Jan 23 From John Wingate Weeks. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommends reappointing Pearson Cogswell marshal in New Hampshire.
- Jan 23 Tucker & Thompson to Andrew Jackson Jr. DS, DLC (43). Receipted tailor's bill for \$151.75. Runs to Sep 30, 1833.
- Jan 24 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0841). *HRDoc* 76, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 217); Richardson, 2:562–63. Transmits the Jan 21 War Department report on individual Choctaw reservations under the Dancing Rabbit Creek removal treaty, answering a House call of Jan 20.
- Jan 24 From John Anderson et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0823). *TPUS*, 24:638–39. Recommend Florida district judge Henry M. Brackenridge for reappointment.
- Jan 24 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Recommends resubmitting to Congress Eaton's Feb 18, 1831, proposal to settle the Fort Delaware land title dispute.
- Jan 24 From Lewis Cass. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0832). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *HRDoc* 73, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 217). Reports on War Department breakwater and harbor

- improvement expenditures since 1815, answering a House call of Jan 5.
- Jan 24 From Alexander Campbell Wilder Fanning. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-0834). Urges staffing the new ordnance corps by promoting long-serving artillery officers including himself.
- Jan 24 From Robert Perkins Letcher. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends Hiram Jones for Indian agent.
- Jan 24 From James Miller. LS, DNA-RG 156 (19-0838). Recommends Benjamin K. Pierce for lieutenant colonel of the new ordnance corps.
- Jan 25 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0862). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:204. Nominates James Shannon for chargé d'affaires to Central America.
- Jan 25 From John Adams Cameron. 49
- Jan 25 From Aaron Finch. ALS, THER (19-0843). Recommends Joseph M. Hays for register of an Indiana land office.
- Jan [25] From John Houston McIntosh Jr. et al. 51
- Jan 25 From John S. Stiles. Copy, DLC (19-0845). Protests the Navy's rejection of his bread and accuses Navy Board president John Rodgers of persecution and dishonesty.
- Jan 25 From Levi Woodbury. D (fragment), DNA-RG 233 (19-0864). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *HRDoc* 73, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2 (Serial 217). Reports on Navy Department breakwater and harbor improvement expenditures since 1815, answering a House call of Jan 5.
- Jan 26 To Henry Baldwin. 52
- Jan 26 To Henry Baldwin. 54
- Jan 26 To Amos Kendall. 54
- Jan 26 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0879). *HRDoc* 73, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 217); Richardson, 2:563. Transmits reports requested by the House on breakwater and harbor improvement expenditures since 1815.
- Jan [26] From Thomas Flotard et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). *TPUS*, 24:646–47. Recommend James Gadsden for Florida governor if William P. Duval resigns.
- Jan 26 From Edward Livingston. LS, Me; ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). LC, DNA-RG 59; Extract, DNA-RG 76 (19-0872). Submits and explains the official correspondence chronicling arrangements for the Northeast boundary arbitration, in answer to a Senate call of Jan 18.
- Jan 26 From William Henry Swift. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Requests an appointment in the Army topographical corps.
- Jan 26 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval warrants for signature.
- Jan 26 Andrew Jackson Donelson to John Coffee. ALS, DLC (19-0867). Reports on Van Buren's rejection, his likely nomination for vice president, and AJ's energy and confidence in the people. Franked by AJ.

- [Jan 26] Copy of Jan 13 to 26 Senate proceedings (*Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:198–99, 203, 204) on Martin Van Buren’s nomination to be minister to Britain. D, DLC (40).
- Jan 27 To John Coffee. 55
- Jan 27 To James Alexander Hamilton. 56
- Jan 27 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46; Draft, DNA-RG 59 (19-0891). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:204; Richardson, 2:563. Transmits Livingston’s Jan 26 report on the Northeast boundary arbitration and again asks Senate advice on accepting the award.
- Jan 27 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0896). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:206; Richardson, 2:563. Nominates Hampton Westcott, dismissed in 1830 for involvement in a duel, for restoration as Navy lieutenant.
- Jan 27 From Isaac Hill et al. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Senators recommend Army surgeon Alfred W. Elwes for the West Point board of visitors.
- Jan 27 From Henry Hubbard. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommends reappointing Pearson Cogswell marshal in New Hampshire.
- Jan 27 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits assistant naval surgeon Edward Gilchrist’s commission for signature.
- Jan 27 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Benjamin D. Slye’s midshipman’s warrant for signature.
- [Jan 28] From Eli Simpson Davis. Printed, *Washington Globe*, Feb 2, 1832 (mAJs). Presents walking sticks from AJ’s birthplace and declares South Carolina’s faith in him.
- Jan 28 To Eli Simpson Davis. 57
- Jan 28 From Samuel Smith. 58
- Jan 28 From Elisha Whittlesey. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-10). Recommends Robert Harper for claims commissioner under the French treaty.
- Jan 29 To Amos Kendall. 60
- Jan 29 To Edward Livingston. 60
- Jan 29 From Hugh F. Feeny et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-21). Indiana legislators and William Hendricks recommend John H. Scott for district attorney.
- Jan 29 From James Alexander Hamilton. Printed, Hamilton *Reminiscences*, p. 238 (19-0903). Submits a list of civil cases he has tried as U.S. district attorney in New York.
- Jan 29 From Robert Ross et al. DS, TNJ (19-0905). Recommend Florida district judge Henry M. Brackenridge for reappointment.
- Jan 30 From William Brown et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0907). Defend the Michigan Territory Supreme Court judges against accusations of misconduct.
- Jan 30 From James Dunlop. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0910). *HRDoc* 80, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 217). Submits the annual report of the District of Columbia penitentiary inspectors.

- Jan 30 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Submits at AJ's request a list of unanswered letters sent by the GLO to surveyor William McRee at St. Louis.
- Jan 30 From Pleasant Parks. ALS, THER (19-0912). Recommends Joseph M. Hays for register of an Indiana land office.
- Jan 30 *From Montfort Stokes.* 61
- Jan 30 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval officers' commissions for signature.
- Jan 30 Check to self for \$50. DS, DLC (40).
- Jan 31 To Sultan of Muscat Said bin Sultan Al-Said, to the ruler of [Siam], and to the ruler of [Cochin China]. LCs, DNA-RG 59 (19-0917). Introduces special diplomatic agent Edmund Roberts.
- Jan 31 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0920). *HRDoc* 80, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 217). Transmits the annual report of the District of Columbia penitentiary inspectors.
- Jan 31 From John Ferris Delaplaine and William Peters. DS, DNA-RG 59 (19-1352). Ask a remission of their customs penalty for discharging a crewman from their ship *India* in a foreign port, saying that he left voluntarily.
- Jan 31 From Thomas R. Mercein et al. Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0914). Recommend Florida district judge Joseph L. Smith for reappointment.
- Jan From William Bristol and Henry Waggaman Edwards. Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0532). Praise Florida judge Joseph L. Smith's youthful services for Connecticut republicanism and recommend his reappointment.
- Jan From Richard Butler et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0535). Defend the Michigan Territory Supreme Court judges against charges of misconduct.
- [cJan] From Albert Gallatin Creath et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0539). Protest the Senate's rejection of Samuel Gwin for register of the Mount Salus, Miss., land office and request his renomination. Endorsed by AJ.
- Jan From William H. Ellis and William H. Jones. Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0543). Praise Florida judge Joseph L. Smith's youthful services against Connecticut Federalism and recommend his reappointment.
- [cJan] From Henry Allen Foster et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommend Walker Todd for secretary to the claims commission under the French treaty.
- [cJan] From Preston Garner et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0546). Approve the principle of rejecting out-of-state appointees, but justify an exception for Samuel Gwin and request his renomination to the Mount Salus, Miss., land office. Endorsed by AJ.
- [cJan] From Thomas Hinds et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0549). Praise Samuel Gwin's military services and civil qualifications, protest his rejection by the Senate, and urge his renomination.
- [cJan] From Wiley Ledbetter et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0553).

- Condemn the Senate's usurpation of power in rejecting Samuel Gwin and request his renomination.
- Jan From *Paubhuska et al.* 62
- [cJan] From Jeremiah Savell et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0561). *TPUS*, 24:638, 640. Recommend Florida district judge Henry M. Brackenridge for reappointment.
- [cJan] From E. H. Whitfield et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0564). Recommend renominating Samuel Gwin for register of the Mount Salus, Miss., land office. Endorsed by AJ.
- Jan Receipted bill from Henry Hunt for \$25 for medical attendance in Sep 1831. ADS, DLC (73).
- Feb 1 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Lewis Wolfley's nomination to be assistant naval surgeon.
- Feb 1 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0932). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:206. Nominates Lewis Wolfley for assistant naval surgeon.
- Feb 1 From George Nixon Briggs. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends Daniel B. Bush for an Indian appointment.
- Feb 1 From Charles Nicholas Buck. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M664-2). Announces the eradication of the cholera in Hamburg, Germany.
- Feb 1 From Wiley Thompson. ALS, THER (19-0930). Recommends John H. Baker for secretary to the claims commission under the French treaty.
- Feb 1 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports against dismissed midshipman Francis G. Beatty's appeal for reinstatement.
- Feb 2 To *Powhatan Ellis*. 66
- Feb 2 From Alexander Buckner. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14). Urges an office for Craven P. Luckett, citing his misfortunes and his wife Susan G. Luckett's virtues.
- Feb 2 From *John Adams Cameron*. 66
- Feb 2 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Reports that he has put off a reply to the Western Creeks' Oct 21, 1831, appeal to AJ until surveyor Isaac McCoy arrives in Washington.
- Feb 2 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Approves delegating topographical engineer Stephen H. Long to work on east Tennessee internal improvements once the requisite appropriation passes.
- Feb 2 From Caleb Stark Jr. et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommend Joel P. Tibbets for marshal in New Hampshire.
- Feb 2 Account with Bakewell, Page & Bakewells for \$144.25 for glassware. DS, DLC (42). Receipted Mar [Apr] 8, 1833.
- Feb 2 Ratification of the Jul 4, 1831, claims convention with France. DS, DNA-RG 11 (19-0935).
- Feb 3 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0944). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:207; Richardson, 2:563–64. Senate Confidential Printing 22-1-8. Transmits a formal protest of the Maine legislature against the Northeast boundary arbitration award.
- Feb 3 From *Samuel Cushman*. 70

- Feb 3 From Ferdinand VII, King of Spain. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (19-0939). Announces the birth of his daughter Maria Luisa Fernanda.
- Feb 3 From Ambrose Hundley Sevier. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14). Recommends Craven P. Luckett for office and denies charges of his intemperance.
- Feb 3 From William Wilkins et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0952). Pennsylvania senators and congressmen recommend reappointing cashiered naval purser William P. Zantzinger.
- Feb 3 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval warrants for signature.
- Feb 3 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Levi Woodbury. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-131). Conveys AJ's request for a written opinion on William A. Weaver's petition for reinstatement as Navy lieutenant.
- Feb 4 *To John Silva Meehan.* 71
- Feb 4 *To Graves W. Steele.* 71
- Feb 4 *From Felix Grundy.* 72
- Feb 4 From John Phagan. Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-0955). Recommends Joseph L. Smith for reappointment as Florida district judge.
- Feb 4 From Gideon Welles. ALS, DLC (19-0966). Extols Joseph L. Smith's character and political services and urges his reappointment as Florida district judge.
- Feb 4 Proclamation of the May 7, 1830, commercial treaty with Turkey. DS, DNA-RG 11 (19-0957).
- Feb 4 Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$1075.28. DS, DLC (40).
- Feb 4 Roenunas et al. to James Booker Gardiner. DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-601). Wyandot Indians of Big Spring, Ohio, request that AJ redirect their payment for lands ceded in their Jan 19 treaty to the Wyandots of Upper Sandusky, whom they intend to join.
- Feb 4 Warpole et al. to James Booker Gardiner. DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-601). Wyandots of Upper Sandusky endorse the Big Spring Wyandots' request to direct payments under the Jan 19 treaty to them. Referred by AJ to the War Department.
- Feb 5 *To Edward Livingston.* 73
- Feb 5 *From George William Erving.* 74
- Feb 5 *From Green Berry Jameson.* 74
- Feb 5 From the Marquis de Lafayette. Copy, DLC-Lafayette Papers (mAJs). *Memoires du General Lafayette* (1839), pp. 181-82 (19-0969). Applauds Belgium's independence and introduces Belgian minister to the U.S. François-Jean Désiré Behr.
- Feb 6 *To William Donelson.* 75
- Feb 6 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-0978). Draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 99, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1-2 (Serial 218). Submits a report requested by the House on fisheries regulations of Britain, France, and the Netherlands.
- Feb 6 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-0981). *HRDoc* 99, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 218); Richardson, 2:564. Transmits the report on European fisheries regulations.

Feb 6	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0983). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:206. Nominates district judges in Florida and Arkansas territories.	
Feb 6	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0986). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:206. Nominates John Richardson for assayer of the Mint and Hartwell Boswell for register of an Arkansas land office.	
Feb 6	<i>To Hugh Lawson White.</i>	77
Feb 6	From Thomas Graves Bright et al. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-0972). <i>TPUS</i> , 24:638, 640. Recommend Florida district judge Henry M. Brackenridge for reappointment.	
Feb 6	<i>From John Adams Cameron.</i>	78
Feb 6	<i>From John Coffee.</i>	79
Feb 6	<i>From Charles Gerrit De Witt.</i>	80
Feb 6	From Vincent Sandiford. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Contractor complains of Cumberland Road supervising Army engineer Stephen Tuttle.	
Feb 6	From Ambrose Hundley Sevier. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-75). Recommends Edward W. B. Nowland for sutler at Cantonment Gibson.	
Feb 6	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports against William A. Weaver's petition for restoration as a Navy lieutenant.	
Feb 6	Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Encloses a memorandum of nominations sent to the Senate.	
Feb 6	Andrew Jackson Jr. to William Donelson. ALS, Benjamin H. Caldwell Jr. (37-0433). Proposes terms for purchasing Samuel and Alexander Donelson's land and gives political and family news.	
Feb 7	To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 46; Draft, DNA-RG 59 (19-0988). <i>Senate Journal</i> , 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 122 (Serial 211); Richardson, 2:564. Requests legislation to implement the ratified claims convention with France.	
Feb 7	To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 46; DS, DNA-RG 233; Draft, DNA-RG 59 (19-0993). <i>HRDoc</i> 304, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 221); Richardson, 2:564. Transmits the ratified May 7, 1830, commercial treaty with Turkey.	
Feb 7	To Levi Woodbury. AN, MeHi (19-0999). Postpones a Cabinet meeting.	
Feb 7	From John Drennen. DS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-69). Asks to be appointed sutler at Cantonment Gibson, and appends recommendations.	
Feb 7	From Elijah Hayward. AN, DLC (40). Transmits David Robb's Jan 31 testimony to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs (DLC-40) vindicating James B. Gardiner's entire conduct as Ohio Indian treaty commissioner.	
Feb 7	Account with Richard C. Washington & Co. for gauze for AJ Jr. DS, DLC (40). Received Mar 29.	
Feb 8	<i>To Edward Livingston.</i>	81

- Feb 8 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1000). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits Samuel C. Stambaugh's report on lands ceded for the New York Indians near Green Bay.
- Feb 8 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1019). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:209; Richardson, 2:564. Transmits Samuel C. Stambaugh's report on land for the New York Indians at Green Bay.
- Feb 8 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1001). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *SDoc* 90, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1-5 (Serial 213). Submits a report on the inland fur, Indian, and Mexican trades.
- Feb 8 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1021). *SDoc* 90, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 213); Richardson, 2:565. Transmits the War Department report on the inland fur, Indian, and Mexican trades.
- Feb 8 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Rejects contractor John S. Stiles's aspersions against the Navy Board for rejecting his bread, attributes the dispute over its quality to honest disagreement, and recommends referring Stiles to Congress for relief or appointing an executive commission to determine the facts.
- [cFeb 8] *To Levi Woodbury.* 81
- Feb 8 From Lewis Cass. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1018). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *HRDoc* 104, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 219). Submits the report of a survey of routes connecting the Savannah and Tennessee rivers.
- Feb 8 *From Benjamin B. Cooper.* 82
- Feb [8] From Pierre Morain. DS, MiU-C (mAJs). Potawatomi chief requests permission to sell his reserved half-section of land under the 1828 Treaty of St. Joseph.
- Feb 8 From Mary C. Turner. ALS and ALS copy (dated Feb 7), DNA-RG 94 (M688-56). Urges her nephew Charles F. Wooster's claim to a West Point cadetship.
- [cFeb 9] From John Campbell. ALS, DLC-Van Buren Papers (mAJs). Encloses a Feb 3 letter from Richard E. Parker condemning the Senate's rejection of Van Buren.
- [cFeb 9] *To John Campbell.* 84
- Feb 9 *To Edward Livingston.* 85
- Feb 9 From Susan Wheeler Decatur. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends Thomas O. Dwyer for assistant Army surgeon.
- Feb 9 *From Robert Maskell Patterson.* 85
- Feb 9 From George Bryan Porter. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-75). Reports that Fort Winnebago sutler Satterlee Clark is abusive, negligent of duty, habitually drunk, and wholly unfit for his post.
- Feb 9 *From Nathaniel Pitcher Tallmadge et al.* 86
- Feb 10 *To [Lewis Cass].* 89
- Feb 10 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1056). *HRDoc* 104, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 219); Richardson, 2:565. Transmits the War Department report

- of a survey of routes between the Savannah and Tennessee rivers.
- Feb 10 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1058). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:210. Nominates George B. Dameron for land office receiver at Mount Salus, Miss.
- Feb 10 From John Bell and Robert Gordon. LS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-136). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1033). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, pp. 194–200 (Serial 246). Protest Susan Colbert's attempt to cancel her sale to them of her Chickasaw reservation.
- Feb 10 From Silas Enoch Burrows. AN, TNJ (19-1053). Presents two boxes of cigars.
- Feb 10 From Pierre Joseph Labory. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Recounts his past services to the U.S. and requests financial assistance.
- Feb 10 From Sultan of Muscat Said bin Sultan Al-Said. D, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Welcomes American traders to his ports.
- Feb 10 From John G. Stower et al. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M687-12). Recommend Daniel G. Garnsey for judge of the Michigan Territory supreme court.
- [cFeb 10] From John G. Stuart et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (19-1030). Request a release for James Adkins, imprisoned for inability to pay a fine for insulting a D.C. police officer.
- Feb 10 Order of pardon and remission of fine for James Adkins. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (19-1029).
- Feb 10 From Charles Pendleton Tutt. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-131). Complains that his proposed salary as Pensacola navy agent is inadequate to the office's responsibilities and difficulties. Referred by AJ to Woodbury's "particular attention."
- Feb 10 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits assistant naval surgeons' commissions for signature.
- Feb 10 George F. Lindsay to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1054). Requests a lieutenant's commission in the new Army ordnance corps.
- Feb 11 To Andrew Jackson Hutchings. 90
- Feb 11 From Silas Enoch Burrows et al. 91
- Feb 11 To Silas Enoch Burrows et al. 91
- Feb 11 From William Gould et al. LS copy, DLC (19-1062). Condemn the Senate's rejection of Van Buren.
- Feb 11 From Martin Van Buren. ALS, THER (19-1070). Introduces Belgian minister to the U.S. François-Jean Désiré Behr.
- Feb 11 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Nathaniel Reeder's midshipman's warrant for signature.
- Feb 11 From John K. Zeilin. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-112). Complains that Leipers & Co. have unfairly monopolized the contract for supplying stone to the Delaware breakwater, reportedly by AJ's influence.
- Feb 12 To Martin Van Buren. 92
- Feb 12 From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (19-1072). Recommends Isaac W. Crane for claims commissioner under the French treaty and applauds AJ's political course.

- Feb 12 William Hendricks to George Bryan Porter. AN, DNA-RG 94 (M567-75). Urges him to see AJ and recommend Henry S. Handy to replace Fort Winnebago sutler Satterlee Clark. Referred by AJ to Lewis Cass.
- Feb 13 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1077). LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). LS draft, NjP (mAJs). Submits documents requested by the Senate about the Northeast boundary.
- Feb 13 To the United States Senate. Printed, *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:211 (19-1086). Richardson, 2:565. Transmits requested documents concerning the Northeast boundary.
- Feb 13 From Joseph Lee Smith. Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1078). Asks to be reappointed Florida district judge and claims the ardent support of all parties.
- [cFeb 13] From William A. Gardner et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Accused pirates in Richmond complain of two years' imprisonment without trial, and appeal for a clothing allowance. U.S. attorney Thomas E. Burfoot states in Feb 15 letter to Livingston that the prisoners were released on AJ's pardon in Dec 1831 and the appeal is a forgery (DNA-RG 59, M179-72).
- Feb 13 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval warrants for signature.
- Feb 14 *From John Adams Cameron.* 93
- Feb 14 *From William Carroll.* 95
- Feb 14 From John McKinley. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-85). Recommends John J. Walker for cadet at West Point. Referred approvingly by AJ to Cass.
- Feb 14 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports against reinstating midshipman Robert Jones, dismissed for failing to take his examination.
- Feb 14 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Daniel Brent. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Transmits a query to AJ from Nathan Cobb for information on his brother Alfred Cobb in Chile.
- Feb 14 Daniel Brent to Andrew Jackson Donelson. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Pledges to inquire concerning Alfred Cobb through Michael Hogan, consul at Valparaiso.
- Feb 15 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1087). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:211. Nominates James K. Paulding for navy agent at New York.
- Feb 15 From Levi Woodbury. D, DNA-RG 45 (M124-131). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Forwards appeals by John T. Newton and Mervine P. Mix for William A. Weaver's reinstatement in the Navy.
- Feb 16 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 233; Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1089). LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-8). *HRDoc* 116, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 3-17 (Serial 219). Reviews the progress of Indian removal and the impediments to it, and recommends measures for its completion and for a permanent federal Indian policy.
- Feb [16] To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1145). *HRDoc* 116, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1-2 (Serial 219);

- Richardson, 2:565–66. Transmits Lewis Cass’s report on Indian removal and seconds its recommendations.
- Feb 16 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1143). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:211. Submits Edward Worrell for appointment as Army assistant surgeon.
- Feb 16 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1149). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:211. Nominates Edward Worrell for Army assistant surgeon.
- Feb 16 To [Levi Woodbury]. 95
- Feb [16] From Jonathan Harvey et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommend William Prescott for marshal in New Hampshire.
- Feb 16 From Abner Pitt Stinson. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Certifies the state offices held by signers of William Prescott’s recommendation for marshal.
- Feb 16 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval warrants for signature.
- Feb 17 From Martin Gordon. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Forwards a communication from Anthony Butler.
- Feb 17 Account with Miles Blythe McCorkle for medical services to family and slaves at the Hermitage. Runs through 1833. Receipted by James C. Jones on Sep 9, 1834. DS, DLC (44).
- Feb 18 From Boteler & Beck et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Recommend John J. Dermott for justice of the peace in Washington, D.C.
- Feb 18 From Samuel Dinsmoor. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1151). Recommends Benjamin K. Pierce for lieutenant colonel in the new ordnance corps.
- Feb 19 To John Coffee. 96
- Feb 19 From Anthony Butler. 98
- Feb 20 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1167). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:211–12; Richardson, 2:566–67. Nominates Charles Ellery for restoration as Navy lieutenant, citing the undue severity of his dismissal in 1830 for intemperance and sleeping on watch.
- Feb 20 To Levi Woodbury. 100
- Feb 20 From William Carroll. 101
- Feb 20 From Edmund Henry Pendleton. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-22). Recommends Isaac C. Smith for a Patent Office clerkship.
- Feb 20 From Martin Van Buren. 104
- Feb 20 From John Peter Van Ness. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Recommends John J. Dermott for justice of the peace in Washington, D.C.
- Feb 20 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval warrants for signature.
- Feb 21 To Ezekiel Forman Chambers et al. Printed, *Nat. Intelligencer*, Mar 5, 1832 (19-1197). Declines invitation to a George Washington birthday dinner.
- Feb 21 From Samuel C. Lasley. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Requests employment in the ordnance department.
- Feb 21 Pardon, remission of fine and costs, and release from confine-

- ment for James T. English, convicted of assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1198; T967-1).
- Feb 22 From Sylvester Higley Mills. ALS, DLC (40). Urges the importance of true faith and holiness. Endorsed by AJ: "This to be carefully preserved. It speaks truths that ought to be practised by all."
- Feb 22 From John Savage et al. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M687-12). Recommend Daniel G. Garnsey for territorial office.
- Feb 23 To *Nathaniel Pitcher Tallmadge et al.* 110
- Feb 23 From *Anthony Butler.* 116
- Feb 23 From *Levi Colbert.* 117
- [Feb 24] To Edward Livingston. ANS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Refers a Feb 24 Senate resolution querying the need for a chargé in Belgium, directing him to report that one is needed to pursue reclamation for destruction of American commerce at Antwerp.
- Feb 24 To *Littleton Waller Tazewell.* 120
- Feb 24 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46; Draft, DNA-RG 59 (19-1235). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:213; Richardson, 2:567. Submits the Mexican commercial treaty of 1831 for Senate advice and consent.
- Feb 24 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46; Draft, DNA-RG 59 (19-1231). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:213; Richardson, 2:567. Submits the Mexican boundary treaty of 1828 for Senate advice and consent.
- Feb 24 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1239). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:213. Nominates Hanson Alsbury for receiver of the Augusta, Miss., land office.
- Feb 24 From *John Coffee.* 120
- Feb 25 To *Anthony Butler.* 123
- Feb 25 From Churchill Caldorn Cambreleng et al. LS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1245). New York congressmen recommend William J. Worth for appointment to the ordnance corps.
- Feb 25 From *John Adams Cameron.* 125
- [cFeb 25] From George Mifflin Dallas et al. DS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1247). Pennsylvania congressmen recommend William J. Worth for appointment to the ordnance corps.
- Feb 25 From Thomas Swann. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Recommends John J. Dermott for justice of the peace in Washington, D.C.
- Feb 25 From Solomon Van Rensselaer. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M687-12). Recommends Daniel G. Garnsey for Michigan territorial office.
- Feb 25 Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, Campbell Patrick White, and Churchill Caldorn Cambreleng to Edward Livingston. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Submit damage claims arising from seizures by late U.S. marshal John Conard in Pennsylvania. Referred by AJ to Congress.
- [Feb 25] Copy of a resolution by Clement Comer Clay (*HRRep* 488, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 46, Serial 228) denying the House Public Lands Committee's right to investigate terms of a Tennessee salt

- lease under the yet unsubmitted 1830 Chickasaw Treaty of Franklin. D (at 1831), DLC (40).
- Feb 26 From Edward Livingston. LS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1248). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 176, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 219). Recommends reducing the import duty on Austrian red wines, to accord with the commercial treaty of 1829.
- Feb 26 From John Randolph. 127
- Feb 27 To Henry Baldwin. 128
- Feb 27 From Anthony Butler. 131
- Feb 27 From Clement Comer Clay. 133
- Feb 27 From Chittenden Lyon. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends James S. Hepburn for Army assistant surgeon.
- Feb 28 From Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1252). *SDoc* 80, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 213). Submits a report on the reopened British West Indian colonial trade, requested by the Senate Dec 22, 1831.
- [cFeb 28] From Edward Abbott. D, DNA-RG 59 (20-0258). Ship master requests a nolle prosequi on a charge of manslaughter for killing his second mate, pleading self-defense against mutiny and murder.
- Feb 28 From John Naglee et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0262). Request clemency for ship captain Edward Abbott, charged with manslaughter.
- Feb 28 From Levi Stevens. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Writes about his Army pension.
- Feb 28 Samuel Fisher Bradford to William Berkeley Lewis. 134
- Feb 29 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1277). *SDoc* 80, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 213); Richardson, 2:567. Transmits the Treasury Department report on the British West Indian colonial trade.
- Feb 29 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 46; LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1268). AD draft, NjP (mAJs). Answering a Senate query of Feb 24, details the diplomatic and commercial advantages to be gained by sending a U.S. chargé d'affaires to Belgium.
- Feb 29 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1279). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:214; Richardson, 2:567–68. Transmits Livingston's report on sending a chargé to Belgium.
- Feb 29 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1281). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:214. Nominates customs officers.
- Feb 29 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1256). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). *ASP Public Lands*, 6:402–3; *TPUS*, 21:464–65. Recommends dividing the surveying district for Missouri, Illinois, and Arkansas to speed the work.
- Feb 29 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (19-1260). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Submits Louison's sale of his 1826 Potawatomi treaty reservation for approval.
- Feb 29 From Roger Jones. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1262). Lauds William J. Worth's accomplishments and recommends him for appointment to the ordnance corps.

Feb 29	From William Rufus DeVane King. ALS, TNJ (19-1266). Recommends William W. Watkins for warden of the District of Columbia penitentiary.	
Feb 29	From James Reeside. ALS, DLC (40). Assures that AJ's horses are in good care and forwards a Feb 25 letter from Brewster, Lawrence & Co. in New York (DLC-40) reporting progress on AJ's new carriage.	
Feb 29	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits assistant naval surgeons' commissions and a midshipman's warrant for signature.	
Feb 29	Andrew Jackson Donelson to Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1254). Recommends George F. Lindsay for appointment to the ordnance corps.	
<i>Feb</i>	<i>From Peter Alba.</i>	135
[Feb]	From Joseph Forrest et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Recommend John J. Dermott for justice of the peace in Washington, D.C.	
Feb	From William Reed et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommend Cornelius Coolidge for claims commissioner under the French treaty.	
Feb	From Israel Thorndike et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommend Cornelius Coolidge for claims commissioner under the French treaty.	
[cFeb]	Endorsement on recommendations for William Tompkins for Arkansas Territory judge. Extract, Julia Sweet Newman Catalog (19-0928).	
[cFeb]	Mary Carroll Caton to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (19-0924). Recommends Thomas O. Dwyer for Army surgeon. Referred by AJ to the secretary of war.	
Mar 1	To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1293). <i>HRDoc</i> 176, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 219); Richardson, 2:568. Transmits Livingston's recommendation to reduce the duty on Austrian red wines.	
Mar 1	From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 46; LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1291). Draft, NjP (mAJs). <i>SDoc</i> 85, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 213). Submits information requested by the Senate Dec 22, 1831, on British colonial trade duties.	
Mar 1	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1295). <i>SDoc</i> 85, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 213); Richardson, 2:568. Transmits the report on British colonial trade duties.	
Mar 1	From Joseph Duncan. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-728). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1290). <i>SDoc</i> 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, p. 221 (Serial 246). Forwards a letter from George Davenport stating Sac and Fox grievances against the U.S., the Menominees, and white intruders, and asking to come to Washington to sell their lands on the west bank of the Mississippi.	
<i>Mar 1</i>	<i>From John Randolph.</i>	138
<i>Mar 1</i>	<i>From Roger Brooke Taney.</i>	140
Mar 1	Reprieve for Donnelly, a slave convicted of murder. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1285; T967-1).	

[cMar 1]	<i>From Martin Van Buren.</i>	141
Mar 2	To Edward Livingston. AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Asks to see David Offley and William M. Crane's 1829 dispatches explaining the failure of their commercial negotiations with Turkey.	
Mar 2	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1301). <i>ASP Public Lands</i> , 6:402; Richardson, 2:568. Transmits Hayward's Feb 29 report on dividing the surveying district for Missouri, Illinois, and Arkansas.	
Mar 2	From Daniel Wardwell et al. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Congressmen recommend Franklin S. Myer for warden of the District of Columbia penitentiary.	
Mar 2	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits William H. Freeman's commission as Marine brevet lieutenant colonel for signature.	
Mar 2	Winfield Scott to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1297). Praises William J. Worth's talents and services and urges him for Army preferment.	
Mar 3	From Thomas King Carroll. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommends Nathaniel Pearce for consul at Bremen.	
Mar 3	From ____ Clements et al. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommend Harris B. Cruse for assistant Army surgeon.	
Mar 3	From Martin Gordon. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Copy, DNA-RG 45 (M124-132). Transmits a Mexican government notice that Santa Anna has illegally armed a commerce raider under its flag and warns of the plunder it could commit.	
Mar 3	From William Jefferds et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommend Cornelius Coolidge for claims commissioner under the French treaty.	
Mar 3	From Josiah Nichol. ALS, DLC (40). Reports on AJ's accounts, delivery and marketing of his cotton, and transactions with Maunsel White, David Morison, and William Hume; and explains his refusal, complained of by Stockley Donelson, to pay Graves W. Steele's suspect drafts on AJ.	
[Mar 4]	From Ephraim Hubbard Foster. Envelope, MHi (mAJs). AJ endorsement notes that Foster recommends Mr. Atkison for paper hanger in the Hermitage renovations and reports Van Buren triumphant in Tennessee.	
Mar 4	<i>From John Walker Jr. and James Starr.</i>	145
Mar 5	<i>To Amos Kendall.</i>	148
Mar 5	<i>To Edward Livingston.</i>	148
Mar 5	<i>To George Washington Martin.</i>	149
Mar 5	<i>From Edward De Krafft.</i>	150
Mar 5	From Edward Livingston. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1312). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). Recommends presenting British customs violator James Hagan's appeal for relief to Congress. AJ says Hagan must do it himself.	
Mar 5	From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (19-1321). Recommends Robert Barnard for clerk to the claims commission under the French treaty.	

Mar 5	From Benjamin Williams. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Resigns as warden of the District of Columbia penitentiary.	
Mar 5	Receipt from William Chandler to Charles M. Nichol for \$26 paid for repairs to AJ's spinning machine at the Hermitage. DS, DLC (40).	
Mar 5	Morgan Lewis to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1306). Praises William J. Worth's character and soldierly excellence.	
Mar 6	<i>To Henry Baldwin.</i>	151
[Mar 6]	<i>To Anthony Butler.</i>	151
Mar 6	From James Alexander Hamilton. LS, DNA-RG 59 (19-1358). Reports that petitioners John F. Delaplaine and William Peters were faultless in the departure of a crewman from their ship <i>India</i> in a foreign port. AJ orders penalties remitted Mar 8.	
Mar 6	From Abraham Spoor. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-67). Asks AJ to reinstate his brother Charles H. E. Spoor, a West Point cadet who withdrew due to ill health.	
Mar 6	<i>From Martin Van Buren.</i>	152
Mar 6	<i>From Martin Van Buren.</i>	155
Mar 6	<i>John Randolph to William Taylor Barry.</i>	156
Mar 6	Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$1066.61. DS, DLC (40).	
[Mar 7]	To Edward Livingston. ANS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Refers a Mar 7 Senate call for any previously uncommunicated diplomatic correspondence on the British colonial trade settlement.	
Mar 7	Check to Henry Baldwin for \$30.25. DS, DLC (40).	
Mar 8	From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1342). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:221-22. Submits Army promotions.	
Mar 8	<i>From James Fenimore Cooper.</i>	158
Mar 8	From Mary Crary. ALS, THER (19-1348). Requests a donation of land in Michigan Territory to alleviate her family's poverty.	
Mar 8	From G. G. & S. Howland et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommend Cornelius Coolidge for claims commissioner under the French treaty.	
Mar 8	From Daniel Sharp, Lucius Bolles, and James Davis Knowles. DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-775). Baptist General Convention seeks reimbursement of costs for erecting buildings at the Valley Towns mission in the Cherokee Nation.	
Mar 8	Remission of penalties against John Ferris Delaplaine and William Peters for leaving a crewman from their ship in a foreign port. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1350; T967-1).	
Mar 9	<i>To John Coffee.</i>	159
Mar 9	To Levi Woodbury. AN, DLC (19-1387). Asks him to call at noon on business.	
Mar 9	From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1366). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits the Jan 19 cession treaty with the Big Spring, Ohio, Wyandots for Senate approval.	
Mar 9	From William Cabell Rives. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (19-1371). Encloses James F. Cooper's Mar 8 letter and urges federal patronage for sculptor Horatio Greenough.	
Mar 9	From Thompson B. Wheelock. Abstract, DNA-RG 156 (19-	

- 1384). Submits recommendations for his appointment to the ordnance corps.
- Mar 9 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Marine lieutenant Thomas M. W. Young's commission for signature.
- Mar 10 From Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1388). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *HRDoc* 161, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 219). States in reply to a House query that the only hostile Indians in the War of 1812 who still receive annuities under unrenewed pre-war treaties are the Creeks, some of whom were U.S. allies.
- Mar 10 From John H. Griggs and Jane Turner Wells Griggs. DS, DNA-RG 75 (19-1389). Request permission to sell her reservation under an 1826 Miami treaty.
- Mar 10 From Leopold, Grand Duke of Baden. LS, DNA-RG 59 (19-1391). Announces the birth of his son Charles Frederick.
- Mar 10 From John Roads. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Applies for a Revolutionary pension.
- Mar 10 From Wyandot chiefs. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Offer to settle a claim against them.
- Mar 11 *From John Randolph.* 160
- Mar 12 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1406). *HRDoc* 161, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 219); Richardson, 2:568. Transmits Cass's Mar 10 statement on Indian tribes receiving annuities.
- Mar 12 From Lewis Cass. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1398). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *HRDoc* 171, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1-2 (Serial 219). Reports on operations and expenditures under the Indian Removal Act of 1830.
- Mar 12 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1408). *HRDoc* 171, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 219); Richardson, 2:569. Transmits the War Department report on Indian removal.
- Mar 12 From Lewis Cass. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1400). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *SDoc* 101, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 213). Reports on the names, salaries, and disbursements of government employees among the Indians since passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830.
- Mar 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1410). *SDoc* 101, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 213); Richardson, 2:569. Transmits the War Department report on government employees among the Indians.
- Mar 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1413). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:219; Richardson, 2:569. Submits the Jan 19 Big Spring, Ohio, Wyandot cession treaty for advice and consent.
- Mar 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1415). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:220. Nominates William B. Hodgson for dragoman at Constantinople.
- Mar 12 *From William Arnold.* 161

- Mar 12 From Benjamin B. Cooper. ALS, DLC (40). Acknowledges Bolivar's pedigree and reports his efforts to procure stud engagements for him against stiff competition.
- Mar 12 From the Countess D'Ambrugeac and the Marchioness de la Gorce. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M34-29). DS copy, DLC; DS copy, DNA-RG 76 (19-1401). Granddaughters of Count Rochambeau request compensation for his Revolutionary services.
- Mar 12 *From Josiah Nichol.* 162
- Mar 12 Check to Andrew Jackson Donelson for \$200. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 13 *To John Coffee.* 163
- Mar 13 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1436). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:220. Nominates Isaac Clark for warden of the District of Columbia penitentiary.
- Mar 13 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1438). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:220. Nominates Peyton A. Southall for naval purser.
- Mar 13 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1419). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:222–24. Submits Army brevet promotions.
- Mar 13 *From John Henry Eaton.* 164
- Mar 13 *From Martin Van Buren.* 165
- Mar 13 Appointment of Thomas Carbery, James Dunlop, and William O'Neale as District of Columbia penitentiary inspectors. DS, DNA-RG 59 (19-1417).
- Mar 13 Check to Henry Toland for \$416.14. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 13 Robert Todd Lytle to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1433). Recommends Thompson B. Wheelock for appointment to the ordnance corps.
- Mar 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1471). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:220. Corrects the name of Alfred H. P. Edwards, nominee for consul at Manila.
- Mar 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1473). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:220. Nominates John Pope for governor of Arkansas Territory.
- [Mar 14] From Nathaniel Herbert Claiborne et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Virginia congressmen recommend Robert Greenhow for secretary to the claims commission under the French treaty.
- Mar 14 *From John Donelson.* 170
- Mar 14 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (19-1462). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Submits Noaquett's (Luther Rice's) sale of his Potawatomi reservation for approval.
- [Mar 14] From Alexander Robinson et al. DS, DNA-RG 49 (19-1467). Ask the U.S. to purchase their reservations under the Jul 1829 Prairie du Chien treaty.
- Mar 14 From Thomas Jefferson Vance Owen. LS, DNA-RG 49 (19-1464). Recommends that the U.S. purchase the reservations of Alexander Robinson and others.
- Mar 14 From George W. Smith. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-82). Recommends his brother Andrew J. Smith for cadet at West Point.
- Mar 14 Sylvanus Thayer to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG

- 156 (19-1469). Recommends William J. Worth for appointment to the ordnance corps.
- Mar 15 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1475). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:221. Nominates Army officers for promotion.
- Mar 15 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1477). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:224. Nominates Elias T. Langham to replace William McRee as surveyor of public lands in Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas.
- Mar 15 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1479). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:233. Withdraws the nomination of Elias T. Langham to replace William McRee.
- Mar 15 From Pierre Lacoste et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Louisiana legislators recommend Henry Carleton for judge if a new circuit is created.
- Mar 16 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1481). AD draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 173, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1-4 (Serial 219). Presents the reasons for maintaining U.S. diplomatic representation in Colombia despite its divisions.
- Mar 16 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (19-1497). *HRDoc* 173, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 219); Richardson, 2:569. Transmits Livingston's report on U.S. relations with Colombia.
- Mar 16 *From Alexander Saunders.* 172
- Mar 16 From Henry Toland. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1496). Recommends Benjamin K. Pierce for lieutenant colonel of ordnance.
- Mar 16 From George Winchester. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommends Nathaniel Pearce for consul at Bremen.
- Mar 16 Receipted dressmaker's bill from Jane Hogg to Sarah Yorke Jackson. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 17 To Asbury Dickins. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1499). Appoints him acting secretary of the Treasury during Louis McLane's illness.
- [Mar 17] From Solomon D. Jacobs. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Requests a survey of East Tennessee rivers by an Army engineer.
- Mar 17 *From George Michael Troup.* 173
- Mar 18 *To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 173
- Mar 18 *From John Randolph.* 174
- Mar 18 Sylvanus Thayer to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (19-1501). Further urges William J. Worth for appointment to the ordnance corps.
- Mar 19 *To David Hosack.* 179
- Mar 19 *To Edward Livingston.* 180
- Mar 19 *From Richard Harrison.* 180
- Mar 19 George Breathitt to Andrew Jackson Jr. ALS, DLC (40). Invites him to visit Russellville, Ky., on his way to Tennessee, and gives regards to AJ.
- Mar 19 Asbury Dickins to Roger Brooke Taney. LS, DNA-RG 49 (19-1503). LC, DNA-RG 56 (M733-1). Asks what William S. Fulton

- should be paid for work as assistant counsel in Arkansas land cases. Taney proposes \$10 a day and AJ approves Mar 21.
To Benjamin B. Cooper. 181
- Mar 20 From Levi Woodbury. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1514). LC,
 Mar 20 DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Recommends reappointing resigned
 naval surgeon Samuel B. Malone.
- Mar 20 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1512). LC,
 DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:225.
 Nominates Samuel B. Malone for naval surgeon, to rank from
 Apr 1831.
- Mar 20 From Blackson & Ford. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29).
 Transmit a memorial concerning Cumberland Road superinten-
 dent James Hampson.
- Mar 20 *From Edwin T. Clark.* 182
- Mar 20 *From William Presley Harvey.* 184
- Mar 20 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Reports on
 surveyor William McRee's arrears of business.
- Mar 20 From Isaac McCoy. ALS copy, KHi (mAJs). McCoy, *History of*
Baptist Indian Missions (Washington, 1840), pp. 440–41. Urges
 the establishment of schools among the Western Creeks.
- Mar 20 Check to Richard Keith Call for \$500. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 21 *To Felix Grundy.* 184
- Mar 21 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1530). *Senate*
Executive Proceedings, 4:225. Nominates consuls at Antwerp
 and Smyrna.
- Mar 21 From Asbury Dickins. ADS, DNA-RG 49 (19-1517). LC,
 DNA-RG 56 (M733-1). Proposes a \$5 daily allowance for
 William S. Fulton while in Washington for Arkansas land cases.
 Approved by AJ.
- [Mar 21] William H. Wall to James Webb. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-1586).
 Pleads for a remission of his penalty for overloading his schoo-
 ner *William Ross* with passengers from Nassau, with innocent
 intent and in ignorance of the law. Approved by AJ Jun 4, 1833.
- Mar 22 From Thomas Carbery. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Asks AJ
 to demand the return of two D.C. penitentiary escapees arrested
 in Maryland for robbery.
- Mar 22 To Edward Livingston. AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). Asks him
 to draw up papers demanding Maryland's return of the two
 District penitentiary escapees.
- Mar 22 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-132). LC,
 DNA-RG 59; Copy, DNA-RG 233 (19-1534). DS draft, NjP
 (mAJs). *HRDoc* 191, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 220).
 Suggests referring a House call for information on foreign occu-
 pation of American territory on the Pacific to the Navy
 Department.
- Mar 22 From Roger Brooke Taney. LS, DNA-RG 217 (M235-685). LCs,
 DNA-RG 60 (M699-1; M699-2). *TPUS* 24:674–78.
 Recommends increasing Richard K. Call's compensation as U.S.
 counsel in Florida land cases. Approved by AJ.

- Mar 22 From Enos Thompson Throop. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (19-1539).
Introduces Dr. Cooper on his journey abroad.
- Mar 22 *Memorandum on a gift from John Nicholas.* 186
- Mar 22 Check to Clement Pynes McKennie for \$71.30. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 22 Tailor's bill for \$13 from Tucker & Thompson to Andrew
Jackson Jr. DS, DLC (40). Receipted Mar 29 and endorsed by AJ.
- Mar 22 Receipt from Andrew Jackson Hutchings for \$200 paid by AJ
for textbooks and travel expenses and \$52 for expenses of
"Negro Girl Susan." Runs to Mar 26. DS in AJ's hand, THi
(19-1532).
- Mar 23 Check to Andrew Jackson Donelson for \$1000. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 23 Check to Andrew Jackson Jr. for \$100. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 23 Check to Andrew Jackson Jr. for \$400. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 24 From Charles Backus Goddard. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-86).
Recommends Andrew R. Jackson for West Point cadet.
- Mar 24 From Edward Cambridge Reed. Abstract, DNA-RG 156 (19-
1542). Recommends Lieutenant Childs for appointment to the
ordnance corps.
- Mar 24 From Henry St. George Tucker. ALS, DLC (40). Reports that
John Randolph's illness prevents his visiting Washington, and
requests an early reply to Randolph's Mar 18 letter.
- Mar 25 *To Llewellyn Jones.* 186
- Mar 25 From David Bailie Warden. ALS, DLC (40). Presents a copy of
his treatise on consular establishments.
- Mar 26 *To John Coffee.* 187
- Mar 26 To Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia. LC, DNA-RG 59 (19-1555).
Presents U.S. minister James Buchanan.
- Mar 26 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1551). LC, DNA-RG
107 (M127-2). Submits a Creek cession and removal treaty of
Mar 24.
- Mar 26 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1556). *Senate
Executive Proceedings*, 4:232; Richardson, 2:569. Submits the
Creek treaty for advice and consent.
- Mar 26 From Littleton Adams et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (19-1546). Urge
Cumberland Road superintendent James Hampson's removal for
incompetence and vengefulness.
- Mar 26 From the Cherokee delegation. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-
29). Present their credentials and their objects in coming to
Washington.
- Mar 26 From Elijah Hayward. LS copy, DNA-RG 75 (19-1553). LC,
DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Recommends approving Jane Griggs's
sale of her Miami reservation.
- Mar 26 *From John Randolph.* 187
- Mar 26 Check to Andrew Jackson Hutchings for \$180. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 26 Check to self for \$100. DS, DLC (40).
- Mar 26 Andrew Jackson Jr. to William Donelson. ALS, Benjamin H.
Caldwell Jr. (37-0513). Discusses the purchase and disposition
of his siblings' land.
- Mar 27 From Benjamin Chew Howard. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18).
Introduces Nathaniel Pearce.

Mar 27	From Richard Howard. ADS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-84). Requests a West Point cadetship for his son Bainbridge D. Howard.	
Mar 27	From Henry Augustus Philip Muhlenberg. Abstract, DNA-RG 156 (19-1563). Recommends Peter Muhlenberg Jr. for appointment to the ordnance corps.	
Mar 27	<i>From Mushulatubbe.</i>	188
Mar 27	<i>From John Randolph.</i>	190
Mar 27	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval pursers' commissions for signature.	
Mar 27	Approval of the location of private reservations for John Burnett and other Indians under the Chicago treaty of Aug 1821. DS, DNA-RG 75 (19-1558).	
Mar 28	<i>To James Alexander Hamilton.</i>	193
Mar 28	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (19-1573). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:233. Nominates Pearson Cogswell for marshal in New Hampshire.	
Mar 28	From Richard Keith Call. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Copy, TNJ (31-0903). Recommends John M. Wyse for secretary to the claims commission under the French treaty.	
Mar 28	From Richard Keith Call. Abstract, DNA-RG 156 (19-1568). Recommends George F. Lindsay for appointment to the ordnance corps.	
Mar 28	<i>From John Randolph.</i>	194
Mar 28	From Tennessee congressmen. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommend George W. Terrell for Indian agent.	
Mar 28	<i>From Martin Van Buren.</i>	199
Mar 28	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits at AJ's request a nomination of William P. Zantzinger for naval purser with explanation.	
[Mar 29]	<i>To Roger Brooke Taney.</i>	205
Mar 29	<i>To Nicholas Philip Trist.</i>	206
Mar 29	<i>From Edward Livingston.</i>	206
Mar 29	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0054). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:234; Richardson, 2:570. Transmits Livingston's report on propositions to indemnify Maine for territory yielded in the Northeast boundary arbitration.	
Mar 29	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0057). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:234. Nominates John Percival for Navy master commandant.	
Mar 29	From Levi Woodbury. AN, DLC (mAJs). Encloses a Mar 26 letter from John Randolph discussing his health and Calhoun's downfall and recommending Alfred R. Dowson.	
Mar 29	<i>To Levi Woodbury.</i>	209
Mar 29	From Peter Hay. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0265). Requests clemency for ship captain Edward Abbott, indicted for manslaughter, a man of high character and innocent intent.	
Mar 29	From Solomon G. Krepps. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Asks to be appointed Cumberland Road superintendent.	
Mar 29	Check to Thomas J. Darst for \$115. DS, DLC (40).	

Mar 29	Check to self for \$500. DS, DLC (40).	
Mar 29	Andrew McDowell Jackson to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DLC (20-0038). Asks to delay the appointment of a naval purser while he gathers additional recommendations. Endorsed by AJ.	
Mar 30	<i>From John Coffee.</i>	210
Mar 30	From Mordecai Manuel Noah. Abstract, DNA-RG 156 (20-0060). Recommends Stephen H. Webb for appointment to the ordnance corps.	
Mar 30	From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (20-0063). Introduces Joseph M. Moss.	
Mar 30	From Levi Woodbury. D, DNA-RG 59 (M179-72). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1); Copy, DNA-RG 233 (20-0065). <i>HRDoc</i> 191, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2 (Serial 220). Reports no information of foreign occupation of American territory on the Pacific.	
Mar 31	<i>To Edward Livingston.</i>	212
Mar 31	From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0067). Recommends reinstating cashiered Army lieutenant Ephraim K. Smith, whose 1830 court-martial was illegally constituted.	
Mar 31	<i>From James Alexander Hamilton.</i>	213
Mar 31	From Benjamin Chew Howard. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (20-0071). Recommends Nehemiah Baden for appointment to the ordnance corps.	
Mar 31	From Edward Livingston. D fragment, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0073). Draft, NjP (mAJs). <i>HRDoc</i> 191, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2 (Serial 220). Reports having no information or means to obtain any on foreign occupation of American territory on the Pacific.	
[cMar 31]	From Samuel Smith. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (20-0076). Recommends Nehemiah Baden for appointment to the ordnance corps.	
Mar 31	From John Tolley Hood Worthington. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (20-0078). Recommends Nehemiah Baden for appointment to the ordnance corps.	
Mar 31	<i>Samuel Swartwout to Thomas Lilly Smith.</i>	214
[Mar]	From Charles Ludlow Livingston et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). New York legislators recommend Aaron O. Dayton for secretary to the claims commission under the French treaty.	
[Mar]	From Isaac McKim et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommend Nathaniel Pearce for consul at Bremen.	
[Mar–Apr]	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	215
Mar–Apr	<i>Bank book for March and April.</i>	218
Apr 1	<i>From John Coffee.</i>	220
Apr 2	<i>To Daniel Todd Patterson.</i>	223
Apr 2	To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (20-0096). <i>HRDoc</i> 191, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220); Richardson, 2:570. Transmits the Navy and State Department reports on foreign occupation of American territory on the Pacific.	

- Apr 2 From DeForest & Son et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Recommend Joshua Bond for consul at Buenos Aires.
- Apr 2 From Edward Livingston. LS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0093). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 272, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 221). Requests a congressional appropriation to reimburse Master Commandant John D. Sloat's expenses in sheltering the Peruvian vice president aboard the *St. Louis* from a revolutionary mob.
- Apr 2 From Eugene Aaron Vail. 224
- Apr 2 Check to self for \$400. DS, DLC (40).
- Apr 2 Statement by George Blair of federal live oak timberlands in Louisiana. ADS, DNA-RG 49 (20-0089). Ordered reserved from sale by AJ on Apr 23.
- Apr 3 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0125). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:236. Nominates Ephraim K. Smith for reinstatement as an Army lieutenant.
- [cApr 3] From Allegheny County, Pa., citizens. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommend William McMahon for Cumberland Road superintendent.
- Apr 3 From Edward Livingston. LSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0117). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 195, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220). Proposes purchasing a building to accommodate the Patent Office's need for more space.
- Apr 3 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 46; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0120). Draft, NjP (mAJs). *SDoc* 118, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 214). Submits former minister Louis McLane's diplomatic correspondence on the British colonial trade.
- Apr 3 From Charles G. Olmsted et al. DS, THi (20-0124). Recommend Thomas E. Dudley for gunsmith to the Choctaws.
- Apr 3 Samuel John Bayard to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 156 (20-0115). Recommends Thompson B. Wheelock for appointment to the ordnance corps.
- Apr 4 To the United States Congress. DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233 (20-0127). *HRDoc* 195, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220); Richardson, 2:570–71. Submits Livingston's proposal to purchase a building for the Patent Office.
- Apr 4 To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 233 (20-0131). *HRDoc* 272, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 221); Richardson, 2:570. Recommends an appropriation to reimburse John D. Sloat for sheltering the Peruvian vice president on the *St. Louis*.
- Apr 4 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0134). *SDoc* 118, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 214); Richardson, 2:571. Transmits Louis McLane's diplomatic correspondence on the British colonial trade.
- Apr 4 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0137). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:236–37. Nominates land office registers and receivers.
- Apr 4 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0139). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:236. Nominates customs officers.

- Apr 4 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits papers supporting the reinstatement of dismissed midshipman Robert Jones.
- Apr 4 Ratification of the Creek treaty of Mar 24, 1832. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-6). *HRDoc* 210, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 11–14 (Serial 220).
- Apr 5 From Roger Brooke Taney. Copy, DNA-RG 217 (20-0148). *HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 871–73 (Serial 387). Reports that the executive lacks power to dismiss the Treasury suit against James Taylor, and recommends he seek relief from Congress.
- Apr 5 From Stephen Higginson Tyng. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0268). Episcopal minister requests clemency for ship captain Edward Abbott, indicted for manslaughter, whose exemplary character forbids suspicion of guilty intent.
- Apr 5 Approval of Marine paymaster Joseph L. Kuhn's court-martial for embezzlement and order for his dismissal. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-27).
- Apr 5 Ratification of the Mexican boundary treaty of Jan 12, 1828, and Apr 5, 1831. DS, DNA-RG 11 (20-0141).
- Apr 5 Proclamation of the Mexican boundary treaty. DS, DNA-RG 11 (20-0144). *HRDoc* 225, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 22–27 (Serial 220).
- Apr 5 Proclamation of the Mexican commercial treaty of Apr 5, 1831. DS, DNA-RG 11 (20-0146). *HRDoc* 225, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–22 (Serial 220).
- Apr 5 Approval of a \$550 fee to district attorney Thomas Swann for special services in the cases of Thomas Fillebrown and Joseph Nourse. ANS, DNA-RG 217 (M235-688).
- [Apr 6] To Edward Livingston. ANS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). Refers a Senate call for diplomatic correspondence concerning British import duties on American cotton.
- Apr 6 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0154). LC dated Mar 29, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:238–39; Richardson, 2:571. Nominates dismissed Navy purser William P. Zantzinger for a new appointment with loss of pay and rank.
- Apr 6 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0158). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:239. Nominates Beverly Daniel for marshal in North Carolina.
- Apr 6 From Alexander Campbell Wilder Fanning. ALS, DNA-RG 153 (20-0153). Recommends former Army lieutenant Thomas P. Ridgely for an appointment.
- Apr 6 *From Marcus Hitchcock.* 225
- Apr 6 From John Wood. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Asks to be appointed cadet at West Point.
- Apr 6 Ratification of the Ottawa treaty of Aug 30, 1831. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-6). *HRDoc* 210, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–8 (Serial 220).
- Apr 6 Ratification of the Seneca and Shawnee treaty of Jul 20, 1831.

- DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-6). *HRDoc* 210, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 20–25 (Serial 220).
- Apr 6 Ratification of the Shawnee treaty of Aug 8, 1831. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-6). *HRDoc* 210, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 15–20 (Serial 220).
- Apr 6 Ratification of the Wyandot treaty of Jan 19, 1832. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-6). *HRDoc* 210, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 8–10 (Serial 220).
- Apr 7 *To John Coffee.* 225
- Apr 7 From Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-0164). Announces his sister Maria Amalia's marriage.
- Apr 7 From Isaac McCoy. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends Stephen Chapin to vaccinate Indians.
- Apr 7 Josiah Hedges to William W. Irvin. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1068). Requests AJ's approval of the sale of an Indian treaty land reserve and protests the rumored removal of the Tiffin, Ohio, land office. Referred by AJ to Elijah Hayward to report on the sale's fairness.
- Apr 8 From Henry Toland. ALS, DLC (40). Reports the safe arrival of AJ's china at New Orleans and asks if he should insure the pending shipment of his other purchases.
- Apr 9 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 46; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0171). DS draft, NjP (mAJs). *SDoc* 121, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 214). Submits diplomatic correspondence concerning British import duties on American cotton.
- Apr 9 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0175). *SDoc* 121, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 214); Richardson, 2:571–72. Transmits Livingston's report on British cotton duties.
- Apr 9 *From Llewellyn Jones.* 227
- Apr 9 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0173). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). Asks AJ to request an appropriation for more clerks to record the laws and for a better building to preserve government records.
- Apr 10 To Henry Toland. ALS fragment, Ct (20-0181). Acknowledges his Apr 8 letter.
- Apr 10 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0182). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:239. Nominates Edward F. Tattnall for customs appraiser at Savannah.
- Apr 10 From Leopold I, King of the Belgians. LS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0179). Presents Belgian minister François-Jean Désiré Behr.
- Apr 10 Check to self for \$120. DS, DLC (40).
- Apr 10 *Roger Brooke Taney to [Daniel Carroll Brent].* 227
- Apr 11 *To Edward Livingston.* 228
- Apr 11 *To William Polk.* 229
- Apr 11 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0187). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:239. Nominates Marine officers.
- Apr 11 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0189). *Senate*

	<i>Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:239. Nominates Nathaniel Jackson for customs surveyor at Newburyport, Mass.	
Apr 11	<i>From Graves W. Steele.</i>	229
Apr 12	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	230
Apr 12	<i>To John Randolph.</i>	231
Apr 12	From Edward Livingston. LSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0191). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). <i>HRDoc</i> 206, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 220). Recommends asking Congress to reciprocate Portugal’s abolition of tonnage duties on American shipping.	
Apr 12	From Zanesville, Ohio, citizens. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Request the removal of Cumberland Road superintendent James Hampson.	
Apr 13	To the United States Congress. DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233 (20-0226). <i>HRDoc</i> 206, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220); Richardson, 2:572. Recommends exempting Portuguese ships from tonnage duties in U.S. ports.	
Apr 13	From Joseph Inslee Anderson. ALS, CtY (20-0199). Endorses widow Mary Wheaton Burke’s character and her claims to an office for her son.	
Apr 13	<i>From Henry Baldwin.</i>	232
Apr 13	From Ratliff Boon. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends Elias McNamee for Indian commissioner.	
Apr 13	<i>From Levi Woodbury.</i>	237
Apr 13	Reprieve until Jun 29 for Donnelly, a slave convicted and sentenced to death for murder in the Alabama Chickasaw country. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0221; T967-1).	
Apr 13	David Henshaw to Levi Woodbury. ALS, DLC-Woodbury Papers (mAJs). Encloses correspondence rebutting an Apr 4 House attack on his official conduct by Dutee J. Pearce. Endorsed by AJ “read—no action on it necessary.”	
Apr 14	From George L. Douglass. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-170). Asks that his mother be paid the entire \$1,000 his late father William Douglass would have earned had he lived to complete his work as agent to value and sell the cattle of emigrating Choctaws.	
[cApr 14]	From William G. Hawkins et al. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommend Valentine Giesey for Cumberland Road superintendent.	
Apr 14	From Richard Sanse. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Applies for an Army discharge.	
[Apr 14]	Check to self for \$128.40. DS, DLC (58; 20-0230).	
Apr 15	From Samuel Smith et al. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommend Dr. Shriver to vaccinate Indians.	
Apr 16	<i>To James Alexander Hamilton.</i>	237
Apr 16	From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits Army lieutenant Charles L. C. Minor’s memorial and General Macomb’s statement on his court-martial.	
Apr 16	From James Clark. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-84). Solicits a West Point cadetship for his son James W. Clark, praises AJ, condemns his enemies, and requests a letter.	

Apr 16	From John Henry Eaton.	238
Apr 16	From James Gooch. ALS, THer (20-0234). Applies for office and accuses David Henshaw and the <i>Boston Statesman</i> faction of favoring Calhoun and persecuting true Jackson men. Endorsed by AJ "to be considered."	
Apr 16	From Louis McLane. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0249). <i>SDoc</i> 130, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 214). Reports on the amount of American trade with British possessions in Europe.	
Apr 16	From Henry Toland. ALS, DLC (40). Encloses bills for goods purchased for the Hermitage and ready to ship to New Orleans, and asks if he should insure them.	
Apr 16	From Henry Toland. ADS, InHi (20-0250). Draft on AJ for \$536.74.	
Apr 16	Check to Andrew Jackson Donelson for \$250. DS, DLC (40).	
Apr 16	Check to Ralph Eleazar Whitesides Earl for \$120. DS, DLC (40).	
Apr 16	<i>Deed of gift to Mary Rachel Donelson.</i>	241
Apr 17	From Joseph Inslee Anderson and James House. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommend Army lieutenant John Williamson for captain of ordnance.	
[cApr 17]	From Joseph Rogers et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-3). Recommend Marmaduke Burrough for chargé d'affaires to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii).	
[Apr 17]	From John Smith Hollins et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0272). Jurors in Edward Abbott's manslaughter trial urge a pardon on grounds of innocent intent.	
Apr 17	From John W. Osgood et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0279). Urge a pardon for ship captain Edward Abbott, who killed his mate in necessary self-defense.	
Apr 17	From Nathaniel Williams. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0276). Prosecuting U.S. attorney seconds the recommendations to pardon Edward Abbott for manslaughter.	
Apr 18	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0254). <i>SDoc</i> 130, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 214); Richardson, 2:572. Transmits the Apr 16 Treasury report on American trade with British possessions in Europe.	
[Apr 18]	From Edward Abbott. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0287). Ship master convicted of manslaughter petitions for pardon. Approved by AJ Apr 19.	
Apr 18	From Roger Brooke Taney. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0283). Reviews the facts in Edward Abbott's manslaughter conviction and recommends a pardon.	
Apr 18	From Andrew Garden. ALS, THer (20-0252). Immigrant Scot requests employment with AJ.	
Apr 18	Approval of acting boatswain John Haywood's court-martial sentence of dismissal for drunkenness, scandalous conduct, and fighting. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-27).	
Apr 18	Check to self for \$40. DS, DLC (40).	
Apr 18	Check to Henry Toland for \$536.74. DS, DLC (40).	
Apr 18	John Haywood Bell to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-74). Navy lieutenant encloses a Mar 30	

- note from Robert Y. Hayne endorsing him for promotion.
Referred by AJ to the Navy Department.
- Apr 19 To *Anthony Butler*. 242
- Apr 19 To the United States Congress. DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233 (20-0304). *HRDoc* 210, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220); Richardson, 2:572. Transmits copies of recently ratified Indian treaties.
- Apr 19 To [Levi Woodbury]. DS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-132). Approves a refereed price of \$16,000 to purchase and remove a drawbridge at the Gosport navy yard.
- Apr 19 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 46; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0299). Draft, NjP (mAJs). *SDoc* 132, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 214). Submits diplomatic correspondence on the British colonial trade requested by the Senate.
- Apr 19 Commission for James Page as bankruptcy commissioner in Pennsylvania. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0303).
- Apr 19 Commission for Edmund C. Watmough as bankruptcy commissioner in Pennsylvania. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0308).
- Apr 19 Pardon for ship captain Edward Abbott, convicted of manslaughter. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0256; T967-1).
- Apr 19 Peter Desnoyers to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0274). States that William Prestage, pardoned for murderous assault on Oct 13, 1831, is still held for failure to pay court costs. Endorsed by AJ May 16 requiring proof “that the Prisoner, *is insolvent*, before he can remit the costs,” which “throws the costs upon the Government.”
- Apr 20 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0332). *SDoc* 132, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 214); Richardson, 2:572. Transmits diplomatic correspondence on the British colonial trade requested by the Senate.
- Apr 20 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0309). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:241–42. Submits a slate of officers proposed by a special Army board for nomination to the new ordnance department.
- Apr 20 From Foster & Giraud et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Recommend Nathaniel West Jr. for claims commissioner under the French treaty.
- Apr 20 From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (20-0330). Introduces Alexander Stewart Jr.
- [cApr 20] From *Martin Van Buren*. 243
- Apr 20 Endorsement by John Slidell recommending a remission of forfeiture for the Spanish brig *Dos Amigos*, seized for illegally bringing a slave into the U.S. ANS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-0692). Approved by AJ.
- Apr 21 From James Adams. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0274). Appeals for release from imprisonment and remission of his penalty for transporting smuggled woolens.
- Apr 21 From Thomas Douglas. ALS, DNA-RG 153 (20-0335). Recommends former Army lieutenant Thomas P. Ridgely for reinstatement or an office.

- Apr 21 From Edward Livingston. LS, DNA-RG 46; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0337). AL draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 214, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 220). Urges a law to prohibit counterfeiting foreign coins in the U.S.
- Apr 23 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 248
- Apr 23 To Stephen Pleasonton. 248
- Apr 23 To William Cabell Rives. 249
- Apr 23 To Anthony Bledsoe Shelby. 250
- Apr 23 To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0371). *HRDoc* 214, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220); Richardson, 2:573. Transmits Livingston’s appeal for a law to prohibit counterfeiting foreign coins in the U.S.
- Apr 23 From Levi Woodbury. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0380). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits a nomination of Thomas T. Webb for promotion to master commandant now that objections to his character have been cleared.
- Apr 23 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0378). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:241. Nominates Thomas T. Webb for master commandant and two midshipmen for lieutenancies.
- [cApr 23] From Louis McLane. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0351). *SDoc* 133, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 2 (Serial 214). Submits a report on the present quantity of public lands, the amount sold and alienated, and the costs of acquisition and management since Independence.
- Apr 23 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0373). *SDoc* 133, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 214); Richardson, 2:573. Transmits the Treasury report on the public lands.
- Apr 23 From Alexander Buckner. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (20-0345). Recommends Albert G. Harrison for appointment to the West Point board of visitors.
- Apr 23 From George Gibson. LC, DNA-RG 192 (20-0347). Reports on War Department deliberations in Feb 1830 on whether to supply rations to emigrant Indians by private contract or through the Army.
- Apr 23 From Richard Mentor Johnson. ANS, THER (20-0350). Introduces James Gooch.
- Apr 23 From James Lawliss. Printed, *Albany Argus*, May 15, 1832 (mAJs). Albany “native son of Erin” presents AJ with a saddle of his manufacture.
- Apr 23 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Transmits a copy of the federal register.
- Apr 23 From Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 49 (20-0353). Submits William Gregory’s claim to a reservation as a friendly Creek under the 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson. Approved by AJ Apr 24.
- [cApr 23] From G. Sanderson. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends James Thomson for Indian agent.
- Apr 23 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Transmits a list of Louisiana live oak timberlands to be reserved from sale.
- Apr 24 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0386). LC,

- DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:241.
Nominates John S. Punch for naval purser.
- Apr 24 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0388). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:241. Nominates consuls.
- Apr 24 From John Burwell et al. LS, DNA-RG 77 (20-0383). Urge James Hampson's retention as Cumberland Road superintendent.
- Apr 24 From Ephraim Holmes. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommends Isaac W. Crane for claims commissioner under the French treaty.
- Apr 24 Mitigation of seaman David Allison's court-martial sentence for desertion from fifty lashes to thirty. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-27).
- Apr 25 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 251
- Apr 25 To Sarah Yorke Jackson. 252
- Apr 25 From William Savin Fulton. 252
- Apr 25 From Graves W. Steele. Envelope, DLC (40). Endorsed by AJ rebuking the return of the racing colts and ordering them sent on to Washington.
- Apr 26 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0391). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:241. Nominates Army officers for appointment to the ordnance corps.
- Apr 26 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval commissions for signature.
- Apr 27 To Henry Baldwin. 254
- Apr 27 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0396). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:247. Nominates naval officers for promotion.
- Apr 27 From James Reeside. Photocopy of ALS, THER (mAJs). Informs that he has drawn on AJ for \$1,000 for his new carriage.
- Apr 27 From Erastus Root. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommends Thomas Phoenix for claims commissioner under the French treaty.
- Apr 28 To James Lawliss. LS, Anonymous (mAJs). *Albany Argus*, May 15, 1832. Accepts his gift of a saddle with gratitude "much enlivened" by Lawliss's Irish nativity.
- Apr 28 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0404). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:245. Nominates Jacob R. Eckfeldt for assayer of the Mint.
- Apr 28 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0406). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:245. Nominates Miles Hotchkiss for register of the Kaskaskia, Ill., land office.
- Apr 28 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits upper Mississippi lead mine leases and licenses for approval.
- Apr 28 From Elijah Hayward. AN, DNA-RG 77 (20-0398). Transmits Zanesville, Ohio, appeals concerning Cumberland Road superintendent James Hampson.
- [Apr 28] From John P. Martin. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends his son William T. Martin for cadet at West Point.

[Apr 28]	<i>Memorandum on Charles Landon Carter Minor's court-martial.</i>	255
Apr 29	From Alexander Armstrong et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (20-0408). Urge James Hampson's removal as Cumberland Road superintendent. Referred by AJ to Elijah Hayward for Ohio congressmen's opinion.	
Apr 30	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	256
Apr 30	<i>To Sarah Yorke Jackson.</i>	257
[Apr 30]	<i>From Joshua Noble Danforth.</i>	257
Apr 30	From Levi Woodbury. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Proposes seeking exemption from South American import duties and port charges on supplies sent to the Pacific squadron, or shipping them direct in Navy store ships.	
[cApr]	<i>To Francis Preston Blair.</i>	258
Apr	To Unknown. Abstract, DLC (20-0088). Discusses a saddle for his horse Sam Patch.	
[cApr]	From John Gray Jr. et al. DS, DNA-RG 153 (20-0081). Recommend Thomas P. Ridgely, now reformed of intemperance, for restoration to the Army.	
[cApr]	Andrew Jackson Donelson to Levi Woodbury. ANS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-132). Returns papers with AJ's approval.	
May 1	To Lewis Cass. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Returns approved lead smelting licenses.	
May 1	To Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). Approves instructions to William Shaler to procure Spanish archives on Florida.	
May 1	To the United States Congress. DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233 (20-0456). <i>HRDoc</i> 225, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220); Richardson, 2:573. Transmits the ratified Mexican commercial and boundary treaties.	
May 1	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0460). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:247. Renominates Samuel B. Malone for naval surgeon, to rank from date of confirmation.	
May 1	From Charles H. DeRome. ADS, DNA-RG 75 (20-0448). Requests permission to sell part of his children's Miami treaty reservation.	
May 1	From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0451). AN draft, NjP (mAJs). <i>HRDoc</i> 224, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220). Reports having no information on Samuel G. Howe's imprisonment in Prussia.	
May 1	From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0453). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). Recommends legislation to confirm Spanish land grants in West Florida before 1818, pursuant to the Florida cession treaty of 1819.	
May 2	To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (20-0462). <i>HRDoc</i> 224, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 220); Richardson, 2:573-74. Transmits Livingston's report on Samuel G. Howe's imprisonment in Prussia.	

May 2	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits passed midshipmen's warrants for signature.	
May 3	<i>To Edward Livingston.</i>	261
May 3	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0464). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:247. Nominates Richard Pearse for consul at Matamoros, Mexico.	
May 3	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0466). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:248. Nominates naval officers for promotion.	
May 4	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0474). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:247–48. Nominates William McRee for Mexican boundary commissioner and Robert Love for surveyor.	
May 4	From Henry Conwell. LS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-83). Recommends John P. J. O'Brien for cadet at West Point.	
May 4	From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Asks AJ to authorize advances to the government's bankers in London and Amsterdam.	
[cMay 4]	From Thomas Lyles. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0469). Asks a pardon for his mentally impaired sister Sarah Davis, convicted of felony for trying to sell a free black girl as a slave. Approved by AJ May 4.	
May 4	Pardon for Sarah Davis. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0468; T967-1).	
May 5	To Henry Whiting. LS photocopy, William C. Cook (mAJs). Regrets that at present he has no suitable vacant position for him.	
May 5	From William Taylor Barry. LS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0656). LC, DNA-RG 28 (M601-47). Seconds Boston postmaster Nathaniel Greene's request to pardon young William F. Melcher for purloining from the mail.	
May 5	From Richard Harrison. LC, DNA-RG 217 (20-0476). Reports the completion of his statement of federal judicial expenses in 1831.	
May 5	<i>From Louis McLane.</i>	261
May 5	List of Acts of Congress signed May 5. D, DNA-RG 46 (20-0477). Endorsed by AJ to notify Congress.	
May 5	Bill from William Thumlert for shoe repair. DS, DLC (41). Runs to Jul 19.	
May 5	Edward James Mallett to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0859). Argues that Job G. Lawton has been unjustly penalized for not presenting his brig <i>Union's</i> papers to the consul when touching at Cowes, England. Endorsed by AJ.	
May 6	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	263
[May 6]	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	263
May 6	<i>To Sarah Yorke Jackson.</i>	264
May 6	Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$1,002.05. DS, DLC (40).	
May 6	Check to cover James Reeside's \$1,000 draft for AJ's carriage. DS, DLC (40).	
May 7	<i>From James Alexander Hamilton.</i>	266
[cMay 7]	From Thomas Mace. D, DNA-RG 59 (20-0491). Begs release	

- from prison and remission of his fine and costs for petty larceny. Approved by AJ May 8.
- May 7 From William Miles. ADS and ADS duplicate, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Asks to be appointed commercial agent at Aux Cayes, Haiti. Appointed by AJ.
- May 7 From John Baptist Purcell. ADS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-83). Recommends John P. J. O'Brien for cadet at West Point.
- May 7 Commission for William Shaler to receive Spanish archives on Florida. DS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-0487). DS draft, NjP (mAJs).
- May 7 Joseph Story to Daniel Parkman. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0578). Recommends a pardon for Boston BUS embezzler John Fuller. Approved by AJ May 23.
- May 8 From B. Forstall et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-19). Recommend Charles E. Quincy for consul at Tenerife.
- May 8 From G. G. & S. Howland et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M84-2). Request a U.S. diplomatic presence in Venezuela to protect American commerce. Seconded by New York City congressmen.
- May 8 Remission of fine and costs and release for larcenist Thomas Mace. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0490; T967-1).
- May 9 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0499). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:248. Nominates John M. A. Hamblin for register of the Ouachita, La., land office.
- May 9 From Joachim Lelewel et al. Printed, *Boston Courier*, Aug 16, 1832 (mAJs). *Niles*, Sep 1 (20-0494). Polish National Committee in Paris inquires about possible asylum for Polish exiles in the U.S.
- May 9 From John Overton. ALS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0496). Reports that Charles Biddle's legal attainments are respectable but not eminent.
- May 9 From Joel Roberts Poinsett. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-11). Recommends Theodore G. Hunt for an appointment abroad.
- May 9 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Requests the reservation from sale of live oak timberlands.
- May 10 *From Samuel Emerson Smith.* 268
- May 11 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0504). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:248. Nominates Andrew M. Jackson for naval purser.
- [cMay 12] From Judson Russell. D, DNA-RG 59 (20-0522). Begs release from prison and remission of his fine for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay.
- May 12 *From John Freeman Schermerhorn.* 269
- May 12 Approval of Navy midshipman Richard Worsam Meade's court-martial and sentence of dismissal for leaving ship without permission and unofficerlike conduct. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-28).
- May 12 Approval of Navy midshipman Cincinnatus Pryor's court-martial and sentence of dismissal for leaving ship without permission and unofficerlike conduct. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-27).

- May 12 Approval of Navy midshipman Spotswood A. Washington's court-martial and sentence of dismissal for leaving ship without permission, unofficerlike conduct, blasphemy, disobedience, and contempt to superiors. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-27).
- May 12 Benjamin Cowell to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0863). Transmits a Jan 28 petition of Job G. Lawton of the brig *Union* for remission of his penalty for not presenting his papers to the consul when touching at Cowes, England. Endorsed by AJ.
- May 13 *To Allan Ditchfield Campbell.* 270
- May 13 *To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 271
- May 13 *From Henry Baldwin.* 272
- May 13 From Margaret McDonogh. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-83). Asks AJ to appoint her grandson John P. J. O'Brien cadet at West Point.
- May 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0525). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:248. Nominates Elias T. Langham for surveyor of public lands in Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas.
- May 14 *From James Buchanan.* 274
- May 14 From John Floyd. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). LC, Vi (mAJs). Asks for federal aid in procuring British official documents in London on Virginia's boundary with Maryland. AJ directs Livingston to "give all facility to the object."
- May 14 From Virgil Maxcy. LS and LC, DNA-RG 206 (20-0506). Reports Mississippi U.S. marshal Anthony Campbell's delinquency in submitting his returns. AJ directs that Campbell be told to submit his returns "within a reasonable time" or he will be removed.
- May 14 Remission and release for Judson Russell, imprisoned for failure to pay his fine and costs for assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0520; T967-1).
- May 15 *To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 277
- May 15 From John Lyde Wilson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-11). Recommends Theodore G. Hunt for office.
- May 15 Montfort Stokes to Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 108 (M1635-2). Asks the U.S. to evict trespassing Georgia gold diggers and their slaves from Cherokee lands in North Carolina. AJ orders their removal by the Army May 18.
- May 16 From Alexander Hamilton Day. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). Transmits a list of current presentments by the grand jury of the southern Florida U.S. judicial district.
- May 16 From Stacy Gardner Potts. ALS, DLC (20-0532). Urges reinstating former midshipman Charles G. Hunter, stricken from the Navy list in 1830 for dueling.
- May 16 Approval of Army lieutenant John Williamson's court-martial for unofficerlike and insubordinate conduct and of the court's recommendation to remit part of his sentence. DS, DNA-RG 153 (20-0535).
- May 16 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 153 (20-0529). Clarifies that AJ has only remitted Army lieutenant

- John Williamson's six months' suspension from rank, not his suspension from command.
- May 17 From Lewis Cass. D, DNA-RG 153 (20-0540). Submits for approval Army lieutenant William E. Aisquith's court-martial and sentence of dismissal for absence without leave, disobeying orders, and neglect of duty. AJ withholds "for deliberation."
- May 17 From Joseph Mann et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend William Miles for commercial agent at Aux Cayes, Haiti.
- May 18 From Richard Mentor Johnson. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends James G. Bryce for employment in removing Choctaws or Creeks.
- May 18 From Levi Woodbury. AD, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Offers naval transportation to Colombia for Francisco de Paula Santander. Accepted by AJ.
- May 19 *To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 277
- May 19 *To Sarah Yorke Jackson.* 279
- May 21 From Edward Chandler and from Pardon C. Greene et al. DSs, DNA-RG 59 (M639-17). TPUS, 24:701-2. Recommend Theodore Owens for marshal in Florida.
- May 21 From Mary Goss. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0545). Begg a pardon for receiving stolen property, pleading contrition and previous good character. AJ approves May 21.
- May 21 Pardon and release for prisoner Mary Goss. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0544; T967-1).
- May 21 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Advises against promoting Richard Kennon to naval surgeon over other assistant surgeons with higher seniority.
- May 22 From Levi Woodbury. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0562). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Recommends passed midshipmen for promotion to lieutenant.
- May 22 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0560). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:250. Nominates passed midshipmen for promotion.
- May 22 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0556). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-8). Submits the nomination of Francis W. Armstrong for agent to the Western Choctaws.
- May 22 From Payton Gay. ALS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Asks to be raised from Tenerife to a more lucrative consulate, citing especially his bravery at New Orleans.
- May 22 From Henry Jacques et al. DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-601). Big Spring Wyandots complain that interlopers signed the Jan 19 cession treaty behind their backs and have since thwarted their plan to steer its proceeds to the Upper Sandusky Wyandots.
- [May 22] From Nathaniel Melcher. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0658). Asks AJ to pardon his son William F. Melcher for mail theft, pleading his youth, previous good character, and contrition. Approved by AJ.
- May 22 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval surgeon Samuel B. Malone's commission for signature.

- May 22 List of Acts of Congress signed May 22. ANS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0558).
- May 22 Approval of Army lieutenant William E. Aisquith's court-martial and sentence of dismissal. DS, DNA-RG 153 (20-0549).
- May 22 Approval of Navy lieutenant Ephraim Davis Whitlock's court-martial and sentence to be cashiered for absence without leave, neglect of duty, and drunkenness. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-28).
- May 23 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0584). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:249. Nominates Francis W. Armstrong for agent to the Western Choctaws.
- May 23 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0588). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:250. Nominates Florida district judges.
- May 23 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0586). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:250. Nominates Aaron Vail for chargé d'affaires to Great Britain.
- May 23 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0581). Draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 249, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 221). Submits documents requested by the House on the claims negotiations with Denmark.
- May 23 Release from imprisonment and remission of fine for BUS embezzler John Fuller, on grounds of his contrition, effort at restitution, and ill health. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0564; T967-1).
- May 23 Nash Legrand to Levi Woodbury. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-133). Rebuts Eugene Higgins's charge of favoritism in awarding naval supply contracts at Norfolk. Endorsed by AJ that evidence shows "no proof" of favoritism.
- May 24 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 280
- May 24 From A. Greer. ALS, TNJ (20-0590). Recommends George Mason for office.
- May 24 From William Ryland. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends William A. Ryland for a Pension Office clerkship.
- May 24 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval warrants for signature.
- May 25 To Joel Clark. Printed, Trenton *Emporium & True American*, Jul 14, 1832 (mAJs). Thanks Newark, N.J., journeyman hatters for a hat and their support of tariff reform.
- May 25 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0598). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:251. Nominates John French for customs surveyor at New London, Conn.
- May 25 To Jesse Wharton. LS, IEN (20-0600). Encloses the Navy's denial of John Clark's pension claim.
- May 25 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0592). Draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 250, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 221). Submits documents requested by the House on commercial negotiations with Turkey.
- May 25 From Graves W. Steele. 282
- May 25 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval pursers' commissions for signature.
- [May 25] From George Paris. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0596). Begs release

	from imprisonment, pleading inability to pay his \$1 fine and costs for stealing two pieces of bacon. Approved by AJ May 25.	
May 25	Remission of fine and costs and release from imprisonment for larcenist George Paris. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0594; T967-1).	
May 26	From John Adams Dix et al. LS, THer (20-0604). New York Baltimore convention delegates thank AJ for hospitality in Washington and decline a dinner invitation.	
[May 26]	<i>Drafts on a conversation with Joshua Noble Danforth.</i>	283
May 28	<i>To John Caldwell Calhoun.</i>	287
May 28	<i>To Henry Baldwin.</i>	288
May 28	From E. N. Gregory. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12). Recommends Ezekiel P. Johnson for consul at Vera Cruz.	
May 28	From Francis Scott Key et al. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommend John H. Jones for a clerkship.	
[May 28]	From Joseph Leach et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (20-0614). Recommend Valentine Gieseey to superintend Cumberland Road repairs.	
May 28	From James Nesmith. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12). Recommends Ezekiel P. Johnson for consul at Vera Cruz.	
May 28	From Theodore Owens. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-17). Asks to be appointed marshal in Florida Territory.	
[May 28]	From James Platt et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (20-0669). Recommend Valentine Gieseey to superintend Cumberland Road repairs.	
May 28	Pardon and release for young Boston mail thief William Fullerton Melcher. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0647; T967-1).	
May 29	<i>To Lewis Cass.</i>	289
May 29	To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (20-0671). <i>HRDoc</i> 249, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 221); Richardson, 2:574. Transmits the State Department report on claims negotiations with Denmark.	
May 29	To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (20-0673). <i>HRDoc</i> 250, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1 (Serial 221); Richardson, 2:574. Transmits the State Department report on Turkish negotiations.	
May 29	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0675). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:252. Nominates Henry Boyer for customs surveyor at Madisonville, La.	
May 29	From Charles Henry Hall et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12). Recommend Ezekiel P. Johnson for consul at Vera Cruz.	
May 29	From Aaron Vail. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M30-35). Forwards, at their request, one of William H. B. Tremlett's new life preservers and William Parsons's pamphlet on measuring ship tonnage.	
May 30	To Thomas Handy Gilliss. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0677). Appoints him acting fourth auditor during Amos Kendall's absence.	
May 30	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0678). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:252. Nominates Robert Butler to continue as surveyor of Florida public lands.	
May 30	From John Henry Eaton. ALS, DLC (73). Encloses a May 30	

- letter from Felix Grundy (DLC-73) stating his \$100 fee in *Green v. Terrill*, receipted by Eaton for \$50 paid by AJ. 289
- May 30 From *Enoch Parsons*.
- May 30 Check to self for \$50. DS, DLC (40).
- May 30 John Wilson Campbell to William Russell. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0712). Urges a pardon for Ohio mail robber Stroder Johnston, in dire health after five years' imprisonment. Approved by AJ Jun 7.
- May 31 To *Andrew Jackson Jr.* 291
- May 31 From *John Caldwell Calhoun*. 292
- May 31 From Pardon C. Greene. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-17). Recommends Theodore Owens for marshal in Florida Territory.
- May 31 From John Hamm. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M10-3). Announces a commercial treaty with Chile, explains prospects for settling American indemnity claims, and asks leave to return if successful.
- May 31 From Roger Brooke Taney. Printed, *HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., pp. 879–80, Serial 387 (mAJs). Tenders a legal opinion supporting payment of three months' salary and expenses to the family of Charles D. Coxe, deceased consul at Tripoli.
- May 31 Approval of Navy midshipman Lewis Ogden's court-martial and sentence to be cashiered for drunkenness. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-28).
- [cMay] From George Mortimer Bibb. ANS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Transmits recommendations for William Miles for commercial agent at Aux Cayes, Haiti.
- [cMay] From Nathaniel Isler et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (20-0416). Recommend Valentine Giesey for superintendent of Cumberland Road repairs.
- [May] From Henry Augustus Philip Muhlenberg et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14). Pennsylvania congressmen recommend Friedrich List for consul in Bavaria, Alsace, and Baden.
- Jun 1 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits midshipmen's warrants for signature.
- Jun 2 To Leopold, Grand Duke of Baden. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0688). Offers congratulations on the birth of his son Charles Frederick.
- Jun 2 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0689). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:254. Nominates consuls.
- Jun 2 From James Blair. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-11). Recommends Theodore G. Hunt for secretary of legation at Paris.
- Jun 2 From Thomas Rothmaler Mitchell. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-11). Recommends Theodore G. Hunt for secretary of legation at Paris.
- Jun 4 Remission of forfeiture for the Spanish brig *Dos Amigos*, on grounds that its illegal carriage of a slave to the U.S. was unintentional. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0691; T967-1).
- Jun 5 To Cabinet members. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-0700). Copies, DNA-RG 45 (M124-133). Orders an accounting of all Departmental contingent expenditures since 1829 and quarterly reports henceforth.

- Jun 5 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0702). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:254. Submits Army brevet promotions.
- Jun 5 From Robert Mills. LS, DNA-RG 233 (mAJs). Submits a plan for paving Pennsylvania Avenue for AJ's approval.
- Jun 6 To Ienari, Shogun of Japan. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0705). Introduces special envoy Edmund Roberts.
- Jun 6 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0706). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:254. Nominates Army officers for brevet promotion.
- Jun 7 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0719). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:255. Nominates James R. Leib for consul at Tangier in place of Samuel J. Carr.
- Jun 7 From Powhatan Ellis.* 294
- Jun 7 From William Tell Poussin. Copy, DNA-RG 94 (M567-75).*
- Resigns as major of Army topographical engineers to return to France. Accepted by AJ Aug 18.
- Jun 7 From Roger Brooke Taney. LCs, DNA-RG 60 (M699-1; M699-2). Reports on his office's contingent expenditures since 1829.
- Jun 7 Pardon for Ohio mail robber Stroder Johnston, on grounds of ill health and good conduct in five years' imprisonment. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0710; T967-1).
- Jun 8 Appointment of War Department chief clerk John Robb as acting Secretary during Lewis Cass's absence. DS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-112). LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0727).
- Jun 8 Order approving the location for Marine officers' quarters at the Philadelphia navy yard. DS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-133). Copy, DNA-RG 127; Copy, THi (20-0721).
- Jun 8 Order setting pay rates for naval petty officers. DS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-133). Copies, DNA-RG 45; Copy, DNA-RG 217 (20-0723).
- Jun 9 To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 294
- Jun 9 From Maunsel White.* 295
- Jun 9 Jesse Duncan Elliott to Levi Woodbury. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). Reports Mexican general Esteban Moctezuma's expulsion of naturalized U.S. citizens from Tampico and his own protest. Referred by AJ to Livingston for a communication to Anthony Butler.
- Jun 10 To Sarah Yorke Jackson.* 296
- Jun 10 David Morison to Andrew Jackson Jr. ALS, T (20-0732). Summarizes total expenses for construction at the Hermitage.
- [cJun 11] To [Edward Livingston].* 297
- Jun 11 To the United States Senate.* 298
- Jun 11 From Churchill Caldom Cambreleng et al. Copy, THER (20-0734). Congressmen recommend David M. Lewis for office in Florida.
- [Jun 11] From David M. Lewis. Copy, THER (20-0734). Presents his recommendation for office in Florida.
- [Jun 11] From John Clarke. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-1183). Petty thief begs

- remission of his court costs and release from jail after serving his week's sentence. Approved by AJ Jul 20.
- Jun 11 From Charles Henry Hall et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12). New York City councilmen recommend Ezekiel P. Johnson for consul at Vera Cruz.
- Jun 11 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Reports that Noel Mongrain's family's 1825 Osage treaty reservations have not yet been located.
- Jun 11 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits mid-shipmen's warrants for signature.
- Jun 11 Check to F. Masi & Co. for \$29. DS, DLC (40).
- Jun 12 To John Freeman Schermerhorn. 300
- Jun 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0745). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:256. Nominates Frederick S. Church for consul at Ponce, Puerto Rico.
- Jun 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0747). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:256. Nominates William Turner for customs surveyor in Rhode Island.
- Jun 12 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Recommends approving Benjamin P. Crossman's application to lease a salt spring in Michigan Territory.
- Jun 12 From Bennett H. Henderson. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-71). Tenders his resignation as lieutenant of artillery. Referred by AJ to Cass for acceptance.
- Jun 12 From Lewis Hutchins. DS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0624). Begs discharge of the judgment against him for smuggling nutmegs from Canada, pleading youthful inexperience and inability to pay.
- [Jun 12] From Jonathan Eastman Jr. et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0627). Support Lewis Hutchins's pardon petition.
- Jun 12 From Noah Hyatt et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (20-0739). Oppose appointing Solomon G. Krepps to superintend Cumberland Road repairs.
- Jun 12 From John Leonard. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14). Recommends his son John A. B. Leonard for secretary or clerk to the claims commission under the French treaty.
- Jun 12 From George Loyall. ALS, DNA-RG 26 (20-0742). Introduces revenue cutter captain William Coody. Referred by AJ to Woodbury and to Boston customs collector David Henshaw "that he may appreciate the character of Capt Coody as he ought."
- Jun 12 From John Robb. 302
- Jun 12 Appointment of James Thompson as acting third auditor during Peter Hagner's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0744).
- Jun 12 Authorization to change the location of officers' quarters at the Portsmouth, N.H., navy yard. DS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-133).
- Jun 12 Memorandum to consult with John Tipton on an Indian agent at Rock Island if Felix St. Vrain has been killed. AN, DLC (40).
- Jun 12 Account with Lovejoy & Denham. 304
- Jun 13 To Andrew Jackson Jr. and Sarah Yorke Jackson. 304
- [Jun 13] From Charles Callaghan et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M84-2).

- Request a U.S. diplomatic presence in Venezuela to protect American commerce.
- Jun 13 From William Wilkins. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M84-2). Encloses and endorses the memorial of Charles Callaghan et al. Seconded by Henry Horn.
- Jun 13 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Reports on State Department contingent expenditures since 1829.
- Jun 13 From Stephen Decatur Miller and James Blair. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-7). Recommend William F. English for marshal in Florida Territory.
- Jun 13 From Robert Bolling Stark. ALS, DNA-RG 26 (20-0749). Introduces revenue cutter captain William Coody.
- Jun 13 From Samuel Swartwout. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommends Cadwallader D. Colden for claims commissioner under the French treaty.
- [cJun 13] From Robert Walker. D, DNA-RG 59 (20-0751). Begs release from confinement and remission of his fine and costs for assault, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Jun 13.
- Jun 13 Remission of fine and costs and discharge for assailant Robert Walker. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0750; T967-1).
- Jun 13 Authorization to relocate a new timber shed at the Brooklyn navy yard. DS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-133).
- Jun 14 *To Martin Van Buren.* 305
- Jun 14 From Joseph S. Leake. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14). Asks for an Army pension office clerkship.
- Jun 14 From Roger Brooke Taney. ALS, DLC (20-0755). Recommends John Contee for midshipman. Referred favorably by AJ to Woodbury.
- Jun 14 Approval of midshipman George Lansing's court-martial for drunkenness and unbecoming conduct, with mitigation of sentence from dismissal to loss of pay and seniority. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-28). Copy, DNA-RG 217 (20-0754).
- Jun 14 Levi Woodbury to George Lansing. ALS draft, DLC (40). Communicates AJ's decision on his court-martial. Endorsed by AJ to discuss remitting the punishment with Woodbury.
- Jun 15 From Weston Raleigh Gales. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0699). Asks AJ to pardon Jonathan Lewis who has served a large part of his five-year sentence for possessing materials to counterfeit BUS notes.
- Jun 15 From Felix Grundy. ALS, DLC (73). Sends a copy of proceedings from the Senate Journal on the BUS recharter bill from May 26 to its passage on Jun 11 (DLC-40).
- Jun 15 *From James Alexander Hamilton.* 305
- Jun 15 From John Tyler and William Cocke Holt. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommend Edward A. Seymour for cadet at West Point.
- Jun 15 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Thomas M. Brasher's midshipman's warrant for signature.
- Jun 16 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Reports on

- remittances to surveyor Gideon Fitz and complains of errors in surveying the Choctaw cession.
- Jun 16 *From the Marquis de Lafayette.* 306
- Jun 16 *From the Marquis de Lafayette.* 307
- Jun 16 From George W. J. Powell. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-112). Volunteers as a surgeon for the northwestern frontier war.
- Jun 16 From John Tipton et al. LS, DNA-RG 107 (20-0761). Indiana senator and congressmen recommend Benjamin V. Beckes and Lemuel Ford to command mounted ranger companies on the northwestern frontier.
- Jun 17 *From William Henry Ashley.* 308
- Jun 17 From William Campbell. ALS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-750). *Black Hawk War*, 2:612–14. Reports on events of the Black Hawk War, stresses its devastation in Illinois, warns of general Indian hostility, and complains of the Army's slack response.
- Jun 17 *From Samuel Smith.* 309
- Jun 18 From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-27). Reports having no record of a supposed survey of Osage reservation locations under the treaty of 1825.
- Jun 19 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0770). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:258. Withdraws the nomination of Joseph Cullen for consul at Tenerife.
- Jun 19 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0772). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:258. Nominates Henry Dodge for major of mounted rangers.
- Jun 19 From Joshua Barney. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-67). Asks to have his resignation as Army lieutenant withdrawn and to be assigned to topographical duty.
- [Jun 19] From Daniel Laurens Barringer et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). North Carolina senators and congressmen recommend John G. A. Williamson for diplomatic agent to Venezuela.
- Jun 19 From Willie Person Mangum. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Encloses and seconds the recommendation for John G. A. Williamson.
- Jun 19 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0767). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:267. Proposes Army lieutenant Edward Harding for captain of ordnance.
- Jun 19 From Payton Gay. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Again urges his claim to a more lucrative consulate and complains of AJ's neglect.
- Jun 20 From Ferdinand VII, King of Spain. LS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0774). Announces the marriage of his grandnephew Sebastian, Infante of Spain.
- Jun 20 From John Leonard. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). Complains that chargé to Portugal Thomas L. L. Brent has used his diplomatic character to evade repaying a longstanding debt, and asks AJ to remove him.
- Jun 20 From John H. Sommerville. ALS, TNJ (20-0778). Applies for a land office in the Alabama Creek cession.
- Jun 20 From Ephraim Davis Whitlock. ADS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-133).

- Claims innocence of court-martial charges and protests his dismissal from the Navy. Referred by AJ to Woodbury to examine and report.
- Jun 20 Richard Ward Greene to Daniel Brent. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0869). Reports in favor of Job G. Lawton's appeal to remit his penalty for not presenting his brig *Union's* papers to the consul at Cowes. Approved by AJ Jul 2.
- Jun 21 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 311
- Jun 21 To Sarah Yorke Jackson. 312
- Jun 21 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0791). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:258. Nominates James S. Conway for public land surveyor in Arkansas.
- Jun 21 From John Boyle. ADS, DLC (40). Transmits Master Commandant William L. Gordon's praise of the shipboard department of court-martialed midshipmen Richard W. Meade, George Lansing, Cincinnatus Pryor, Spotswood A. Washington, and George W. Gay. Endorsed by AJ to see Woodbury.
- Jun 21 From Anthony Butler. 313
- Jun 21 From De Witt Clinton Jr. Extract, R & R Enterprises, Catalog 212, April 1998 (mAJs). Recommends George W. McLean for Marine second lieutenant.
- [Jun 21] From Elias Hill et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (20-0781). Recommend Valentine Giesey to superintend Cumberland Road repairs.
- Jun 21 From Josiah Nichol. ALS, DLC (40). Reports receipt of a \$972.53 check from Maunsel White for the sale of AJ's cotton.
- Jun 22 To Ferdinand VII, King of Spain. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0799). Offers congratulations on the birth of his daughter Maria Luisa Fernanda.
- Jun 22 To Ephraim Hubbard Foster. 315
- Jun 22 To Wilson Lumpkin. 316
- Jun 22 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0802). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:261–62. Nominates consuls.
- Jun 22 From James Buchanan. 317
- Jun 22 From George Gibson. LC, DNA-RG 192 (20-0800). Explains the history and staffing of the Army's Subsistence Department.
- Jun 22 From Henry Horn et al. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Congressmen recommend Thomas B. Linnard for appointment to the ordnance corps.
- Jun 22 From John Leonard. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). Submits his Jun 20 memorial against Thomas L. L. Brent. Endorsed by AJ "to be attended so soon as the evidence of the demand is furnished."
- Jun 22 From John Leonard. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-73). Submits proof of Thomas L. L. Brent's debt to him. Endorsed by AJ "to be submitted to the Executive council Tuesday next."
- Jun 22 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0801). LS draft, NjP (mAJs). Transmits newly received French fisheries regulations to supplement his Feb 6 report.
- Jun 22 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports on Navy Department contingent expenditures since 1829.

Jun 22	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval officers' commissions for signature.	
[Jun 22]	<i>Note on religion.</i>	322
Jun 22	Thomas Lee Ringgold to Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-79). Asks to be appointed cadet at West Point. Referred favorably by AJ to Cass.	
Jun 23	From Henry Baldwin. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Recommends Morgan Neville for Indian commissioner.	
Jun 23	From Edward Livingston. LSs, DNA-RG 46 and 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0804). AL draft, NjP (mAJs). Recommends legislation to reciprocate Spain's abolition of discriminating tonnage duties on American shipping.	
Jun 23	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Henry J. Hartstene's midshipman's warrant for signature.	
[cJun 23]	<i>Memorandum on the Northeast boundary.</i>	322
Jun 24	<i>From Mary Ann Eastin Polk.</i>	323
Jun 25	To the United States Congress. DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233 (20-0821). <i>Senate Journal</i> , 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 366 (Serial 211); Richardson, 2:575. Transmits Livingston's recommendation to abolish discriminating tonnage duties on Spanish shipping.	
Jun 25	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0825). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:266. Nominates naval officers for promotion.	
Jun 25	From Richard Grafton Belt. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-29). Asks to be appointed Army assistant surgeon.	
Jun 25	<i>From Abner Lacock.</i>	324
Jun 25	From Daniel Newnan. ALS, DLC (40). Encloses and endorses a Jun 18 letter from Abraham B. Fannin (DLC-40) seeking appointment as Savannah, Ga., customs collector.	
Jun 25	From Lewis Sanders. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (20-0817). Recommends Hanibal Dougherty to command a company of mounted rangers.	
Jun 26	From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-8). Submits Marston G. Clark for appointment as Kansas Indian agent.	
Jun 26	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0827). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:266. Nominates Marston G. Clark for Kansas Indian agent.	
Jun 26	<i>From John Randolph.</i>	330
Jun 26	<i>From Graves W. Steele.</i>	331
Jun 26	From Levi Woodbury. D, DNA-RG 45 (M124-133). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that Ephraim D. Whitlock has been fairly treated and his court-martial and dismissal were just. Endorsed by AJ "cannot be rescinded."	
Jun 26	Check to Tucker & Thompson for \$73.75. DS, DLC (41).	
Jun 27	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	332
Jun 27	From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits Dr. James W. Roper's request for employment, for which he was promised consideration if the Army medical corps was expanded.	

Jun 27	From Roger Brooke Taney.	333
Jun 27	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval purser William P. Zantzinger's commission for signature.	
Jun 27	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits a statement of contingent expenditures by the superintendent of the Navy building.	
Jun 28	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0837). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:267. Nominates Arkansas land office registers and receivers.	
Jun 28	From William A. Weaver. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (20-0839). Introduces his wife, to request employment for him.	
Jun 28	Thomas Flood to William Berkeley Lewis. ALS, DLC (41). Introduces Cumberland Road assistant superintendent David Scott to pursue his case against James Hampson, touts the Irish enthusiasm for AJ in Ohio, and hopes to unseat Senator Benjamin Ruggles.	
Jun 29	From the Michigan Territory Legislative Council. DS, DLC (41). <i>Journal of the Legislative Council of Michigan</i> , May 1832 session, pp. 197–98. Requests federal navigational surveys of Lakes Michigan and Huron.	
Jun 30	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0845). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:267. Nominates Abraham B. Fannin for Savannah, Ga., customs collector.	
Jun 30	From Ann Crooke Barber Broom. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-0841). Prays a pardon for her son Charles C. Broom, who fled to Europe on indictment for embezzling from the BUS in New York.	
Jun 30	From Robert W. McHenry. ALS, TNJ (20-0843). Asks to be appointed receiver of the Montevallo, Ala., land office.	
Jun 30	From John Harris McNeal. D, DNA-RG 59 (20-0880). Convicted forger begs a pardon on account of mental infirmity from a head wound suffered in naval service. Approved by AJ	
	Jul 3.	
[cJun]	To William Berkeley Lewis.	353
[Jun-Jul]	To the United States Congress (not sent).	354
[cJun]	Memorandum regarding Henry Marie Brackenridge.	357
[Jul 1]	From Henry Eddy et al. DS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-69). Recommend Arnold B. Dake Jr. for lieutenant of mounted rangers.	
Jul 2	To Abd er-Rahman, Sultan of Morocco. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0856). Presents American consul at Tangier James R. Leib.	
Jul 2	From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 77 (20-0857). Submits copies of the West Point regulations and personnel register.	
Jul 2	From Edward Philip Livingston.	359
Jul 2	From Francis Preston. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-83). Recommends his nephew James F. Preston for cadet at West Point.	
[Jul 2]	From John Tyler et al. DS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-83). Senators and congressmen recommend James F. Preston for cadet at West Point. AJ orders his appointment.	

- Jul 2 Remission of penalty against master Job G. Lawton of the brig *Union* for failing to present his papers to the consul at Cowes. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0858; T967-1).
- Jul 3 Pardon for convicted forger John Harris McNeal on account of mental impairment. DS, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (mAJs). LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-0878; T967-1).
- Jul 4 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits a recommendation from William Hendricks.
- Jul 4 From Charles Whittlesey. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-77). Resigns as Army lieutenant.
- Jul 5 From Thomas Hart Benton. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14). Recommends Lewis F. Linn for commissioner to adjudicate French and Spanish land claims in Missouri.
- Jul 5 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0884). LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-9). Submits the nomination of Marmaduke S. Davenport for Indian agent at Rock Island, Ill.
- Jul 5 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Reports on State Department and Patent Office contingent expenses for the second quarter of 1832.
- Jul 5 *From John Randolph.* 360
- Jul 5 From John Tipton. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-112). Recommends Williamson Dunn.
- Jul 5 Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$796.84. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 5 Check to William Berkeley Lewis for \$400 for a loan to Samuel Houston. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 5 Check to Thompson & Homans for \$55.12½ for stationery, encyclopedia volumes, and to pay Mary Ann Eastin Polk's account. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 6 To Lewis Cass. AN, MiU-C (20-0886). Returns a letter from Wilson Lumpkin which he "read with much pleasure."
- Jul 6 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0888). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:267. Nominates Marmaduke S. Davenport for Indian agent at Rock Island, Ill.
- Jul 6 *From Graves W. Steele.* 362
- [c]Jul 6] From William Wilkins. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-67). Supports Joshua Barney's request for reinstatement as Army lieutenant.
- Jul 6 Check to Ethan Baldwin for \$20. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 7 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0899). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:267. Corrects the name of Hopeful Toler, nominee for consul at Ponce, Puerto Rico.
- Jul 7 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0901). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:267. Nominates Lieutenant Edward Harding for captain of ordnance.
- Jul 7 *To Martin Van Buren.* 363
- Jul 7 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0890). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:268-70. Submits Army promotions.
- Jul 9 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0914). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:268. Nominates Army officers for promotion.

- Jul 9 From John Penn Arndt et al. DS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-315). *TPUS*, 12:524–25. Applaud Samuel C. Stambaugh's conduct as late Indian agent at Green Bay and urge him for another office.
- Jul 9 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0906). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:270. Submits nominations of Indian treaty commissioners for Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.
- Jul 9 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0908). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:270–71. Submits a nomination of James H. Hook for Army commissary.
- Jul 9 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-0911). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:271. Submits nominations of Army surgeons.
- Jul 9 From Nathan Lufborough. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommends William Crawford of Baltimore for an appointment abroad.
- Jul 9 Ratification of the Menominee cession treaty of Feb 1831 as amended by the Senate on Jun 25. DS, DNA-RG 11 (M668-6).
- Jul 10 *Bank of the United States Veto Message*. 364
- Jul 10 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1006). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:273. Submits Edmund Kirby's reappointment as Army paymaster.
- Jul 10 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1021). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:273. Nominates Edmund Kirby for Army paymaster.
- Jul 10 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1023). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:270. Nominates Indian commissioners, James H. Hook, and Army surgeons.
- [cJul 10] From William R. Detray et al. DS, DNA-RG 49 (20-1008). Protest Joseph H. Larwill's removal of the Tiffin, Ohio, land office to Bucyrus.
- Jul 10 From Joshua Seney and Henry Cronise. LS, DNA-RG 49 (20-1017). Enclose the petition of William R. Detray et al. against removal of the Tiffin, Ohio, land office.
- Jul 10 From [Isaac Hill]. Extract of A] endorsement, Charles Hamilton Autographs sale 34, 1969 (20-1012). Seeks release for smuggler Lewis Hutchins, imprisoned for inability to pay his fine. A] refuses, saying escape from punishment on plea of poverty "would operate as an encouragement for a repetition of this crime."
- [cJul 10] From John Keller et al. LS, DNA-RG 49 (20-1013). Protest the removal of the Tiffin, Ohio, land office to Bucyrus.
- Jul 10 From Francis Scott Key. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommends William Crawford of Baltimore for an appointment abroad.
- [cJul 10] From John Swaney et al. DS, DNA-RG 49 (20-1019). Protest Joseph H. Larwill's removal of the Tiffin, Ohio, land office to Bucyrus.
- Jul 10 Robert Fields to John Davis. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-1141). Master of the Canadian schooner *Water Witch* begs remission

- of penalties against it and himself for ignorantly exceeding legal passenger limits. Approved by AJ Jul 19.
- Jul 11 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 411
- Jul 11 To Sarah Yorke Jackson. 411
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1025).
Recommends approving Joseph La Framboise's sale of his reserved section under an 1821 Chicago Indian treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1027).
Recommends approving James Burnett's sale of his reserved section under an 1826 Potawatomi treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1029).
Recommends approving Louison Godfroy's sale of his reserved section under an 1826 Miami treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1031).
Recommends approving Nancy Burnett's sale of her reserved section under an 1826 Potawatomi treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1033).
Recommends approving Joseph Bertrand Jr.'s sale of his reserved section under an 1821 Chicago Indian treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1035).
Recommends approving the sale by François E. Campau, or Nowokeshik, of his reserved section under an 1819 Chippewa treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1037).
Recommends approving Mary Chatalie's sale of her reserved section under an 1818 Potawatomi treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1039).
Recommends approving John B. Cicott's sale of his reserved section under an 1821 Chicago Indian treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1041).
Recommends approving James Burnett's sale of his reserved section under an 1818 Potawatomi treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1043).
Recommends approving James Burnett's sale of his reserved section under an 1818 Potawatomi treaty.
- Jul 11 From Elijah Hayward. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1045).
Recommends approving Stephen Benac's sale of his reserved section under an 1828 Potawatomi treaty.
- Jul 11 Check to Andrew Jackson Donelson for \$20 for William Alexander. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 12 To the United States House of Representatives. DS (signature removed) and Copy, DNA-RG 233 (20-1053). *House Journal*, 22d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1165 (Serial 215); *ASP Naval Affairs*, 4:150; Richardson, 2:575. Reports on the frigate *Potomac*'s voyage to suppress Sumatran piracies.
- Jul 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1058). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:273. Nominates consuls.
- Jul 12 From Wilson Lumpkin. 412
- Jul 12 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports on

- Navy Department contingent expenses for the second quarter of 1832.
- Jul 12 *Pension affidavit of John Adair.* 414
- Jul 12 James Biddle to Levi Woodbury. LS, DNA-RG 45 (M125-172). Reports on affairs of the Mediterranean squadron including the Pasha of Egypt's gifts to officers of the *Concord*. AJ orders them deposited with the State Department.
- Jul 13 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1073). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:273. Nominates Alabama land office registers and receivers.
- Jul 13 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1075). LC (dated Jul 2), DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:273. Nominates Captain Charles Morris to the Board of Navy Commissioners.
- Jul 13 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1077). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:274. Nominates Powhatan Ellis for Mississippi district judge.
- Jul [13] From William Campbell. ALS, IHi (20-0849). *Black Hawk War*, 2:788–90. Complains of corrupt Indian agents, warns that all Indians are implacably hostile and urges exterminating or driving them further west, and criticizes Illinois politicians and the conduct of the Black Hawk campaign.
- Jul 13 From Virgil Maxcy. LS, DNA-RG 59; LC, DNA-RG 206 (20-1068). Reports Mississippi marshal Anthony Campbell's continued failure to submit his returns. AJ removes him Jul 18.
- Jul 13 Proclamation of the Jul 4, 1831, claims convention with France. DS, DNA-RG 11 (20-1065). *Globe*, Jul 23, 1832; *Niles*, Aug 18.
- [cJul 14] To [Charles Gratiot]. ANS, DNA-RG 77 (20-1085). Orders prompt survey of lines stipulated in a Jul 14 Act to determine Ohio's northern boundary.
- Jul 14 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1088). Draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 250, 22d Cong., 1st sess., supplement p. 1 (Serial 221). Submits supplemental documents on the Turkish commercial negotiations.
- Jul 14 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (20-1091). *HRDoc* 250, 22d Cong., 1st sess., supplement p. 1 (Serial 221); Richardson, 2:575. Transmits the supplemental report on Turkish commercial negotiations.
- Jul 14 From Lewis Cass. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 46 (20-1079). LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-9). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, p. 870 (Serial 245); *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:276. Submits Indian treaty commissioner nominations under the Act of Jul 14.
- Jul 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1097). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:276. Nominates Indian treaty commissioners under the Act of Jul 14.
- Jul 14 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1081). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:276–77. Submits Army promotions.

- Jul 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1102). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:276. Nominates Army officers for promotion.
- Jul 14 From Lewis Cass. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 46 (20-1083). LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-9). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, p. 868 (Serial 245); *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:277. Submits Indian treaty commissioner nominations for Illinois and Missouri.
- Jul 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1104). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:277. Nominates Indian treaty commissioners for Illinois and Missouri.
- Jul 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1093). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:275. Nominates commissioners to adjust Missouri land claims.
- Jul 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1095). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:276. Nominates Elias Kane for navy agent at Washington, D.C.
- Jul 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1099). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:276. Nominates claims commissioners and staff under the convention with France and a clerk under the boundary treaty with Mexico.
- Jul 14 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (20-1106). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:277. Nominates Robert Ruedoffer for consul at Munich.
- Jul 14 *From the Marquis de Lafayette.* 417
- Jul 14 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits a nomination of John T. Jenkins for promotion to Navy lieutenant.
- Jul 15 *From John Randolph.* 419
- Jul 16 *From Moses Dawson.* 420
- Jul 16 *From Henry Toland.* 421
- Jul 16 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval commissions for signature.
- Jul 16 Appointment of John Robb as acting secretary of war during Lewis Cass's absence. DS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-112). LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1108).
- Jul 16 Remission of fine for counterfeiter William Sutherland and release from imprisonment after serving his sentence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1).
- Jul 17 *To John Coffee.* 422
- Jul 17 *To Sarah Yorke Jackson.* 423
- Jul 17 *From Louis McLane.* 424
- Jul 17 *To Levi Woodbury.* 425
- Jul 17 *From the Marquis de Lafayette.* 425
- Jul 17 From Levi Woodbury. LS and LC, DNA-RG 49; LC, DNA-RG 45 (20-1122). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Requests the reservation from sale of West Florida live oak timberlands. Approved by AJ Jul 18.
- Jul 17 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Lieutenant Hampton Westcott's commission for signature.

- Jul 17 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Thomas Butler. ANS, LU (20-1114). Invites him to dine with AJ and Van Buren.
- Jul 17 Andrew Jackson Donelson to John Robb. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-83). Says AJ wants to see him and wants James F. Preston appointed cadet at West Point.
- Jul 17 Winfield Scott to George Bryan Porter. Copy, DLC (41). Reports on his plans to move against Black Hawk, the depletion of his ranks by cholera, and his measures to contain it, and calls for 400 Michigan mounted volunteers.
- Jul 18 To Asbury Dickins. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1135). Appoints him acting secretary of the Treasury in the event of Louis McLane's absence or sickness.
- Jul 18 To Peter Grayson Washington. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1139). Appoints him acting Treasurer during John Campbell's absence.
- Jul 18 From Thomas Burke. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (20-1130). Appeals for reinstatement as a Marine lieutenant.
- Jul 18 From Anthony Butler.* 426
- Jul 18 From Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 217 (M235-700). Recommends paying Joseph L. Smith's approved compensation and expenses for adjudicating Spanish claims under the 1819 Florida cession treaty for damages caused by American arms there. Approved by AJ.
- Jul 18 From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (20-1137). Introduces James N. Barker.
- Jul 18 Appointment of Michael Nourse as acting register of the Treasury during Thomas L. Smith's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1136).
- Jul 18 Check to Henry Toland for \$21.97 for chinaware. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 18 Receipted bill from Tucker & Thompson for \$13.75 for clothing. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 19 To Lewis Cass. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-30). Abstract, DNA-RG 77 (M505-1). Asks to have topographical engineer James Kearney detailed to the Potomac bridge.
- Jul 19 To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 428
- Jul 19 To Sarah Yorke Jackson.* 428
- [Jul 19] From Barney Herrill. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-1194). Begs release from jail and remission of his fine for assault, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Jul 20.
- Jul 19 From Roger Brooke Taney.* 429
- Jul 19 From Louis McLane. AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Reports that Canadians have received no official notice of ship passenger limits, the U.S. having no consuls there.
- Jul 19 Remission of penalties against the Canadian schooner *Water Witch* and master Robert Fields for unintentionally overloading passengers to the U.S. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1140; T967-1).
- [Jul 19] From Benjamin Thompson. D, DNA-RG 59 (20-1360). Convicted thief asks for remission of fine and costs and release from imprisonment upon finishing his sentence. Approved by AJ Jul 19 to take effect Aug 19.
- Jul 19 Check to fulfill AJ Jr.'s \$1500 draft to William Donelson for

- purchase of Samuel R. Donelson's land adjoining the Hermitage. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 19 Check to self for \$1,306.97. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 19 Lewis Henry Machen to Andrew Jackson Donelson. AN, DLC (20-1151). Senate clerk reports his progress in transcribing its executive journal. Endorsed by AJ as proof he had not yet received official word of final action on Samuel Gwin's nomination.
- Jul 20 *To Robert Johnstone Chester.* 434
- Jul 20 To James Eakin. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1186). Appoints him acting second auditor in the event of William B. Lewis's absence.
- Jul 20 From Ferdinand VII, King of Spain. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-1187). Announces the birth of his nephew Fernando Maria Mariano.
- Jul 20 *From Paithuckoosaw et al.* 435
- Jul 20 From Kenderton Smith et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-10). Recommend John Haly for consul at Barbados.
- Jul 20 Release and remission of costs for petty thief John Clarke. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1182; T967-1).
- Jul 20 Remission of fine and costs for assault and battery and discharge from imprisonment for Barney Herrill. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1192; T967-1).
- Jul 20 Receipted bill from William Thumlert for \$2.50 for shoes. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 21 To Daniel Brent. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1211). Appoints him acting secretary of state in the event of Edward Livingston's absence.
- Jul 21 *To Edward Livingston.* 436
- Jul 21 To Richard Smith. LS, PHi (20-1217). Asks the BUS to honor AJ Donelson's drafts on his account during his absence.
- Jul 21 From Thomas Carbery. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (20-1233). Recommends a pardon for horse thief John Owens because of ill health. Approved by AJ Jul 23.
- Jul 21 *From Henry Leavitt Ellsworth.* 437
- Jul 21 From Charles Kitchel Gardner. LC, DNA-RG 28 (M601-47). Reports on Post Office Department contingent expenses since 1829.
- Jul 21 Remission of fine and release from imprisonment for ailing and penitent convicted gambler James Auld. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1199; T967-1).
- Jul 21 Temporary commission for Samuel Gwin as register of the Mount Salus, Miss., land office. Copy, DNA-RG 46 (20-1212).
- Jul 21 Appointment of John Laub as acting first comptroller in the event of Joseph I. Anderson's absence. DS, Richard C. Frajola, Inc. (20-1214).
- Jul 21 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Copy, DNA-RG 107 (M221-112). States that AJ has directed the engineer on the Potomac bridge to report to Treasury secretary McLane.
- Jul 22 *To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 438

- Jul 22 From Manuel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-19). Applauds Joseph Ray's past succor to Brazilian rebels and urges his reinstatement as consul at Pernambuco.
- Jul 22 From E. Dodds. DS, DLC (41). Receipt for purchase of shirts for Adam.
- Jul 22 From Leopold, Grand Duke of Baden. LS, DNA-RG 59 (20-1220). Announces the death of his sister-in-law Amélie, the margravine dowager of Baden.
- Jul 23 To Amos Kendall.* 439
- Jul 23 To Edward Livingston and Roger Brooke Taney. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Authorizes them to appoint appraisers of the Washington Bridge Company's property.
- Jul 23 From Thomas Jordan. ALS, THER (20-1225). Asks to be appointed revenue agent in Maine.
- Jul 23 From Zadoc W. McKnew. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-15). Applies for a GLO clerkship.
- Jul 23 Appointment of John Boyle as acting secretary of the Navy in Levi Woodbury's absence. Photostat of DS, DLC (73). LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1223).
- Jul 23 Pardon and release from imprisonment for horse thief John Owens, in frail health. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1231; T967-1).
- [Jul 23] Receipted bill from James Reeside for \$365.75 for horses and carriage freight. ADS, DLC (41).
- Jul 23 Check to James Reeside for \$365.75. DS, DLC (41).
- Jul 23 Richard Harrison to Joseph Inslee Anderson. DS, DNA-RG 217 (M235-701). First auditor's report on AJ's expenditure of \$19,000 appropriated by Congress for White House furniture.
- Jul 23 James Whitney to Ashur Ware. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-1384). Begs a remission of forfeiture of his steamer *Henrietta*, seized for unintentionally exceeding legal passenger limits on runs from New Brunswick to Maine. Approved by AJ Aug 25.
- Jul 24 From Elias T. Langham. ALS, DNA-RG 49 (20-1237). Accepts his commission as surveyor of public lands in Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas.
- [cJul 24] Note by William Berkeley Lewis of \$109.40 unexpended in AJ's White House furniture account. AN, DLC (74; 20-1239).
- Jul 24 From Alexander Macomb.* 440
- Jul 24 From Levi Woodbury. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 49; LC, DNA-RG 45 (20-1245). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Requests the reservation from sale of Louisiana live oak timberlands. Approved by AJ.
- Jul 24 Lewis Cass to Winfield Scott. Copy, DLC (41). Approves his operations, advises not to advance until the cholera subsides, and reports reinforcements on the way.
- Jul 24 George Bryan Porter to Winfield Scott. Copy, DLC (41). Reports progress in readying 400 mounted volunteers and advises not to advance until reinforced.
- Jul 25 From John Robb.* 441
- Jul 26 From French Strother Evans. ALS, DLC (41). Reports on

- John H. Eaton's improved health and overwhelming acclaim for the Bank veto.
- Jul 26 From John McDonell. ALS, DLC (41). Transmits a memorial from the Michigan Territory Legislative Council and praises AJ's administration.
- [Jul 26] From Reuben Moses. D, DNA-RG 59 (22-0758). Requests a pardon on his 1827 thirteen-year sentence for forgery and counterfeiting BUS notes, pledging reformation.
- Jul 26 From Zalegman Phillips. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0755). Supports Reuben Moses's appeal for pardon and challenges the constitutionality of the BUS charter clause under which he was convicted.
- Jul 26 From Benjamin Wood Richards et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-10). Recommend John Haly for consul at Barbados.
- Jul 26 Winfield Scott to Lewis Cass. Copy, DLC (41). *Black Hawk War*, 2:884–88. Reports on an abatement of the cholera, his plans to join Atkinson, and his supply arrangements for field operations.
- Jul 27 Field report of Army troops under Winfield Scott's command at Chicago. Copy, DLC (70).
- Jul 28 From William Berkeley Lewis. 441
- Jul 29 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 442
- [Jul 30] From Jeremiah Brown and George Barnes. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-1311). Plead for remission of their fine and costs for assault, which they are unable to pay, and for release from imprisonment after serving their thirty days. Approved by AJ Aug 17.
- Jul 30 From Jonas Fauche. ADS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-223). Asks payment of his claim submitted to Congress for property stolen and destroyed by Creeks in 1788.
- Jul 30 Check to self for \$133.44. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).
- [Jul] From Jacob M. Currier et al. DS, DNA-RG 107 (19-0513). Recommend Nathaniel Lamos to superintend Piscataqua River improvements.
- Aug 2 From Anthony Butler. ALS, DLC (41). Introduces and commends dispatch bearer George S. Bourne.
- Aug 2 Check to Timothy Patrick Andrews for \$113.54. DS (dated 1831) by AJ Donelson, DLC (39).
- Aug 2 Check to Darius Clagett & Co. for \$93.78. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).
- Aug 2 Check to Ralph Eleazar Whitesides Earl for \$100. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).
- Aug 3 From Louis McLane. 444
- Aug 3 From John Robb. 447
- Aug 3 Stationery bill from George Templeman. ADS, DLC (42). Runs to Apr 15, 1833.
- Aug 3 Alfred Mordecai to Alexander Macomb. Copy, DLC (41). *Black Hawk War*, 2:921–23. Reports on Henry Dodge's defeat of Black Hawk on Jul 21 at Wisconsin Heights and the condition of troops at Detroit.
- Aug 4 Check to self for \$15. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).

Aug 6	<i>From James Renwick Willson.</i>	447
Aug 6	Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$785.71. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).	
Aug 7	From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Recommends a pardon for forger James Smith.	
Aug 7	<i>From John Robb.</i>	448
Aug 8	From John Robb. LS, DLC (41). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Encloses an Aug 7 letter from James H. Hook enclosing Jul 31 letters from James B. Gardiner and John F. Lane to George Gibson (DLC-41), estimating costs of removing Ohio Indians by land or water and stating their aversion to the latter, and asks which AJ prefers. Endorsed by AJ that his previous reply is "sufficient."	
Aug 9	<i>To Andrew Jackson Donelson.</i>	449
Aug 9	<i>To William Berkeley Lewis.</i>	450
Aug 9	<i>From Joseph Churchill Strong et al.</i>	450
Aug 9	<i>To Joseph Churchill Strong et al.</i>	453
Aug 10	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	453
Aug 10	To Charles McClung. LC, TTKn (20-1273). Deed for 150 acres of land in Knox County, Tenn.	
Aug 11	To Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1275). Offers congratulations on the marriage of his sister Maria Amalia.	
Aug 11	From Louis Philippe, King of the French. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-1276). Announces his daughter Louise's marriage to King Leopold I of Belgium.	
Aug 11	<i>From Alexander Macomb.</i>	454
Aug 12	<i>From Anthony Butler.</i>	456
Aug 12	From James Porter. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12). Recommends Ezekiel P. Johnson for consul at Matamoros, Mexico.	
Aug 13	From George H. Steuart. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-25). Recommends Joseph Valdor for consul at Santiago de Cuba.	
Aug 13	Check to Thomas Lilly Smith for \$120. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).	
Aug 13	John James Abert to John Robb. LS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-66). Recommends promoting Hartman Bache to major of Army topographical engineers to replace William T. Poussin, and William H. Swift to captain to replace Bache. Approved by AJ.	
Aug 14	From Samuel Sterett et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-25). Recommend Joseph Valdor for consul at Santiago de Cuba.	
Aug 14	From Joseph Valdor. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-25). Asks to be appointed consul at Santiago de Cuba.	
Aug 16	<i>To Andrew Jackson Donelson.</i>	458
Aug 16	From Josiah Nichol et al. LS, DLC (41). <i>Nashville Republican</i> , Aug 17. Nashvillians welcome AJ home and invite him to a public dinner.	
Aug 16	To Josiah Nichol et al. Draft, DLC (41). <i>Nashville Republican</i> , Aug 17. Declines a public dinner but promises a social visit to Nashville on Aug 21.	
Aug 16	From Constant Polari. LS, DNA-RG 59 (20-1447). Dutch jewel	

- thief petitions for release from prison, citing inability to pay his \$43,000 judgment and fear of the cholera. Discharge ordered by James A. Hamilton Aug 17 and approved by AJ.
- Aug 16 From George Winchester. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-25). Recommends Joseph Valdor for consul at Santiago de Cuba.
- Aug 16 Winfield Scott to Lewis Cass. LS copy and Copy, DLC (41). *Black Hawk War*, 2:1011–13. Reports on the ongoing pursuit and roundup by allied Indians of Black Hawk's survivors west of the Mississippi.
- Aug 17 To Andrew Jackson Donelson. 459
- Aug 17 To Edward Livingston. 460
- Aug 17 To John Robb. Copy, DNA-RG 75 (M234-603). Copy, DNA-RG 46 (20-1322). *SDoc* 512, 23d Cong., 1st sess., vol. 1, p. 717 (Serial 244). Orders that Ohio Indians may be removed by land if expenses do not exceed \$20 per head.
- Aug 17 Release for Jeremiah Brown and George Barnes and remission of their fine and costs for an assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1310; T967-1).
- Aug 18 To John Coffee. 460
- Aug 18 To William Berkeley Lewis. 461
- Aug 18 From William Carroll. 463
- Aug 18 To John Robb. Abstract and franked cover facsimile, Siegel Auction Galleries, Oct 17, 2006 (mAJs). Abstract, DNA-RG 75 (M18-3). Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-32). Appoints Felix Robertson western Indian commissioner in place of William Carroll.
- Aug 18 From Barend Drayer. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0312). Master of the Dutch ship *Schoon Verbond* states that his overloading of passengers was harmless and prompted by misinformation from a U.S. consul, and asks a remission of penalties.
- Aug 18 From Benjamin Taylor. ALS, DLC (41). Introduces Isaac Whittington and assures AJ of carrying Kentucky in the presidential election.
- Aug 18 Joshua Pilcher to Winfield Scott. Copy, DLC (41). *Black Hawk War*, 2:1020–21. Reports 118 prisoners from Black Hawk's band held at Fort Armstrong.
- Aug 19 To Andrew Jackson Donelson. 465
- Aug 19 Release for thief Benjamin Thompson and remission of his fine and costs upon completing his prison sentence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1359; T967-1).
- Aug 20 To Lewis Cass. 467
- Aug 20 To Felix Grundy. 467
- Aug 20 From Larned & Torrey. LS, DNA-RG 75 (20-1371). Request approval of Jean B. Chandonai's sale of his reserved section under the 1821 Chicago treaty.
- Aug 21 To Felix Robertson. LS, THi (20-1373). Informs him of appointment as western Indian commissioner.
- Aug 21 From Winfield Scott. 468
- Aug 21 Samuel Jackson Hays to Day & Hubbell. ADS, DLC (41). Draft on AJ to Charleston, S.C., coachmakers for \$300.

- Aug 22 From John Gayle et al. Printed, *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, Sep 22, 1832 (20-1377). Invite AJ to visit Alabama.
- Aug 22 From Henry Horn et al. DS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommend Zalegman Phillips for chargé d'affaires to Central America.
- Aug 22 From Louis McLane. Copy, DNA-RG 217 (20-1378). Recommends transferring funds to the General Land Office to help meet a \$7,534 shortfall.
- Aug 22 From Focke Hiddes Zeylstra. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0121). Master of the Dutch ship *Louisa Barbara*, seized at Philadelphia for overloading passengers, declares his innocent intent and petitions for its release and for dropping the suit against him.
- Aug 23 *From John Breathitt.* 470
- Aug 23 From James Gray Read. ALS, DLC (41). Invites AJ to visit Jeffersonville, Ind., on his return to Washington.
- Aug 25 *To John Donelson Coffee.* 471
- Aug 25 From George W. Geisse & Co. et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-15). Recommend Michael Mahon for consul at Santiago de Cuba.
- Aug 25 From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (20-1380). Recommends Michael Mahon for consul at Santiago de Cuba, inquires of AJ's health, and regrets Van Buren's poor vice-presidential prospects in Pennsylvania.
- Aug 25 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Transmits former midshipman Richard S. Cox's inadmissible claim for arrears of pay.
- Aug 25 Remission of forfeiture of James Whitney's steamer *Henrietta*, seized for overloading passengers. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1382; T967-1).
- Aug 25 Dirk Ary Dezong to Willard Hall. DS, DNA-RG 59 (20-1529). Master of the Dutch ship *Nederlands Welvaren*, seized for overloading passengers, asks for a remission of forfeiture and penalties, pleading ignorance of the law. Approved by AJ Sep 15.
- Aug 26 *Martin Van Buren to Andrew Jackson Donelson.* 472
- Aug 27 From Bohl Bohlen and John Bohlen. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0129). Explain the inadvertent overloading of passengers on the Dutch ship *Louisa Barbara* and petition for its release.
- Aug 28 *To Eliza Yorke Farquhar.* 475
- Aug 28 *To Amos Kendall.* 476
- Aug 28 *To William Berkeley Lewis.* 476
- Aug 28 From Bohl Bohlen. LS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0142). Dutch consul at Philadelphia requests clemency for masters Barend Drayer of the *Schoon Verbond* and Focke H. Zeylstra of the *Louisa Barbara*, whose violation of passenger limits stemmed from different U.S. and foreign modes of measuring ship tonnage. Referred by AJ to McLane to ensure the law is known abroad.
- Aug 28 Check to D. L. Lynch for \$375. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).
- Aug 29 From Benjamin B. Cooper. LS, DLC (41). Details his organization of a company to purchase Bolivar and asks AJ to transfer his three-quarters interest for \$1,500.

Aug 29	From Henry Dilworth Gilpin. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0328). Confirms the facts stated in Barend Drayer's Aug 18 appeal to remit the penalties for exceeding passenger limits on the <i>Schoon Verbond</i> . Approved by AJ Nov 5.	
Aug 29	From Henry Dilworth Gilpin. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0145). Confirms that accommodations on the seized <i>Louisa Barbara</i> were fully sufficient for the passengers.	
Aug 29	From James Hall. DS and Draft, DNA-RG 76 (20-1404). Asks for aid in securing restitution for the illegal seizure of \$10,090 from his ship <i>Shepard</i> at Lisbon in 1828.	
Aug 29	<i>From Martin Van Buren.</i>	478
Aug 29	Temporary commission for Daniel W. Smith as consul at Matamoros, Mexico. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-1410).	
Aug 30	<i>To Andrew Jackson Donelson.</i>	479
Aug 30	<i>To Martin Van Buren.</i>	481
Aug 30	<i>From Anthony Butler.</i>	483
Aug 30	From John Robb. ALS, DLC (41). Writes that AJ's letter appointing Felix Robertson as Indian commissioner had miscarried, asks again whether Ohio Indians should be removed by water or land, and encloses a letter from Winfield Scott.	
Aug 31	<i>From Martin Van Buren.</i>	485
Aug 31	From William Henry Warfield. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-77). Resigns as lieutenant of infantry.	
Aug 31	Temporary commission for John Leonard as consul at Santiago de Cuba. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-1436).	
Sep 1	To John Gayle et al. Printed, <i>National Banner and Nashville Whig</i> , Sep 22, 1832 (20-1475). Regrets that pressing business at home and in Washington will not allow time to visit Alabama.	
Sep 1	<i>To Levi Woodbury.</i>	487
Sep 1	<i>From Edward Livingston.</i>	488
Sep 1	From William Dick et al. Copy, InHi (20-1472). Brothertown Indians request the \$1,600 and confirmation of a township grant east of Lake Winnebago due them under the amended Menominee treaty of Feb 17, 1831.	
Sep 1	<i>From Robert Love.</i>	489
[cSep 2]	From Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS fragment, ICHi (20-1479). Remarks on the "cholera panic" and William Alexander's stud horse left at the Hermitage.	
Sep 3	To Thomas Perkins Lockwood. Printed, <i>Charleston Courier</i> , Oct 6, 1832 (mAJs; 20-1480). Thanks him for a copy of his <i>A Geography of South-Carolina</i> .	
Sep 3	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits the court-martial of midshipman Walter C. Cutts.	
Sep 4	<i>To Anthony Butler.</i>	490
Sep 4	To Lewis Cass or John Robb. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-32). Abstract, DNA-RG 75 (M18-3). Appoints William E. Anderson western Indian commissioner.	
Sep 4	<i>From Henry Lee.</i>	491
Sep 4	Peter Desnoyers to Edward Livingston. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0277). Submits proofs that pardoned assailant William Prestage	

	is insolvent and unable to pay court costs and procure his release. Remission and release ordered by AJ Nov 2.	
Sep 5	<i>To Levi Woodbury.</i>	492
Sep 5	<i>From Henry Lee.</i>	493
Sep 6	From Richard Gilliam Dunlap. Printed, <i>The American Historical Magazine</i> 8 (Jul 1903): 261 (20-1484). Asks that AJ recognize his company's bravery in the assault on Fort Barrancas in Florida in 1818, which AJ had failed to commend in his official report despite a promise to Dunlap by Colonel William Brady.	
Sep 6	From Matthew Leiper. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (20-1495). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:641. Recommends reappointing Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson.	
Sep 6	From William I. King of the Netherlands. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (20-1496). Announces the recall of Dutch minister to the U.S. Christiaan Huygens.	
Sep 6	From E. Wilson. DS, DLC (41). Receipt for \$65 for work in Jul on Rachel's monument at the Hermitage.	
Sep 6	Joseph Balthazar Inginac to Jesse Duncan Elliott. Copy, THER (20-1486). Urges closer U.S. relations with Haiti and recommends colonizing American freed blacks there instead of Africa. Endorsed by AJ "on the subject of the Emigration of the free blacks."	
Sep 7	From Francis Wells Armstrong. ALS, DNA-RG 77 (20-1500). Asks that Henry M. Shreve be directed to have steamboats for the emigrating Choctaws ready at Memphis as soon as possible.	
Sep 7	From Richard Campbell Sevier Brown. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (20-1502). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:641-42. Repels charges of intemperance and partiality against Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson and urges his reappointment.	
Sep 7	From John R. Burke. ALS, DLC (41). Presents a hickory cane headed with Georgia gold.	
Sep 8	<i>To Edward Livingston.</i>	494
Sep 8	Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$361.88. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).	
Sep 10	<i>From David Burford.</i>	495
Sep 10	<i>To David Burford.</i>	495
Sep 10	To John R. Burke. LS, Mrs. John C. Orgain (20-1509). Draft, DLC (41). Thanks him for the gift of a hickory cane mounted with Georgia gold, and applauds its proof of the richness of America's resources and the "industry and ingenuity" of its citizens.	
Sep 10	<i>To Henry Miller Shreve.</i>	496
Sep 11	<i>To Levi Woodbury.</i>	497
Sep 12	<i>To Henry Toland.</i>	499
Sep 12	From Nicolas-Marie, Vicomte de Léaumont, the Marquis de Fontenilles, and Chevalier de Rossignol-Grandmont. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). French veterans of the American Revolution request pensions.	
Sep 12	Appointment of Thomas Eastin as marshal in Florida. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (20-1512).	

Sep 13	To Andrew Jackson Donelson.	500
Sep 14	From Nicolas-Marie, Vicomte de Léaumont. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Presses his claims for a pension and touts the Revolutionary services of his late brother Marie-Robert.	
Sep 14	From James W. Robinson. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (20-1527). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:642. Recommends reappointing Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson, known for legal acumen and pure morals.	
Sep 15	To Benjamin B. Cooper.	501
Sep 15	From John Douglas Carriel.	503
Sep 15	Remission of penalties against Dirk Ary Dezong and his ship <i>Nederlands Welvaren</i> , seized for overloading passengers. LC, DNA-RG 59 (20-1528; T967-1).	
Sep 16	To Martin Van Buren.	504
Sep 16	From George C. Pickett. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0001). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:643. Recommends reappointing Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson, falsely charged as a drunkard.	
Sep 17	To John Coffee, John Henry Eaton, and Andrew Jackson Jr. LC, TNDa (21-0024). Deed of trust for one-quarter acre of Hermitage land for a family cemetery. Registered Oct 7, 1833.	
Sep 17	To Andrew Jackson Donelson.	505
Sep 17	To Peter Hagner. LS, DNA-RG 217 (21-0025). Requests a report on the likely cost to the Treasury of the withheld bill to pay interest on state claims from the War of 1812.	
Sep 17	From Decker & Dyer. DS, DLC (41). Bill for wines and food. Receipted Sep 29.	
Sep 17	From Levi Woodbury. LS and LC, DNA-RG 49; LC, DNA-RG 45 (21-0028). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Requests the reservation from sale of Mississippi live oak timberlands. Approved by AJ Oct 20.	
Sep [18]	To Andrew Jackson Donelson.	507
Sep 18	From John Bredin. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Recommends Samuel A. Gilmore for district attorney in Pennsylvania.	
Sep 18	From Joseph H. Hough & Co. Printed, <i>Nashville Republican and State Gazette</i> , Sep 28, 1832 (mAJs). Offer coach transportation to Lexington or Louisville on AJ's journey home.	
Sep 19	To Joseph H. Hough & Co. Printed, <i>Nashville Republican and State Gazette</i> , Sep 28, 1832 (mAJs). Gratefully declines the offer of coach transportation.	
Sep 20	To John Snyder. Printed, <i>National Banner and Nashville Whig</i> , Sep 28, 1832 (21-0035). Praises his improved threshing machine.	
Sep 20	From Martin Van Buren.	507
[Sep 21]	James S. Hunt to Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0214). Asks a remission of his \$50 fine for not stopping to clear his schooner <i>Experiment</i> at New York, where he feared the cholera. Approved by AJ.	
Sep 22	Check to self for \$250. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).	
Sep 23	To Andrew Jackson Jr.	510
Sep 23	To Sarah Yorke Jackson.	511
Sep 24	Charles Hollister to Louis McLane. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0597). Requests release from confinement on a penalty for smuggling	

	rum and lumber from Canada, of which he claims innocence. Referred by Daniel Brent to AJ and by AJ to district attorney Nathaniel S. Benton.	
Sep 25	<i>From John Christmas McLemore.</i>	512
Sep 26	From Toland & Magoffin. D, DLC (41). Bill for \$155.43 for dry goods. Endorsed by AJ as paid on Oct 22.	
Sep 28	Check to self for \$150. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).	
Sep 29	<i>To John Christmas McLemore.</i>	513
Sep 30	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	514
Sep	<i>To Tennessee legislators.</i>	515
Sep	From Thomas Roney et al. DS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommend Zalegman Phillips for chargé d'affaires to Central America.	
Oct 1	From William Norton Shinn and Elias Brevoort Cannon. DS, DLC (41). Receipt for AJ's transfer of interest in the horse Bolivar to the Burlington County Association for Improving the Breed of Horses, for \$1500 payable Nov 1.	
Oct 1	George Breathitt to John Douglas Carriel. ALS draft, DLC (41). At AJ's direction, brands George Poindexter's charges of AJ's involvement in corrupt Mississippi speculations wholly false and malicious.	
Oct 3	Isaac Hill to Louis McLane. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0654). Asks his aid in procuring a discharge of the judgment against young smuggler Lewis Hutchins and sparing him imprisonment. Referred by AJ for report on Oct 31.	
Oct 5	<i>To Andrew Jackson Donelson.</i>	517
Oct 5	<i>To Sarah Yorke Jackson.</i>	518
Oct 5	From Otto I, King of Greece. DS by the Regency and translation, DNA-RG 59 (M34-29). Offers greetings on his accession.	
Oct 5	From Samuel Calhoun Roane. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0070). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:643-44. Defends Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson against charges of intemperance.	
Oct 6	From Thomas Barry. ALS, NjP (mAJs). Requests a transfer from Brooklyn to be gunner at the Washington navy yard.	
Oct 7	From Collin Manly Cowardin. ADS, DLC (41). Receipt for John Snyder's purchase of a threshing machine for AJ.	
Oct 8	Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$404. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).	
Oct 9	<i>From Anthony Butler.</i>	518
Oct 10	<i>To Andrew Jackson Donelson.</i>	520
Oct 10	<i>From Anthony Butler.</i>	521
Oct 10	<i>From John Rowan.</i>	523
Oct 12	<i>From Enoch Parsons.</i>	525
Oct 13	<i>From James Buchanan.</i>	528
Oct 15	From Daniel Todd Patterson. LS, DLC (41). Reports from Naples on the conclusion of a claims convention with the Two Sicilies and Luigi Persico's progress on sculptures for the Capitol.	
Oct 16	From Friedrich List. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-14). Applies for the consulship at Bremen.	

Oct 16	<i>From Joel Roberts Poinsett.</i>	532
Oct 16	Check to self for \$30. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).	
Oct 17	From James Sevier Conway. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0100). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:644. Recommends Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson for reappointment.	
Oct 17	From Isaac McKeever. ALS, DLC (41). Reports from Montevideo on the situation in Buenos Aires and Francis Baylies's failed mission and departure, and sends alfalfa seeds for the Hermitage.	
Oct 17	From Mortimer Marcellus Southworth. ALS, <i>THer</i> (21-0104). Asks what AJ's true age is.	
Oct 18	From Alexander Turnbull. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0764). <i>Globe</i> , Oct 1, 1833. Urges a pardon for Reuben Moses, an innocent character entrapped into forgery and counterfeit note passing by BUS agents and police pursuing a counterfeiting ring.	
Oct 18	Check to self for \$35. DS by AJ Donelson, DLC (41).	
Oct 19	Appointment of Enoch Reynolds as acting second comptroller during James B. Thornton's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0110).	
Oct 20	To Samuel Lewis. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0125). Appoints him acting second auditor during William B. Lewis's absence.	
Oct 20	From Peter Hagner. LC and Draft, DNA-RG 217; Copy, DLC (21-0111). Reports on the probable cost to the Treasury of the withheld bill to pay interest on state claims from the War of 1812.	
Oct 20	<i>From James Alexander Hamilton.</i>	534
Oct 20	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Marine lieutenants' commissions for signature.	
Oct 20	Approval of Navy lieutenant Thomas McKean Buchanan's court-martial and sentence of cashiering for drunkenness and conduct unbecoming an officer. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-28).	
Oct 20	Approval of Marine lieutenant James Wilkinson Schaumburg's court-martial and sentence of cashiering for disorderly conduct and conduct unbecoming an officer. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-28).	
Oct 20	Bill from Tucker & Thompson for clothing. DS, DLC (41). Receipted Oct 26.	
Oct 21	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	535
Oct 21	<i>To Sarah Yorke Jackson.</i>	537
Oct 22	From Elijah Hayward. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:561. Recommends locating the Arkansas land surveyor's office at Little Rock.	
Oct 22	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	539
Oct 22	From Gillies Thompson. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-135). Complains that his brother, late Navy captain Charles C. B. Thompson, was buried without honor or ceremony.	
Oct 22	From Elizabeth Watson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Encloses a packet AJ had promised to forward to La Guaira in South America.	
Oct 23	To Ferdinand VII, King of Spain. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0136).	

- Offers congratulations on his grandnephew Sebastian's marriage.
- Oct 23 To *Martin Van Buren*. 539
- Oct 23 From French Strother Evans. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (21-0134). Submits letters from Eaton, Kendall, and Thomas L. Smith recommending him for chief clerk in the Indian office.
- Oct 23 From James Hamilton et al. LS, DLC (41). Settlers in Alabama Creek territory deny prompting the Creeks to reject the treaty, charge the false report to speculators led by John Crowell, request an inquiry, and protest plans for their eviction.
- Oct 23 From [Louis McLane]. LC, DNA-RG 56 (21-0137). Requests authority to advance funds for coast surveys and construction of the Potomac bridge.
- Oct 23 From John Pemberton. ALS draft, PHi (21-0138). Asks AJ to reinstate expelled West Point cadet Henry M. Naglee.
- Oct 23 From Howel Washington Runnels et al. LS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0140). Mississippi state constitutional convention members approve Samuel Gwin's appointment as register of the Mount Salus land office.
- [Oct 23] From Isaac Gerard Veening. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0285). Asks remission of penalties for inadvertently exceeding passenger limits on his immigrant ship to Baltimore. Referred by AJ to U.S. district attorney Nathaniel Williams for report.
- Oct 23 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Pensacola navy agent Byrd C. Willis's commission for signature.
- Oct 23 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports on naval gunner Thomas Barry's status and history of service.
- Oct 23 *Nathan Towson to Lewis Cass*. 540
- Oct 24 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0147). Reports on State Department contingent expenditures for the third quarter of 1832.
- Oct 24 From Louis McLane. LS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0154). Reports on measures taken to publicize abroad the intent to enforce U.S. laws limiting passenger numbers on ships. AJ postpones decision on stopping prosecution against the *Schoon Verbond* and *Louisa Barbara* pending further report, then refuses for the latter.
- Oct 25 To *Lewis Cass*. 542
- Oct 25 To Louis Philippe, King of the French. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0149). Offers congratulations on his daughter Louise's marriage to Leopold I of Belgium.
- Oct 25 From Griffin Stollings. ALS, NjP (21-0150). Explains the high demand for ginseng in China and recommends its cultivation in the west.
- Oct 26 To *Charles Gratiot*. 542
- Oct 26 To *Philip Lindsley*. 544
- Oct 26 From Joseph Elgar. ADS, DNA-RG 60 (21-0153). LC, DNA-RG 42 (M371-5). Claims authority as commissioner of public buildings to grade Washington city streets. Referred by AJ to Taney for opinion on where the power lies.
- [Oct 26] From J. A. Tholen. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0335). Asks for a

- remission of penalties and release of the seized Batavian ship *Baron van der Capellen*, whose violation of passenger limits was harmless and based on misunderstanding. Approved by AJ Nov 5.
- Oct 27 To Levi Woodbury. AN, DLC (21-0203). Asks to see him concerning Marine lieutenant James W. Schaumburg's court-martial.
- Oct 27 From William Goss. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0372). Prays for release from imprisonment and remission of his fine for gambling, claiming innocence and inability to pay. Approved by AJ Nov 9.
- Oct 27 From Charles Gratiot. LS, DNA-RG 233; Copy, DLC (21-0164). LC, DNA-RG 77 (M1113-3). *HRDoc* 17, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 2-4 (Serial 233). Classifies the projects in the withheld river and harbor improvements bill as directed by AJ.
- Oct [27] From Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia. LS and Copy (in French), DNA-RG 59 (21-0094). Copy (in French), DNA-RG 59 (M39-2). Announces the birth of his son Michael.
- Oct 27 From John Pemberton. ALS draft, PHi (21-0176). Recommends Army lieutenant Daniel Tyler for the ordnance corps.
- Oct 27 Pardon and release from prison for check forger James Smith, on proof of his ill health. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0178; T967-1).
- Oct 28 From George Campbell Childress. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas Territory judge.
- Oct [29] To *Anthony Butler*. 544
- Oct 29 To *Lewis Cass*. 546
- Oct 29 From Joseph Dorr et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Recommend Andrew Thorndike for consul at Buenos Aires.
- [Oct 29] From Archibald Hutchinson. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0224). Asks a remission of his fine for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Oct 31.
- Oct 29 From Roger Brooke Taney. LC, DNA-RG 60 (21-0217). Recommends not approving cadet Henry M. Naglee's overly harsh sentence of dismissal from West Point.
- Oct 29 From George Shall Yerger. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas Territory judge.
- Oct 29 Remission of James S. Hunt's \$50 fine for failing to clear his schooner *Experiment* at the New York custom house. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0212; T967-1).
- Oct 29 Check for \$300 to BUS cashier Richard Smith to cover Samuel J. Hays's draft. DS, DLC (41).
- Oct 30 From William Evans Anderson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas Territory judge.
- Oct 30 From Charles Meredith Dupuy. ALS, TNJ (21-0219). Asks to be appointed chaplain at the Philadelphia naval asylum.
- Oct 30 From Francis Brinley Fogg. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas Territory judge.

- Oct 30 From Ephraim Hubbard Foster. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas Territory judge.
- Oct 30 From Cave Johnson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). *TPUS*, 21:570. Recommends Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas Territory judge.
- Oct 30 *From John Overton.* 547
- Oct 30 Remission of fines for assault and battery and discharge from imprisonment for George Kensett. LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1).
- Oct 31 To Ferdinand VII, King of Spain. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0221). Offers congratulations on the birth of his nephew Fernando.
- Oct 31 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits the third auditor's report on which was rejected Sarah Sperry's claim for bounty land and pay due her late husband, soldier Truman Sperry.
- Oct 31 From Alexander Mosby Clayton. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). *TPUS*, 21:571-72. Asks to be appointed judge in Arkansas Territory.
- Oct 31 From David Rorer. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0229). *TPUS*, 21:645. Recommends reappointing Arkansas Territory judge Benjamin Johnson.
- Oct 31 From Moses Smith. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-135). Proposes to supply improved compass needles to the Navy. AJ commends him to Woodbury's "favorable consideration."
- Oct 31 From Roger Brooke Taney. LS, NjP; Copy, DNA-RG 42 (21-0232). *Nat. Intelligencer*, Sep 22, 1834. *HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., p. 893 (Serial 387). Opines that the corporation of Washington, not public buildings commissioner Elgar, has authority to grade city streets.
- Oct 31 From William White. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas Territory judge.
- Oct 31 From Nathaniel Williams. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0289). Reports that Dutch shipmaster Isaac G. Veening's violation of passenger limits was guiltless and harmless, caused by ambiguity in the law. AJ orders a remission of penalties Nov 2.
- Oct 31 Remission of fine for assault and battery for Archibald Hutchinson. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0222; T967-1).
- Oct *To John Coffee.* 548
- [Oct] From John French. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0495). Pleads for release from jail and discharge of the judgment against him for smuggling goods from Canada.
- [Oct] From Dudley Chase et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0498). Support John French's pardon petition, citing his good character, dependent family, and inability to pay. Referred by AJ for report Oct 31.
- Oct Bachelor's diploma for Isaac Henry Hilliard from the University of Nashville, signed by AJ as trustee. DS, LU (21-0062). Commencement held Oct 3.

- Nov 1 To Lewis Cass. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-32). Approves the court-martials of seven West Point cadets.
- [cNov 1] *To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 549
- Nov 1 From Benjamin B. Cooper. ALS, DLC (41). Sends the Oct 1 receipt for AJ's transfer of interest in Bolivar, explains a slight delay in procuring payment, and gives news of New Jersey's electoral contest of "the *people* against the *Bank and Aristocracy*."
- Nov 1 From William Field. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0257). *TPUS*, 21:646–47. Defends Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson's character, competence, and sobriety.
- Nov 1 From Henry Horn. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Recommends Zalegman Phillips for a Central American consulate.
- Nov 1 From Bernard Smith. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0262). *TPUS*, 21:645. Recommends reappointing Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson.
- [Nov 1] From Robert Easton. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0254). Prays remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay, and release from prison. Approved by AJ Nov 1.
- Nov 1 Remission of fines and costs and release from imprisonment for Robert Easton, convicted of assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0252; T967-1).
- Nov 1 Check to self for \$50 for unsolicited *National Intelligencer* subscription. DS, DLC (41).
- Nov 2 *To James Alexander Hamilton.* 549
- Nov 2 From Jacob Barker. Copy, DLC-Biddle Papers (mAJs). Encloses his published address endorsing Dudley Selden for Congress from New York City and touts his project for an enlarged BUS headquartered in Washington.
- Nov 2 From Richard C. Hawkins. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0267). *TPUS*, 21:648–49. Repels charges of drunkenness and violence against Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson and urges his reappointment.
- Nov 2 From Alfred E. Pace. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0271). *TPUS*, 21:649–50. Defends Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson and recommends his reappointment.
- Nov 2 Remission of costs and release from imprisonment for William Prestage, pardoned on Oct 13, 1831, for murderous assault. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0273; T967-1).
- Nov 2 Remission of penalties against Isaac Gerard Veening for inadvertent passenger overloading on the Dutch immigrant ship *William Ernst*. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0283; T967-1).
- Nov 2 Check to Emily Tennessee Donelson for \$20. DS facsimile, Gary Hendershott sale 79, Mar 1993 (mAJs; 21-0264).
- Nov 3 To Elijah Hayward. DS, DNA-RG 49; Copy, DNA-RG 153 (21-0297). Orders land in Florida reserved for an arsenal.
- Nov 3 *To Henry Toland.* 550
- Nov 3 *To Martin Van Buren.* 551
- Nov 3 From John F. Benton. ALS, DLC (41). *North Carolina Historical Review* 14 (1937): 379–80. Asks to be appointed cadet at West

	Point. Endorsed by AJ to reply that he will be considered on receipt of recommendations and his father's consent.	
Nov 3	From William Savin Fulton. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0294). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:650–51. Recommends reappointing Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson.	
Nov 4	Antonio López de Santa Anna to Anthony Butler. Copy and translation, DLC (41). Grants safe passage to Butler's dispatch bearer and declares "exalted respect" for the U.S.	
Nov 5	From Felix Walker Baird et al. Copy, DLC (41). Recommend Elisha S. Campbell for a land office appointment in the Mississippi Choctaw cession.	
Nov 5	From Argyle Campbell. ALS, DLC (41). Asks to be appointed judge in Arkansas Territory.	
Nov 5	From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Reports that Army engineer Stephen H. Long has been ordered to conduct the railroad route survey from Columbia, S.C., to Knoxville, Tenn., requested by Mitchell King.	
Nov 5	From Peter Tinsley Crutchfield. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0307). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:653–55. Urges reappointing Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson and blames false charges against him on Ambrose H. Sevier's partisan foes.	
Nov 5	<i>From John Overton.</i>	553
Nov 5	<i>From John Pemberton.</i>	553
Nov 5	From Laura Sperry. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (mAJs; 21-1045). Pleads for reinstatement of her son, midshipman Charles Sperry, dismissed from the Navy in 1831 for disobeying orders and unofficial conduct. Referred by AJ to Woodbury for report.	
Nov 5	From Henry Toland. D, DLC (41). Account for coal purchased for AJ from the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, and for wine.	
Nov 5	Remission of penalties against Barend Drayer for unintentionally overloading passengers on his ship <i>Schoon Verbond</i> . LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0311; T967-1).	
Nov 5	Remission of forfeiture and penalties against J. A. Tholen and his ship <i>Baron van der Capellen</i> , seized for overloading passengers. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0334; T967-1).	
Nov 5	Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$738.09. DS, DLC (41).	
Nov 6	<i>To John Coffee.</i>	554
Nov 6	<i>To Levi Woodbury.</i>	555
Nov 6	From Samuel Anderson. ALS, DLC (41). Counsels AJ on his response to a suit by William Nicholds and Margaret McMichael against AJ and James Hooper (May 25, 1831; DLC-39) over land titles in Bedford County, Tennessee.	
Nov 6	<i>From Henry Selden Crabb.</i>	556
Nov 7	<i>To George Breathitt.</i>	557
Nov 7	<i>To Joel Roberts Poinsett.</i>	559
[Nov 7]	<i>Memorandum on nullification.</i>	560
Nov 8	To Asbury Dickins. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0350). Appoints him acting secretary of the Treasury during Louis McLane's absence.	
Nov 8	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	561

- Nov 8 From James Adams. DS, DNA-RG 59 (22-0277). Again appeals for release and remission of his penalty for transporting smuggled woolens, citing inability to pay, poor health, long imprisonment, and dependent family. Referred by AJ for report.
- Nov 8 From Elijah Hayward. LS and Copy, DNA-RG 49; Copy, DNA-RG 45 (21-0351). LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Submits list of live oak timberlands in Louisiana to be reserved for the Navy. Approved by AJ Nov 9.
- Nov 8 From John Pope. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0363). *TPUS*, 21:655–57. Defends Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson’s ability, impartiality, and temperance and urges his reappointment.
- Nov 8 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports against Marine lieutenant James W. Schaumburg’s appeal of his court-martial sentence of cashiering.
- Nov 8 Joseph B. McIlvaine to Henry Toland. D, DLC (41). Bill for \$91.75 for wine purchased for AJ.
- [Nov 9] *From Edward Livingston.* 562
- [cNov 9] To Edward Livingston. ANS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Refers John E. Smith’s appeal of the adverse British decision on his damage claim for the ship *Portsmouth* for report.
- Nov 9 Remission of fine and order of release for imprisoned gambler William Goss. DS, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (mAJs). LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0370; T967-1).
- [Nov 10] From Joseph Downing. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0377). Asks AJ to reissue his Jan 19, 1830, pardon for assault and battery, for which he has been rearrested under another name. Approved by AJ Nov 12.
- Nov 10 From James T. Homans. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-79). Navy lieutenant asks for remission of his sentence of suspension from duty for unofficerlike and ungentlemanly conduct. Endorsed by Woodbury to inform him of AJ’s refusal.
- Nov 10 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that there is no midshipman vacancy from Virginia for William A. G. Dade’s nephew.
- Nov 10 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits midshipmen’s warrants for signature.
- Nov 12 *To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 563
- Nov 12 From John Drennen. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-69). Asks again to be appointed sutler at Cantonment Gibson.
- Nov 12 From Thomas P. Eskridge. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0380). *TPUS*, 21:657–58. Acquits Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson of “habitual intemperance” and urges his reappointment.
- Nov 12 From Hanson Gassaway. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (21-0384). Charges corruption and favoritism in awarding contracts by the Navy Board and Army ordnance officers. Endorsed by AJ ordering a full inquiry into all charges.
- Nov 12 From Henry Toland. Abstract, Forest W. Sweet catalog (21-0394). Discusses Samuel R. Donelson’s medical education.
- Nov 12 Check to self for \$50. DS, DLC (41).

- Nov 12 Appointment of John Robb as acting secretary of war during Lewis Cass's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0393).
- Nov 12 Remission of Joseph Downing's fine for assault and battery and order for his release on payment of costs. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0376; T967-1).
- Nov 13 To Nicholas Philip Trist. AN, DLC (21-0398). Encloses \$20.
- Nov 13 *To Levi Woodbury.* 564
- Nov 13 From Nathaniel Soley Benton. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0607). Presents proofs that pardon petitioner Charles Hollister is guilty of willful smuggling and capable of paying his penalty. AJ approves his release Nov 29.
- Nov 13 From George Philips et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). State that Washington's fourth ward lacks a justice of the peace, and recommend Mathew M. Cole. Appointed by AJ Apr 11, 1833.
- Nov 13 Check to John McGill Thomas for \$200 for medical expenses. DS, DLC (41).
- Nov 13 Check to Unknown for \$154. DS, DLC (41).
- Nov 13 *Peter Sadberry to Edward Livingston.* 565
- Nov 14 From Lewis Hutchins. DS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0658). Implores AJ's pardon as the only escape from imprisonment for inability to pay his judgment for smuggling.
- Nov 14 From Rolling Jones. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-72). Recalls his youthful acquaintance with AJ and begs a release from his Army enlistment, made when distraught from financial loss. Referred by AJ with note to release him "if it can be done with propriety," as his father Llewellyn Jones "is a man of high respectability and boosom friend of Mr Archer, and whose heart strings would burst" if he knew of his son's situation.
- Nov 14 From Joseph Valdor. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-25). Challenges John Leonard's fitness to be consul at Santiago de Cuba, and demands appointment in his place.
- Nov 14 *From Martin Van Buren.* 566
- Nov 14 Temporary commission for Charles W. Davis as consul at Guaymas, Mexico. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (21-0400).
- Nov 15 *From John Johnston Donaldson et al.* 568
- Nov 15 *To John Johnston Donaldson et al.* 568
- Nov 15 *Order on the death of Charles Carroll.* 569
- Nov 15 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Francis Preston Blair. ALS, DLC (41). Encloses for the *Globe* AJ's exchange with the Baltimore committee and his order closing federal offices in honor of Charles Carroll.
- Nov 15 *From Henry Baldwin.* 570
- Nov 15 From John Floyd (of Georgia). LC, DLC-Floyd-McAdoo Papers (mAJ's). Recommends George F. Lindsay for navy agent at Pensacola.
- Nov 15 From Henry Wertz. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommends Mathew M. Cole for justice of the peace in Washington's fourth ward.
- Nov 15 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that

- he has begun investigating Hanson Gassaway's Nov 12 charges against the Navy Board.
- Nov 16 To Andrew Jackson Jr. Extract, John Heise catalog (21-0410). Instructs him to make the slave boy Byron a house servant and make him stay clean and neat.
- Nov 16 *From James Hamilton Jr.* 583
- Nov 16 From Archibald Waterman Hyde. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (23-503). Reports against a pardon for John French, a veteran smuggler whose partners could readily pay his penalty.
- Nov 16 From Archibald Waterman Hyde. ADS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0661). Reports against a release for Lewis Hutchins, actor in a large smuggling ring whose pretense of poverty merely protects his wealthy partners in crime.
- Nov 16 *From Joel Roberts Poinsett.* 584
- Nov 16 From Joseph Mills White. ALS, DNA-RG 49 (mAJs). *TPUS*, 24:749–51 (21-0411). Complains of delays in surveying Spanish private land claims in Florida. Referred by AJ Nov 19 to Elijah Hayward for report.
- Nov 16 *From Nathaniel Aspinwall Woodward and Nathaniel Bailey Eldred.* 587
- Nov 17 *To Edward Livingston.* 588
- Nov 17 From Joseph Haskell et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0471). Request remission of Joseph Downing's court costs, which he is unable to pay, to effectuate his Nov 12 pardon for assault and procure his release. Approved by AJ Nov 20.
- Nov 17 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Advises that Robert Love may hire assistants of his choosing to help survey the Mexican boundary.
- Nov 17 From Alexander McCaraher. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Recommends John W. McGrath to supply hardware for federal armories.
- Nov 18 *To Martin Van Buren.* 588
- Nov 18 From William Cabell Rives. ALS, *THer* (21-0415). Announces his arrival in New York on route to Washington, congratulates AJ on his election, and encloses a letter from Lafayette.
- Nov 18 *From Martin Van Buren.* 592
- Nov 19 From Charles Edward Dudley. ALS draft, N (mAJs). Pledges to be present when the Senate organizes, remarks on Tazewell's resignation, and congratulates AJ on his election.
- [Nov 19] From Joseph Jones. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0465). Petitions for remission of his court costs for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay, and for release from confinement. Approved by AJ Nov 19.
- Nov 19 Remission of court costs and order for release of assailant Joseph Jones. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0464; T967-1).
- Nov 20 From James Fowler. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0847). Asks for a remission of his fine and costs for petty theft and release from confinement. Approved by AJ Dec 4.
- Nov 20 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59; Copy, DNA-RG 84; Copy, PHI (21-0474). Drafts, NjP (mAJs). Carlton Savage,

- ed., *Policy of the United States Toward Maritime Commerce in War* (Washington, 1934), 1:352–55. Reports favorably on James Buchanan’s proposal for an unconditional “free ships make free goods” clause in a commercial treaty with Russia.
- Nov 20 From William Willis. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-0584). Requests remission of his court costs for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay, and release from jail. Approved by AJ Nov 27.
- Nov 20 Remission of court costs and order for release of Joseph Downing, pardoned Nov 12 for assault and battery. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0469; T967-1).
- Nov 20 Bill from Abraham Bininger & Son to James Alexander Hamilton for wines for AJ. DS, DLC (41). Received Dec 15 and endorsed by AJ Dec 26.
- Nov 21 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits licenses to smelt lead ore on public lands for approval.
- [cNov 21] From Louis Dietz. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Accuses Florida Territory secretary James D. Westcott Jr. of claiming fraudulent expenses while serving as acting governor. AJ instructs Livingston Nov 21 to stop his payments while investigating.
- Nov 22 To Lewis Cass. Abstract, DNA-RG 107 (M22-32). Returns the licenses to smelt lead ore on public lands.
- Nov 22 *From Levi Colbert et al.* 595
- Nov 22 *From Ishtehotopa et al.* 606
- Nov 22 *From Eli Simpson Davis.* 607
- Nov 22 From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0496). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). Recommends further pursuing John E. Smith’s claim against Britain for the 1805 seizure of the *Portsmouth* only if it can be proved that the British captain knew he was acting illegally.
- [Nov 23] From John French. DS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0506). Repeats his appeal for a pardon and discharge of his judgment for smuggling, and submits testimonials to his character.
- Nov 23 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M281-1). LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Recommends reappointing Daniel W. Smith as consul at Matamoros, as he has acquitted himself of neglect of duty and successor Richard Pearse has not qualified. Approved by AJ.
- Nov 23 From Edward Livingston. LS and Draft, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Recommends apprising Florida Territory secretary James D. Westcott Jr. and governor William P. Duval of Louis Dietz’s charges of fraud. Approved by AJ to require their explanation.
- Nov 23 From the Salem, N.J., Hickory Club. D, DLC (41). Printed copy of William N. Jeffers’s Nov 21 speech celebrating AJ’s reelection. Endorsed by AJ “to be carefully preserved.”
- Nov 23 From John Peter Van Ness. ALS, DLC (41). Introduces John Coburn, to see AJ in confidence about the Seminole campaign. Endorsed by AJ “to be preserved.”
- Nov 24 From Thomas Claiborne. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-84). Hails AJ’s election, asks an appointment as midshipman or West Point

	cadet for his son John, and rues his pecuniary straits incurred through honest service.	
Nov 24	<i>From James Mason.</i>	608
Nov 24	<i>From Joel Roberts Poinsett.</i>	609
Nov 25	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	611
Nov 25	<i>To Edward Livingston.</i>	612
Nov 25	<i>To Martin Van Buren.</i>	613
Nov 25	From Lewis Cass. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0498). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Drafts and AD draft, DNA-RG 75 (M234-434). <i>HRDoc</i> 2, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 17–32 (Serial 233). Submits the annual report of the War Department.	
Nov 25	<i>From Joel Roberts Poinsett.</i>	614
Nov 26	<i>To John Coffee.</i>	618
Nov 26	To James Alexander Hamilton. Printed, Hamilton <i>Reminiscences</i> , p. 248 (21-0579). Tells him to follow Treasury secretary McLane's instructions on the suits.	
Nov 26	<i>To Mary Ann Eastin Polk.</i>	619
Nov 26	From Joel Roberts Poinsett. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Urges employing a steamboat, preferably locally built, to haul materials for Charleston harbor fortifications.	
Nov 26	From John Hersey Sargent. ADS, DLC (41). Parody ordinance nullifying the South Carolina nullification ordinance.	
Nov 26	Order to confirm Navy midshipman George W. Gay's court-martial and sentence of dismissal for disobeying orders and unofficerlike and scandalous conduct. ANS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-28). Confirmation signed by AJ Nov 27.	
Nov 27	From William Gamble. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Asks to be appointed consul at Bremen in place of Nathaniel Pearce.	
Nov 27	From Ali Karamanli, Pasha of Tripoli. D, DNA-RG 59 (M179-76). Complains of U.S. consul Daniel S. McCauley's hostile conduct and requests his removal.	
Nov 27	Remission of costs and order of release for assailant William Willis. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0583; T967-1).	
[Nov 27]	<i>Decision on the ship</i> Portsmouth.	620
Nov 28	From Joel Roberts Poinsett. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-5). Recommends Thomas D. Condry for marshal in South Carolina. Endorsed by AJ "attend to this."	
Nov 28	From Bryan Henry Smithson. ALS, DNA-RG 233 (21-0587). <i>TPUS</i> , 21:660–61. Recommends reappointing Arkansas judge Benjamin Johnson.	
Nov 28	From Giles Ward. ALS, DLC (41). Says he has waited long for the office that Thomas Davenport's enclosed Jan 1, 1830 letter (DLC-37) promised AJ would soon give him, and asks to be appointed a Navy purser or live oak superintendent.	
Nov 28	From Levi Woodbury. LS and LC, DNA-RG 49; LC, DNA-RG 45 (21-0589). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Requests the reservation from sale of live oak timberlands in Alabama and Mississippi. Approved by AJ.	
Nov 29	<i>To Levi Woodbury.</i>	621
Nov 29	<i>From Joel Roberts Poinsett.</i>	621

Nov 29	<i>From Martin Van Buren.</i>	623
Nov 29	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Advises awaiting further proof of reformation from Marine lieutenant Thomas Burke, cashiered for drunkenness in 1831, before considering his reinstatement.	
Nov 29	Check to self for \$50. DS, DLC (41).	
Nov 29	Remission of Charles Hollister's penalty for smuggling and order for his release on payment of costs. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0595; T967-1).	
Nov 30	From William Taylor Barry. DS, DNA-RG 46; DS and Copy, DNA-RG 233 (21-0617). <i>HRDoc</i> 2, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 50–56 (Serial 233). Submits the annual report of the Post Office Department.	
Nov 30	<i>From John Coffee.</i>	624
Nov 30	From Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies. Copy, DNA-RG 59 (21-0641). Announces his marriage to Maria Cristina of Savoy.	
Nov 30	<i>From James O'Hanlon.</i>	626
Nov 30	From John B. Rose. ALS, DLC (41). Offers an improved piano of his design and asks AJ to endorse it.	
[Nov]	From Matthew C. Ralston et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-9). Recommend James Girdon for consul at Paita, Peru.	
Nov	<i>Memorandum on the Bank of the United States.</i>	628
Dec 1	<i>From Ratliff Boon.</i>	629
Dec 1	From John Hersey Sargent. ALS, DLC (41). Encloses his Nov 26 parody of the nullification ordinance, and challenges its legality under Article 6 of the constitution.	
Dec 2	<i>To Joel Roberts Poinsett.</i>	630
Dec 2	<i>From William Carroll.</i>	631
[Dec 2]	From John Telemachus Johnson. Envelope with AJ endorsement, DLC (60; 21-0653). Recommends Benjamin S. Chambers for Arkansas Territory judge.	
Dec 2	From Daniel Kellogg. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (23-0513). Reports against a release for petitioner John French, as imprisonment is the only effective deterrent for smuggling. AJ refuses pardon on Mar 15, 1833.	
Dec 2	From Daniel Kellogg. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (24-0665). Reports against a discharge for smuggler Lewis Hutchins, whose plea of youthful innocence is "entirely false." AJ refuses pardon.	
Dec 2	From John Hersey Sargent. ALS, DLC (41; 21-0660). Submits an addendum to his parody nullification ordinance, proving nullification's illegitimacy.	
Dec 3	From Levi Woodbury. DSs, DNA-RG 46 and DNA-RG 233 (21-0665). <i>HRDoc</i> 2, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 41–49 (Serial 233). Submits the annual report of the Navy Department.	
Dec 3	Check to Amos Kendall for \$50 for Emma Thompson, widow of Charles C. B. Thompson. DS, DLC (41).	
Dec 3	Check to Henry Toland for \$413 for coal and wine. DS, DLC (41).	
Dec 4	<i>Fourth Annual Message to Congress.</i>	633
Dec 4	<i>To Anthony Butler.</i>	657

- Dec 4 To Edward Livingston. 658
[cDec 4] To James Knox Polk. D with envelope addressed by AJ, DLC (21-0854). Extract on the tariff from AJ's fourth annual message to Congress.
- Dec 4 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0836). LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:281-84. Submits Army promotions and appointments.
- Dec 4 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0845). LC, DNA-RG 75 (M21-9). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:280. Submits Indian commissioner appointments.
- Dec 4 From John Randolph. 659
- Dec 4 From Samuel Swartwout. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-56). Recommends Charles F. Wooster for cadet at West Point.
- Dec 4 From Nicholas Philip Trist. 660
- Dec 4 Remission of fine and costs and discharge from imprisonment for petty thief James Fowler. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-0846; T967-1).
- Dec 5 To John Nicholson Moulder et al. Printed, *Washington Globe*, Dec 13, 1832 (21-0871). Declines an invitation from the Central Hickory Club of Washington to attend a celebration of his reelection.
- Dec 5 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0874). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:284. Nominates Navy and Marine officers and a navy agent.
- Dec 5 From John Campbell. LC, DNA-RG 50 (21-0868). Submits accounts of the Treasurer's office for the third and fourth quarters of 1831.
- Dec 5 From John Coffee. ALS, DLC (41). Recommends Argyle Campbell for Arkansas Territory judge.
- Dec 5 From George Mifflin Dallas. 661
- Dec 5 From William Fitzhugh Gordon. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas Territory judge.
- Dec 5 From Margaret McDonogh. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (21-0869). Asks a midshipman's appointment for her grandson Thomas Maitland.
- Dec 5 From David Porter. ALS, DLC (41). Presents in gratitude an exquisite portrait of Sultan Mahmud II of Turkey, "the greatest monarch of the age."
- Dec 5 From Joseph Rogers et al. DS, DNA-RG 107 (21-0872). Solicit a clerkship for Borden M. Voorhees, dismissed as New Jersey assembly clerk for his friendliness to AJ.
- Dec 5 From Martin Van Buren. 662
- Dec 5 From Hugh Lawson White. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommends Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas Territory judge.
- Dec 5 Check to Michael Anthony Giusta for \$859.70. DS, DLC (41).
- Dec [5] John Peter Van Ness et al. to Levi Woodbury. LS, DLC (21-0879). Recommend Edward W. Clarke for clerk in the Washington navy yard. Appointed by AJ Dec 6.

Dec 6	<i>River and Harbor Improvements Veto Message.</i>	663
Dec 6	<i>Interest on State Claims Veto Message.</i>	668
Dec 6	<i>To James Alexander Hamilton.</i>	672
Dec 6	<i>To James O'Hanlon.</i>	673
Dec 6	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0919). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:279. Nominates Thomas M. Persse for consul at Galway, Ireland.	
Dec 6	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0921). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:279. Nominates consuls, marshals, and a district attorney.	
Dec 6	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0923). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:279. Nominates Indian commissioners.	
Dec 6	From Jean François Théodore Béchameil. Copy, DNA-RG 45 (mAJs). Offers his improved anchor chain stopper for the American navy and merchant marine.	
Dec 6	From John Milton Goodenow et al. Copy, DNA-RG 56 (mAJs). Recommend William Larwill for clerk or accountant.	
[Dec 6]	From Robert Love. Envelope, DLC (41). AJ endorsement notes his Dec 17 reply to Love's news of the death of his son Thomas D. Love.	
Dec 6	<i>From John Randolph.</i>	674
Dec 6	From Ferdinand Schureman Schenck et al. DS, DNA-RG 107 (21-0889). Recommend Borden M. Voorhees for a chief clerkship.	
Dec 7	<i>To Edward Livingston.</i>	675
Dec 8	<i>To Andrew Jackson Jr.</i>	675
Dec 8	From Robert Lucas. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Recommends Peter Douglas over James Wishart for chargé d'affaires to Guatemala.	
Dec 8	From John Jones Roane. ALS, DNA-RG 94 (M688-73). Recommends William Hardia for midshipman or West Point cadet.	
Dec 9	<i>To Joel Roberts Poinsett.</i>	678
Dec 9	From Samuel Swartwout. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Introduces Joshua Dodge, former consul at Marseille. Referred by AJ to Edward Livingston to report on the cause of his removal.	
Dec 10	<i>Proclamation on nullification.</i>	680
Dec 10	<i>To John Pemberton.</i>	712
Dec 10	To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0984). <i>Senate Executive Proceedings</i> , 4:284. Nominates Benjamin S. Chambers for receiver at the Little Rock, Ark., land office.	
Dec 10	<i>To Martin Van Buren.</i>	712
Dec 10	From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits Henry Atkinson's full report on the Black Hawk War.	
Dec 10	From William M. Price. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommends Myer Moses for claims commissioner under the Neapolitan treaty.	
Dec 10	From Samuel Swartwout. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16).	

- Recommends Myer Moses for claims commissioner under the Neapolitan treaty.
- Dec 10 *From Martin Van Buren.* 713
- Dec 10 Check to Andrew Jackson Donelson for \$66.62. DS, OGC (21-0934).
- Dec 11 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0998). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:280; Richardson, 2:606. Submits a commercial treaty with Chile for advice and consent.
- Dec 11 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0994). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:280. Nominates John Donelson Jr. for surveyor of the Mexican boundary.
- Dec 11 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-0996). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:280. Nominates Benjamin Johnson and Alexander M. Clayton for Arkansas judgeships.
- Dec 11 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1000). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:281. Nominates Army officers for promotion and appointment.
- Dec 11 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Submits seven Indian treaties for transmission to the Senate.
- Dec 11 From Hanson Gassaway. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Copy, DNA-RG 107 (21-0991). Accuses the Army and Navy of conducting biased inquiries into his charges of Nov 12 and requests an independent investigation. Endorsed by AJ “to be attended to.”
- Dec 12 *To Lewis Cass and Levi Woodbury.* 714
- Dec 12 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1033). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:285; Richardson, 2:607. Transmits Indian treaties for advice and consent.
- [Dec 12] From John Breathitt and Robert Johnson Ward. DS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-68). Recommend Napoleon B. Buford for Army ordnance captain.
- Dec 12 *From John Coffee.* 715
- Dec 12 *From James Williams Crawford et al.* 718
- [Dec 12] From Timothy Milburn. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-1038). Asks release from imprisonment and remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Dec 13.
- Dec 12 From Reuben Moses. D, DNA-RG 59 (22-0768). *Globe*, Oct 1, 1833. Implores AJ to pardon him for forgery, to save his “wretched family.”
- Dec 12 From John Reynolds. LS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-113). LC, I-Ar (21-1032). *Illinois Governors’ Letter-Books*, 1:219. Officially requests the delivery of the Sac and Fox murderers of William Martin to civil authority for trial. Referred by AJ to Cass to comply.
- Dec 12 *From David Mitchell Saunders.* 720
- Dec 12 From Robert Johnson Ward et al. LS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-68). Recommend Napoleon B. Buford for Army ordnance captain.
- Dec 13 From Robert J. Alexander et al. LS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Recommend James Wishart for chargé d’affaires to Guatemala.

Dec 13	From Marmaduke Dove. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-80). Requests a promotion from Navy sailing master to lieutenant.	
<i>Dec 13</i>	<i>From Samuel Gwin.</i>	721
<i>Dec 13</i>	<i>From James Alexander Hamilton.</i>	722
Dec 13	From John Pemberton. ALS copy, PHi (21-1043). Recommends Phineas P. Morris for cadet at West Point.	
Dec 13	From Thomas Lilly Smith. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-6). Forwards an appeal from Henry Ogden to reinstate Joshua Dodge as consul at Marseille.	
Dec 13	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Reports that there are no grounds to justify reinstating dismissed midshipman Charles Sperry.	
Dec 13	Remission of fine and costs for assault and battery and discharge from imprisonment for Timothy Milburn. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1037; T967-1).	
<i>Dec 14</i>	<i>To John Coffee.</i>	723
[Dec 14]	From Joseph Bennett. D, DNA-RG 59 (21-1074). Asks remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery, which he is unable to pay, and release from confinement. Approved by AJ Dec 17.	
<i>Dec 14</i>	<i>From John Pemberton.</i>	725
Dec 14	From Roger Brooke Taney. LS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1052). LCs, DNA-RG 60 (M699-1; M699-2). Senate Confidential Printing 22-2-4. Transmits past attorney generals' opinions on the constitutionality of recess appointments, pertinent to the case of Samuel Gwin.	
<i>Dec 14</i>	<i>From Maunsel White.</i>	725
Dec 15	To John M. Moore. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1054). Appoints him acting GLO commissioner during Elijah Hayward's illness.	
Dec 15	To James Knox Polk. ANS facsimile, James G. Wilson, ed., <i>The Presidents of the United States, 1789-1914</i> (1914), 1:274 (mAJs). Asks to see him on business.	
<i>Dec 15</i>	<i>To Martin Van Buren.</i>	726
Dec 15	From Turbutt Rowles Betton. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Defends Florida secretary James D. Westcott Jr.'s accounts against Louis Dietz's baseless charges.	
Dec 15	From Edward Livingston. LC, DNA-RG 59 (M40-23). Reports no record in the State Department of the reasons for Joshua Dodge's removal as consul at Marseille.	
<i>Dec 15</i>	<i>From John Pemberton.</i>	728
Dec 15	From Aaron Vanderpoel. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Entreats AJ to retain Isaac C. Barnet as consul at Paris and transfer his son Charles from Venice to Genoa.	
Dec 15	From John Westcott Jr. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Defends his brother James D. Westcott Jr.'s payments to himself for official services and brands Louis Dietz a liar and scoundrel.	
Dec 15	From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits midshipmen's warrants for signature.	
Dec 15	Check to Nicholas Philip Trist for \$100. DS, DLC (41).	
<i>Dec 16</i>	<i>To Sarah Yorke Jackson.</i>	729

- Dec 16 To James Knox Polk. 729
- Dec 16 From Thomas Brown. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Defends the accuracy of James D. Westcott Jr.'s accounts and labels Louis Dietz dishonest and corrupt.
- Dec 16 From Frederick Weedon. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Says that Louis Dietz's word is not to be trusted.
- Dec 16 From William Wilson. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-26). Defends James D. Westcott Jr.'s accounts and calls Louis Dietz a scoundrel and swindler.
- Dec 16 George S. Bourne to John Thomson Mason. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-2). Asks the government for funds to return to Mexico after coming out as dispatch bearer. Referred by AJ to Edward Livingston to employ him as return bearer or dismiss him.
- Dec 17 To Lewis Cass. 730
- Dec 17 To John Coffee. 731
- Dec 17 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1086). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:287; Richardson, 2:607. Transmits copies of Samuel Gwin's commissions as land office register at Mt. Salus and attorney generals' opinions on recess appointments.
- Dec 17 To the United States Senate. Printed, *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:286 (21-1089). Richardson, 2:607. Submits a claims convention with the Two Sicilies for advice and consent.
- Dec 17 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1083). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:287. Nominates customs officers.
- Dec 17 From Joel Roberts Poinsett. 732
- Dec 17 From John Reynolds. LS, DNA-RG 75 (M234-132). LCs, I-Ar (21-1081). *Illinois Governors' Letter-Books*, 1:221-22. Officially requests the delivery to state authority of escaped Potawatomi murderers captured in the Black Hawk War.
- Dec 17 Remission of fine and costs for assault and battery and discharge from imprisonment for Joseph Bennett. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1072; T967-1).
- Dec 18 From William Carroll. 733
- Dec 18 From Ephraim Hubbard Foster. ALS, DLC (41). Recommends Joseph K. Kane for a land office appointment.
- Dec 18 From Mary Ann Eastin Polk. 735
- Dec 18 From Roger Brooke Taney. Printed, *HRDoc* 123, 26th Cong., 2d sess., p. 895, Serial 387 (mAJs). Opines that AJ lacks authority to overrule the Treasury's disallowance of certain claims in settling Michael Hogan's accounts as consul at Valparaiso.
- Dec 19 To Andrew Jackson Jr. 735
- Dec 19 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1094). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:288. Nominates Thomas D. Condry for marshal in South Carolina.
- Dec 19 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1096). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:288. Nominates Samuel C. Roane for Arkansas Territory district attorney.
- Dec 19 From Edward Livingston. LS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1090). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). Encloses his correspondence

- contracting with Horatio Greenough for a statue of Washington for the Capitol and recommends asking Congress to commit the whole agreed \$20,000 fee, the \$5,000 thus far appropriated being "totally inadequate."
- Dec 19 Abraham A. Massias to Lewis Cass. ALS, DNA-RG 107 (M222-31). Protests his removal as Army paymaster on false charges of supporting nullification. AJ orders his transfer from Charleston instead.
- Dec 20 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1102). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:289. Nominates customs officers.
- Dec 20 *From James Buchanan.* 736
- Dec 20 *From Anthony Butler.* 739
- Dec 20 From John M. Moore. LC, DNA-RG 49 (M25-28). Recommends immediately filling a vacancy on the commission to settle Missouri private land claims.
- Dec 20 *From James O'Hanlon.* 741
- [Dec 20] From John Rine. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-1126). Asks remission of his fine and costs for assault and battery and release from imprisonment. Approved by AJ Dec 22.
- Dec 20 From Thomas Ringland et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Pennsylvania legislators recommend James Wishart for chargé d'affaires to Guatemala.
- Dec 20 *From John Dabney Terrell.* 743
- Dec 20 Andrew Jackson Donelson to [Edward Livingston]. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Encloses Senate confirmations of appointees to be commissioned, and requests an immediate commission for South Carolina marshal Thomas D. Condy.
- Dec 21 To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 233 (21-1104). *House Journal*, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 87 (Serial 232); Richardson, 2:607-8. Encloses Livingston's Dec 19 communication and asks if Congress will commit the requisite funds for Horatio Greenough's statue of Washington.
- Dec 21 *From William White Crawford.* 743
- Dec 21 From David Porter. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). Describes Turkish progress in naval construction under American direction and asks for American warship models and drafts to cultivate the Sultan's friendship.
- Dec 21 Andrew Jackson Donelson to Edward Livingston. AN, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Refers a Dec 20 House call on AJ for State Department correspondence concerning duties levied on the French ship *Pactole* in 1827.
- Dec 21 John Overton Wharton to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DLC (21-1108). Proposes forming a Maryland company to purchase the stud colt Citizen, delivered sound for \$2,000, and reports universal acclaim for AJ's nullification proclamation. Endorsed by AJ to propose instead that the horse be inspected and delivered at the Hermitage for \$50 less.
- Dec 22 *To Maunsel White.* 745
- Dec 22 From Benjamin Say Bonsall et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-7). Recommend Benjamin Evens for consul at Bremen.

- Dec 22 *From Anthony Butler.* 746
- Dec 22 From William Carroll. AL fragment, DLC (75). Recommends Joseph K. Kane for a land office appointment in the Choctaw or Chickasaw cessions.
- Dec 22 From Lewis Cass. LC, DNA-RG 107 (M127-2). Proposes Joshua B. Brant for Army quartermaster.
- Dec 22 From Edward Livingston. DS, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1117). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 129, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 2–3 (Serial 235). Recommends asking for an appropriation to pay Swedish claims arising from the U.S. sloop *Erie's* seizure of a privateer and cargo at St. Bartholomew Island in 1828.
- Dec 22 From David Porter. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M124-137). Gives details on the warship models and drafts he wants for the Sultan and foresees Americans monopolizing Turkish shipbuilding.
- Dec 22 *From Martin Van Buren.* 749
- Dec 22 From Levi Woodbury. LS and LC, DNA-RG 49; LC, DNA-RG 45 (21-1139). LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Requests the reservation from sale of Florida live oak timberlands. Ordered by AJ.
- Dec 22 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits naval commissions for signature.
- Dec 22 Contract with John Prevaux to serve as White House cook. DS by AJ and Prevaux, THER (21-1123).
- Dec 22 Remission of fine and costs for assault and battery and discharge from imprisonment for John Rine. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1125; T967-1).
- Dec 22 Grant to AJ of 81 acres in Sumner County, Tenn. DS by William Carroll, T (21-1130).
- Dec 23 *To Martin Van Buren.* 751
- Dec 23 Mary Donelson Coffee (1812–1839) to Mary Donelson Coffee (1793–1871). ALS, Mrs. H. A. Brewer (mAJs). Reports household news of AJ's busy schedule and bad cold, Mary McLemore's bossiness, and the Donelsons' kindness. Franked by AJ.
- Dec 24 *To Andrew Jackson Jr.* 752
- Dec 24 *To Edward Livingston.* 753
- Dec 24 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1158). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:290. Nominates Joshua B. Brant for Army quartermaster.
- Dec 24 From Charles Gratiot and James Kearney. DS, DNA-RG 233 (21-1151). *HRDoc* 22, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 12–13 (Serial 233). Recommend constructing the Potomac bridge superstructure of wood, not iron.
- Dec 24 From Samuel Hammond. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M179-74). Officially transmits South Carolina governor Robert Y. Hayne's Dec 20 proclamation countering AJ's.
- Dec 24 From Elijah Hayward. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Encloses recommendations for George W. Thompson for chargé d'affaires to Guatemala.
- Dec 24 From John Thomson Mason. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (21-1153).

- Introduces James Treat, with information on Mexican and other foreign affairs.
- Dec 24 From Joel Roberts Poinsett. ALS, NjP (21-1155). Introduces Chapman Levy, with information on the state of parties in South Carolina.
- Dec 24 Pardon, remission of penalties, and order of discharge for convicted thief William Kennedy. LC, DNA-RG 59 (T967-1).
- Dec 24 Check to self for \$50. ADS, DLC (41).
- Dec 25 To William McLean Berryhill. 753
- Dec 25 To Martin Van Buren. 754
- Dec 26 To Edward Livingston. 757
- Dec 26 From Joseph C. Botsford et al., Nichols Dyer et al., Chester Hayden et al., William Small et al., George Anson Starkweather et al., and Alexis Ward et al. DSs, DNA-RG 59 (M639-16). Recommend David Moulton for marshal in New York.
- Dec 26 From Jesse Hunt. ALS, DLC (41). Submits a plan for a new national bank to replace the BUS. Endorsed by AJ “to be read when leisure will permit.”
- Dec 26 From Edward Livingston. DS and Copy, DNA-RG 233; LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1170). ALS draft, NjP (mAJs). *HRDoc* 129, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 1–2 (Serial 235). Recommends requesting a \$2,000 appropriation to refund discriminating tonnage duties on ships from nations which have abolished such duties on American ships.
- [Dec 26] Bill to William Berkeley Lewis, endorsed by AJ as paid Dec 26. Abstract, D. Lindsay Pettus (mAJs).
- Dec 26 Check for \$120.75 to William Berkeley Lewis for purchase of potatoes and of wine from A. Bininger & Son. DS, DLC (41).
- Dec 26 Richard Mentor Johnson to Andrew Jackson Donelson. ALS, DLC-Donelson Papers (mAJs). Urges AJ’s attention to Charles A. Clinton’s claim for appointment as consul at Paris. Endorsed by AJ.
- Dec 27 To the United States Congress. DS, DNA-RG 233 (21-1180). *HRDoc* 22, 22d Cong., 2d sess., p. 1 (Serial 233); Richardson, 2:608. Transmits reports on the Potomac bridge, endorses building it of wood, and requests an appropriation.
- Dec 27 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 94 (M567-74). Proposes Army paymaster Abraham A. Massias for reappointment. Approved by AJ.
- Dec 27 From Lewis Cass. LS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1176). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:292. Submits Abraham A. Massias’s reappointment as Army paymaster.
- [Dec 27] From Julianna Cissell. D, DNA-RG 59 (21-1192). Asks remission of her fine and costs for assault and battery, which she is unable to pay, and release from imprisonment. Approved by AJ Dec 28.
- Dec 27 From John Reynolds. LS, DNA-RG 107 (M221-113). LC, I-Ar (21-1178). *Illinois Governors’ Letter-Books*, 1:224. Transmits a grand jury presentment requesting that AJ order the delivery of the Sac and Fox murderers of William Martin.

- Dec 27 From John Targee et al. Copy, CU-BANC (21-1179).
Recommend Peter W. Spicer for naval storekeeper at Brooklyn.
- [Dec 27] From Henry Thompson. D, DNA-RG 59 (22-0473). Petty larcenist begs release from jail and remission of his \$2 fine and costs, which he is unable to pay. Approved by AJ Feb 25, 1833.
- Dec 27 *From Martin Van Buren.* 757
- Dec 27 Check to [Andrew Jackson Donelson] for \$22 for Mr. Pool. DS, DLC (41).
- Dec 28 To the United States House of Representatives. DS, DNA-RG 233 (21-1198). *House Journal*, 22d Cong., 2d sess., pp. 111–12 (Serial 232); Richardson, 2:608–9. Declines to furnish documents on the continuing negotiation with Buenos Aires.
- Dec 28 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1201). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:290. Nominates government BUS directors for 1833.
- Dec 28 From George Burd. ALS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-27). Forwards a recommendation for James Wishart for chargé d'affaires to Guatemala.
- Dec 28 *From Adam Diller.* 759
- Dec 28 *From John Henry Eaton.* 760
- Dec 28 From James Mease. ADS, OCIWHi (21-1195). Presents a formal description of the medal Congress awarded AJ for his victory at New Orleans. Endorsed by AJ to be kept in “private files.”
- Dec 28 Remission of fine and costs for assault and battery and discharge from imprisonment for Julianna Cissell. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1191; T967-1).
- Dec 29 To Lewis Cass. Abstract, DNA-RG 77 (M505-1). Envelope, DNA-RG 77 (mAJs). Calls his attention to a House resolution about removal of obstructions in the Potomac below Georgetown.
- Dec 29 From John Pemberton. ALS draft, PHi (21-1203). Introduces and recommends Augustus L. Roumfort.
- Dec 29 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Marine lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie’s commission for signature.
- Dec 29 From Levi Woodbury. LC, DNA-RG 45 (M472-1). Submits Samuel R. Knox’s midshipman’s warrant for signature.
- Dec 29 Approval of Navy midshipman Walter C. Cutts’s court-martial for disobeying orders, drunkenness, and scandalous conduct, with mitigation of sentence from dismissal to one year’s probation and loss of promotion. DS, DNA-RG 125 (M273-28).
- Dec 29 Check to Richard C. Washington & Co. for \$10.87½ for Mary Coffee’s expenses. DS, DLC (41).
- Dec 30 *To Lewis Cass.* 760
- Dec 30 *To David Mitchell Saunders.* 761
- Dec 30 From Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies. LS and Translation, DNA-RG 59 (21-1210). Announces his marriage to Maria Cristina of Savoy.
- Dec 31 *To Edward Livingston.* 762
- Dec 31 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1215). *Senate*

- Executive Proceedings*, 4:291. Nominates Albert G. Harrison for commissioner to adjust Missouri land claims.
- Dec 31 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1217). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:291. Nominates customs officers for reappointment.
- Dec 31 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1220). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:291–92. Nominates customs officers.
- Dec 31 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1222). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:292. Nominates Army paymaster Abraham A. Massias for reappointment.
- Dec 31 To the United States Senate. DS, DNA-RG 46 (21-1224). *Senate Executive Proceedings*, 4:294. Nominates Charles G. De Witt for chargé d'affaires to Central America.
- Dec 31 From Rufus Seth Reed et al. Copy, DLC (41). Recommend Thomas Forster for reappointment as customs collector at Presque Isle, Pa.
- [Dec 31] From John Van Buren. DS, DNA-RG 59 (21-1324). Master of the Dutch ship *Jaffrau Jeannette*, seized at Baltimore for overloading passengers, declares his innocent intent and petitions for its release. Approved by AJ Jan 4, 1833.
- Dec 31 Appointment of Michael Nourse as acting register of the Treasury during Thomas L. Smith's absence. LC, DNA-RG 59 (21-1214).
- [Dec] To John B. Rose. Draft, DLC (41). Accepts Rose's offered piano, to test its improvement.
- [cDec] From Sidney Breese et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12). Recommend Alexander M. Jenkins for marshal in Illinois.
- [cDec] From William Lee Davidson Ewing et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-12). Recommend Alexander M. Jenkins for marshal in Illinois.
- [cDec] From Aaron Finch et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-24). Indiana legislators recommend George W. Thompson for chargé d'affaires to Guatemala.
- [cDec] From Chapman Levy. ALS, DLC (41). Lauds AJ and encloses resolutions praising him from Camden District, S.C.
- [Dec] From Milo Mason. ALS (at 1829), DLC (37). Asks to be appointed Army quartermaster at Philadelphia.
- [Dec] From John Miles Jr. et al. DS, DLC (41). Oppose Thomas Forster's rumored removal as customs collector at Presque Isle, Pa.
- Dec From Joseph Peabody et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommend Joseph S. Cabot for claims commissioner under the Neapolitan treaty.
- Dec From Benjamin Pickman et al. DS, DNA-RG 59 (M639-4). Recommend Joseph S. Cabot for claims commissioner under the Neapolitan treaty.
- [Dec] From John Peter Van Ness. ALS, DNA-RG 45 (M148-80). Endorses Navy sailing master Marmaduke Dove's private, public, and political character.
- [c1832] From John Adair and William Thompson Nuckolls. DS, THER

- (19-0509). Recommend Maurice A. Moore for gold assayer in South Carolina.
- [c1832] From Elbert Herring. ALS (at 1833), DLC (43). Encloses a copy of Lewis Cass's Jun 24, 1832, instructions to agent Leonard Tarrant for locating Creek reservations under the Mar 24 treaty (DLC-40).
- [c1832] From James Shaw et al. DS, DNA-RG 77 (19-0522). Recommend David Scott for Cumberland Road superintendent in Ohio.
- [1832] From William Wilkins et al. DS and Copy, DNA-RG 59 (M639-18). Pennsylvania senators and congressmen recommend Zalegman Phillips for office.
- [c1832] *Draft by Francis Preston Blair on the Bank of the United States.* 762
- [1832] Cover for statements by Graves W. Steele and William Alexander about Alexander's horse left at the Hermitage. N, DLC (59; 19-0511).
- [c1832] Receipted bill from Richard C. Washington & Co. for \$41.60 for a shawl and fabric for Sarah Y. Jackson. DS, DLC (58; 19-0524).
- [c1832] Receipted bill from Richard C. Washington & Co. for \$1 for fabric and sewing notions for Sarah Y. Jackson. DS, DLC (58; 19-0525).
- [c1832] Receipted bill from Richard C. Washington & Co. for \$3.93 for fabric for Sarah Y. Jackson. DS, DLC (58; 19-0526).
- [c1832] Andrew Jackson Donelson to [James Gadsden]. AL draft fragment, DLC (74; 19-0516). Assures him of AJ's friendship and confidence, but explains that the office in question required an opponent of nullification.

Index



Page numbers from 765 through 856 refer to the Calendar. An index reference to a single page of the Calendar may represent more than one item on that page. ***Bolded italics*** following a proper name signify pages in the volume for documents written by or to that person or group.

- Abbott, Edward, 784, 793, 796, 799–800
- Abbott, Thomas J., 526–27
- Abd er-Rahman, Sultan of Morocco, 817
- Aberdeen, Earl of (George Hamilton-Gordon), 417–18, 620
- Abert, John James, 827
- Abolitionism and antislavery, 177, 553
- A'Court, William (Baron Heytesbury), 318, 321
- Adair, John: ***414–16***; 855–56
- Adam (slave), 458, 677, 825
- Adams, James, 800, 840
- Adams, John, 27, 337, 353
- Adams, John Quincy
 - on BUS: 266, 353–54, 370–72, 375, 379, 409
 - and “corrupt bargain”: 16
 - Ghent commissioner: 9
 - president: appointments and personnel, 22, 358, 424–25, 432–33, 661, 757; and British West Indian trade, 103, 112–15; court-martials, 96; diplomacy, 746, 749; and impressment, 143, 154; and *National Journal*, 495; and Northeast boundary, 636; and Panama Congress, 154–55
 - Randolph on: 176
 - secretary of state: and British West Indian trade, 112, 115; and Florida negotiations, 60, 74, 329; and impressment, 142, 144; in Seminole controversy, 130–31
- Adams, Littleton, 792
- Adams, Robert Huntington, 722
- Adamson, John, 415–16
- Adams-Onís Treaty. *See* Florida Treaty (1819)
- Adelaide, Queen of England, 203, 205
- Adkins, James, 780
- Admiralty, Lord of the. *See* Graham, James Robert George
- Aesop, 446
- Aisquith, William E., 807–8
- Alabama: Creek cessions and surveys, 187, 527, 624–25, 723–24; Creek cession settlers, 835; invitation to visit, 829–30; jurisdiction over Indian lands, 140–41, 227–28, 526–27, 798; land office appointments, 814, 817, 821; naval timber reserves, 844; nullification in, 477, 480–81, 622, 625; politics and elections, 37–38, 55–56, 76, 121–23, 477, 480–81, 551, 625; U.S. district court, 140–41, 227–28

- Alamán, Lucas: flight, 521–23, 657;
foreign minister, 49–51, 66–68,
313–14; on Mexican affairs, 94,
99, 484; negotiations with Butler,
4, 99–100, 117, 124–25, 132, 242,
314, 426–27, 456–57, 484–85,
490, 519
- Alamán, Narcisca Castrillo de, 521–23,
657
- Alas, Ignacio, 483, 485
- Alba, Peter: 135–37; 769
- Albany, N.Y.: politics in, 168, 170;
postmastership, 594–95
- Albany Argus* (N.Y.), 148, 170, 482,
662, 750, 759
- Albemarle, Earl of (William Charles
Keppel), 381, 409
- Albertson, Isaac (Chickasaw), 606
- Alcibiades, 196, 199
- Alexander, Mark, 361–62
- Alexander, Robert J., 848
- Alexander, William, 218–19, 230,
239, 241, 251, 256, 271, 278,
459, 480, 500–501, 506, 536–37,
820, 830, 856
- Alexander the Great, 138–39
- Alexander the innkeeper, 361
- Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of
Russia, 175, 178, 318, 530
- Alfred (Hermitage slave), 219
- Algiers: consul general to, 492–94; and
Polish refugees, 417, 419
- Alien and Sedition Acts, 255, 486
- Allegheny County, Pa., citizens, 795
- Allegheny Democrat* (Pittsburgh),
234–35
- Allen, Eliza, 761
- Allen, Jesse, 458–59
- Allen, John L., 598–99, 602–3, 605–6,
716–17, 743, 760
- Allen, William Hodges, 602, 606
- Allison, David, 802
- Almanac, man in the, 17, 19
- Almonte, Juan Nepomuceno, 68–69
- Al-Said, Said bin Sultan, Sultan of
Muscat, 775, 780
- Alsbury, Hanson, 783
- Althorp, Viscount (John Charles
Spencer), 195, 198
- Ambrister, Robert Christie, 325
- Amélie, margravine dowager of Baden,
825
- American Board of Commissioners for
Foreign Missions, 189
- American Colonization Society, 258
- American Polish Committee, 417–18
- American Revolution. *See*
Revolutionary War
- American Spectator*, 137
- “American System,” 614, 674
- Anderson, Elizabeth Glasgow Martin
Donelson, 216, 218
- Anderson, John, 772
- Anderson, Joseph Inslee, 798–99,
824–25
- Anderson, Nathaniel, 598–99, 605
- Anderson, Samuel, 839
- Anderson, William Evans, 465, 830, 836
- Andrade, Juan José, 519–20
- Andrews, Timothy Patrick, 826
- Annual message to Congress, First
(1829): on BUS, 22, 373, 379, 409;
on foreign relations, 114–15; on
Navy Board, 109; on surplus revenue,
594; on tariff, 261
- Annual message to Congress, Second
(1830): on BUS, 22, 373; on internal
improvements, 439, 472, 475,
592, 594, 665–66; on surplus revenue,
594; on tariff, 261
- Annual message to Congress, Third
(1831): on Buenos Aires, 639; on
BUS, 373; on Indian removal, 118–
19; on insolvent debtor law, 80; on
Northeast boundary, 636; on tariff,
261–62, 594, 735; praised, 17, 23,
25, 771
- Annual message to Congress, Fourth
(1832): 633–57
preparation and contents: Black
Hawk War, 655; BUS, 593,
634, 643, 649–52, 730; in
Cabinet, 613; cholera, 634;
finance, revenue, and debt,
641–43; foreign relations,
634–41; Indian removal,
656–57; internal improve-
ments, 439, 473, 482, 594,
633, 652–55; judiciary, 643;
militia reform, 655–56;

- national defense, 633, 642, 647, 655–56; nullification, 589, 633, 643, 646, 648–49; opening, 634; presidential electoral reform, 643; public lands, 641, 643–46; tariff on imports, 633, 641–43, 646–49, 734–35, 846
- AJ disseminates: 657, 678, 733, 742
- praised: 713, 718, 722, 733–34, 742
- mentioned: 662, 675, 714, 759
- Anthony, Thomas, 65
- Antigonus, 138–39
- Anti-Masonry: in Congress, 749; in New York, 269, 474–75, 486; in Pennsylvania, 739; in presidential campaign, 269, 474–75, 531, 563, 736
- Antipater, 138–39
- Antwerp consulate, 791
- Apartado, Marquis of (José Francisco Fagoaga), 483, 485
- Appointments to office policy: partisanship and, 494–95, 589–90, 719–20; Senate role, 28–33, 102, 298–300, 422–23, 429–34, 446, 462, 768, 849
- Arab* (British warship), 620
- Arab (horse), 84
- Arbuthnot, Alexander, 325
- Archer, Mr., 841
- Archer, William Segar, 361–62, 762
- Archimedes* (steamboat), 496–97
- “Aristocracy,” 70, 104, 109, 342, 348, 366, 383, 385, 388–89, 391, 434, 437, 442, 524, 719, 838
- Arkansas Territory: boundary with Mexico, 5, 9, 124–25, 766; governor, 182–83, 789; grape cultivation, 170; Indians in, 435, 497; judiciary appointments, 547, 608–9, 778, 785, 831–34, 836–40, 844–46, 848; land claims cases, 252–54, 791; land office appointments, 778, 817, 847; politics in, 183; public land surveyor, 261, 277, 311, 784, 786, 790, 806, 815, 825, 834; U.S. attorney appointment, 850
- Armstrong, Alexander, 803
- Armstrong, Francis Wells, 189, 496–97, 503, 807–8, 831
- Armstrong, Samuel Turrell, 263
- Armstrong, Thomas, 88
- Army: in Black Hawk War, 302–3, 440–41, 447–48, 454–56, 468–70, 814, 821, 823, 825–26, 828, 847; commissary appointments, 819; deployment in Florida, 51–52; deployments against nullification, 497–98, 506, 533–34, 558–59, 561, 585, 609–11, 731; discipline, 191, 193; in Georgia gold mines, 806; officer appointments and promotions, 765, 786–87, 789–90, 794–95, 800, 803, 811, 818, 821–22, 827, 846, 848; officer court-martials and inquiries, 185, 255–56, 540–42, 794, 798, 806–8; officer dismissals over nullification, 533–34, 585; officer resignations, 542, 811–12, 814, 818, 830; ordnance contract corruption charges, 564–65, 714–15, 840, 848; ordnance corps appointments, 173, 213–14, 235, 237–38, 542, 769, 773, 780, 782–85, 787–90, 792–95, 799–800, 802, 814–15, 818, 836, 848; paymasters, 164–65, 205–6, 533–34, 540–42, 819, 851, 853, 855; quartermasters, 256, 440–41, 852, 855; rangers and dragoons, 308, 455, 556, 814, 816–17; soldier discharges, 798, 841; Subsistence Department, 815; surgeons, 533–34, 774, 779, 782, 784–86, 814, 816, 819; sutlers, 162, 253–54, 753–54, 778–79, 781, 840; topographical appointments and assignments, 769, 773, 776, 778, 790, 811, 814, 823, 827, 839 (*see also* Gratiot, Charles). *See also* Pension claims, military
- Arndt, John Penn, 819
- Arnold, Benedict, 188
- Arnold, Thomas Dickens, 76–77
- Arnold, William: 161–62
- Arsenals and armories, federal, 447, 838, 842

- Articles of Confederation, 370, 373–74, 678, 681–84, 690, 694–95, 700, 704, 724, 751, 753
- Ashley, William Henry: 308; 541
- Ashton, Henry, 766, 770
- Assassination threat, 556–57
- Atkins, James, 766
- Atkinson, Henry: in Black Hawk War, 302–3, 440–41, 447, 454–56, 468, 655, 826, 847; and Minor court-martial, 255–56
- Atkison, Mr., 786
- Augusta, Miss., land office, 66, 783
- Augustus Frederick (Duke of Sussex), 106, 109
- Auld, James, 824
- Austin, Stephen Fuller, 485
- Austria: in European affairs, 144, 175, 198, 204–5, 244, 247, 318, 417–18; U.S. relations, 637, 784–85
- Aux Cayes, Haiti, consulate, 805, 807, 810
- Avarna, Carlo, 297
- Bache, Hartman, 610–11, 827
- Backhouse, John, 23, 25
- Backus, Thomas, 460
- Bacon, Nathaniel, 197, 199
- Bacon's Rebellion, 197, 199
- Bacot, Thomas Wright, 559, 585, 587
- Bacot, Thomas Wright, Jr., 585, 587
- Bad Axe, Battle of, 468–70
- Baden, Grand Duke. *See* Leopold, Grand Duke of Baden
- Baden, Nehemiah, 794
- Bagby, Arthur Pendleton, 140–41
- Baird, Felix Walker, 744, 839
- Baker, John H., 776
- Bakewell, Benjamin, 270–71
- Bakewell, John Palmer, 271
- Bakewell, Thomas, 271
- Bakewell, Page & Bakewells, 271, 776
- Balch, Alfred, 486
- Baldwin, Ethan, 818
- Baldwin, Henry: 52–54, 54, 128–31, 151, 232–36, 254–55, 272–74, 288–89, 570–83; checks to, 218, 787; gift from, 767; on nullification, 570–83; recommends, 816; and Seminole controversy, 52–55, 128–31, 232–36, 254–55, 272–74, 288–89, 324, 329–30; *Worcester* dissent, 151, 570, 578
- Baltimore, Md.: Carroll ceremonies, 568–69, 841; customs appointments, 270–71; navy agent, 765
- Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 310
- Baltimore convention (Clay), 19
- Baltimore convention (Jackson), 102–3, 107, 164–65, 169, 235, 281, 462, 468, 504, 755–57, 809
- Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, 304
- Bancroft, George, 659
- Bankhead, Charles, 322
- Bank of the United States, First, 370, 378–79, 393, 396
- Bank of the United States, Second (*see also* Bank Veto): AJ's account, 218–19, 824, 836; in annual messages, 22, 373, 379, 409, 593, 633–34, 643, 649–52, 730, 762–63; bonus payment, 310, 333–34, 338, 344–46, 350, 364, 380–83, 397, 400; British and foreign influence, 350–51, 368–69, 375, 379–91, 395–97, 404, 409, 470, 651; charter provisions, 333, 364, 370, 409, 826; corruption charged by AJ, 193, 270, 353, 434, 439, 548, 564, 651–52, 729–30; corruption of elections and government, 161, 344, 348–52, 368–69, 389–90, 406, 434, 439, 442, 462, 474–75, 554, 564, 593, 608, 651; corruption of the press, 213–14, 266–67, 270, 390, 474, 478, 651; and debt service, 352–53, 404, 650–52; embezzlement from, 359–60, 805, 808, 817; Gouverneur's accounts, 28, 34; government directors, 14–15, 728–30, 854; House investigations, 197, 199, 213–14, 266–67, 270, 351, 354, 370–72, 375–76, 379, 404–5, 410, 728–30; as “hydra” and “monster,” 98, 270, 371, 411, 434, 554, 729; Nashville branch, 75–76, 295, 333; note counterfeiting, 813, 826, 834; in Panic of 1819, 402–3, 410; president (*see* Biddle,

- Nicholas); recharter in Congress, 23, 309–10, 333–34, 364, 370–73, 409, 813; removal of deposits, 628; small notes, 368, 384, 404, 409–10; and state banks, 348, 350, 352–53, 365, 379, 384–85, 389, 399–401, 474; state taxation, 345, 350–51, 353, 366–67, 375–76, 383, 385–89, 391, 395, 399–403, 409–10; substitutes proposed, 351–52, 369, 371–72, 379, 382–83, 391, 402, 408–9, 593, 762–63, 853
- Bank Veto: **364–411**; favored, 15–16, 22, 70, 105, 139, 161, 188, 197, 213–14, 266–67, 269, 309–10, 330, 361; opposed, 15–16, 309–10; Cabinet on, 305; Smith's proposal, 309–10; AJ prepares, 16, 22–23, 98, 193, 270, 305, 313, 353–54, 363; Taney's draft, 333–53; supported and praised, 419–21, 437, 442, 451–53, 470, 474, 478, 486, 523–24, 531, 725, 826; denounced, 421–22, 557; AJ on effects, 411–12, 422, 424, 434, 439, 449–50, 453, 462, 466–68, 480, 504, 613; in 1832 elections, 269, 309, 348–49, 351, 420–21, 439, 442, 462, 466–68, 470, 474–75, 478, 486, 504, 548, 554, 564, 608, 725, 736, 838
- Banks, Linn, 771
- Baptist Indian missions, 787, 791
- Baptists and Baptism, 73, 171, 459, 485–86, 659, 787, 791
- Barbados consulate, 824, 826
- Barbour, Philip Pendleton, 188, 196, 281, 362, 444, 446, 462, 468, 481, 489–90, 504–5, 539–40, 591, 625
- Bard, Samuel, 771
- Bard, William, 713
- Baring, Alexander, 375, 379
- Baring Brothers & Co., 276, 379, 381, 409, 651, 738
- Barker, Jacob, 838
- Barker, James Nelson, 767, 823
- Barnard, Andrew Francis, 203, 205
- Barnard, Robert, 786
- Barnes, George, 826, 828
- Barnes, Mrs., 73
- Barnet, Charles, 849
- Barnet, Isaac Cox, 566–67, 849
- Barney, Joshua, 814, 818
- Baron van der Capellen* (Batavian ship), 836, 839
- Barringer, Daniel Laurens, 258, 284–85, 287, 814
- Barron, James, 492–93
- Barry, Catherine Armistead Mason, 463
- Barry, John Waller, 276, 318, 531–32
- Barry, Thomas, 833, 835
- Barry, William Taylor: **156–58**; in Eaton affair, 135; greetings and mentions, 60, 276, 462–63, 466, 531, 557, 738; Ky. lieut. gov., 748–49; postmaster general, 15–16, 19, 23, 25, 28, 33, 156–57, 804, 845; recommends, 771
- Bass, John Meredith, 468
- Bassett, George Washington, 91
- Bastille prison (Paris), 417–18
- Bates, Joshua, 276
- Bayard, James Asheton, 7, 9
- Bayard, Samuel John, 795
- Baylies, Francis, 834
- Beale, Robert, 148–49
- Beard, William C., 161–62
- Beardsley, Havilah, 768
- Beardsley, Levi, 88
- Beardsley, Samuel, 225
- Beatty, Francis G., 776
- Beaveau, Miss, 173
- Béchameil, Jean François Théodore, 847
- Beckes, Benjamin Vincennes, 814
- Behr, François-Jean Désiré, 777, 780, 797
- Belgium: independence struggle, 25, 144, 166, 198, 205, 247, 488–89, 528–29, 777; King (*see* Leopold I, King of the Belgians); U.S. relations, 770, 777, 780, 783–84, 797
- Bell, John Haywood, 799
- Bell, John (Miss.), 780
- Bell, John (Tenn.), 357
- Belt, Richard Grafton, 816
- Belton, Francis Smith, 533–34, 585
- Benac, Stephen (Potawatomi), 820
- Bennett, Caleb Prew, 591
- Bennett, Joseph, 849–50
- Benton, Jesse, 33, 37–38
- Benton, John F., 838–39

- Benton, Nathaniel Soley, 833, 841
 Benton, Thomas Hart, 33, 38, 168,
 170, 370, 409, 818
 Berezina, Battle of, 127–28
 Berkeley, William, 199
 Bernard, Simon, 610–11
 Berrien, John Macpherson: in Eaton
 affair, 18–20, 76; nullifier, 480–82,
 488, 680
 Berry, William, 766
 Berryhill, William McLean: 753–54
 Bertrand, Joseph, Jr. (Indian), 820
 Best, William Draper (Baron Wynford),
 195, 198
 Betton, Turbutt Rowles, 849
 Betty (Hermitage slave), 238, 241
 Bibb, Charles Scott, 547, 608–9
 Bibb, George Mortimer, 310, 810
 Biddle, Charles: 21–22; 164–65,
 185, 805
 Biddle, James, 821
 Biddle, Nicholas, 22, 310, 344–45,
 348–49, 353, 375, 379, 389,
 409–10, 442, 651, 728, 730
 Big Osages. *See* Osage Indians
 Big Sampson (Hermitage slave), 676–77
 Billing, William Wright, 150–51
 Bininger, Abraham & Son, 843, 853
 Binney, Amos, 424–25, 432–33
 Binney, Horace, 410, 425
 Binns, John, 14–15
 Biscoe, Henry Lawson, 183
 Black Hawk (Sac), 302–3, 440, 448,
 454–56, 468–70, 823, 826. *See also*
 Black Hawk War
 Black Hawk War: origins and progress,
 302–3, 440–42, 447–48, 454–56,
 468–70, 814, 821, 823, 825–26;
 cholera in, 440, 448, 469, 823,
 825–26; aftermath, 469–70, 828,
 847, 850; AJ on, 303, 467; in
 annual message, 655
 Blacks. *See* Free blacks *and* Slaves and
 slavery
 Blackson & Ford, 791
 Blair, Eliza Violet Gist, 169–70, 204–5,
 462
 Blair, Francis Preston: 258–60, 762–63;
 BUS message draftsman, 397–98,
 762–63; *Globe* editor, 170, 258–60,
 450, 459, 462, 477, 521, 535, 570,
 612, 662, 739, 841 (*see also* *Globe*,
The); greetings, 466, 480, 520; offi-
 cial publisher, 436; in Seminole con-
 troversy, 535; and Van Buren, 169–
 70, 204–5
 Blair, George, 795
 Blair, James, 810, 813
 Blair, John, 72–73
 Bland, Frances, 179
 Bland, Richard, 177, 179
 Bland, Theodorick, Jr., 177, 179
 Bland, Theodorick, Sr., 177, 179
 Blanding, Shubel, 57–58
 Bledsoe, Jesse, 748–49
 Bligh, John Duncan, 529, 532
 Bloodgood, Abraham, 756–57
 Board of Navy Commissioners. *See*
 Navy Commissioners, Board of
 Bocanegra, José María, 313, 315
 Boddie, Elijah, 513
 Bohlen, Bohl, 829
 Bohlen, John, 829
 Bolivar (horse) and progeny, 82–84,
 181–82, 217, 278, 280–81, 465,
 479, 501–2, 505–6, 677, 789, 829,
 833, 838
 Bolivia: in annual message, 639
 Bolles, Lucius, 787
 Bolton, William Compton. *See* Finch,
 William Bolton
 Bomford, George, 233, 235, 238
 Bonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon
 Bond, Joshua, 795
 Bonnets o' Blue (horse), 500–501, 506
 Bonsall, Benjamin Say, 771, 851
Book of Common Prayer, 194, 198
 Boon, Ratliff: 48–49, 629; 72–73, 798
 Boone, Daniel, 308
 Boone, Nathan, 308
Boston Statesman, 799
 Boswell, Hartwell, 778
 Boteler & Beck, 782
 Botsford, Joseph C., 853
 Boudinot, Elias (Cherokee), 290
 Bourne, George S., 826, 850
 Bowne, Walter, 509–10
 Boyd, Sarah Stokes Biddle, 164–65
 Boyer, Henry, 809
 Boyle, John, 815, 825

- Brackenridge, Henry Marie, 137, 357–58, 772, 774, 776, 778
- Braddock, Edward, 177, 179
- Bradford, Samuel Fisher: 134–35
- Brady, William, 831
- Braganza, House of, 529, 532
- Branch, John: AJ opponent, 18–20, 56, 76, 97; Navy secretary, 61–62, 360
- Brand, William, 38
- Brandon, Byrd, 140–41
- Brandywine* (steamboat), 251–52
- Brandywine* (U.S. frigate), 62
- Brant, Joshua Bosworth, 852
- Brasher, Thomas M., 813
- Bratton family (S.C.), 658–59
- Brazil: court ceremony, 765; U.S. relations, 320–21, 639, 825
- Breathitt, George: 557–59; AJ's scribe and secretary, 71, 364, 373, 453, 467, 487, 491, 493–94, 497–99, 502, 504, 514, 521, 543, 545, 552, 715, 833; AJ's traveling companion, 424, 428–29, 438, 442, 449–50, 453, 517, 520; Charleston mission, 557–61, 584–86; greetings and mentions, 294, 297, 412, 442–43, 446, 459, 463, 466–67, 471, 479, 482, 486–87, 498–99, 504, 506, 515, 536, 538, 727, 729, 750, 790
- Breathitt, John: 470–71; 462–64, 466, 468, 477, 486, 559, 848
- Bredin, John, 832
- Breese, Sidney, 855
- Bremen consulate, 786, 790, 794, 833, 844, 851
- Brent, Daniel: 227–28; acting secretary of state, 612, 824; consul, 567; and pardon cases, 227–28, 360, 815, 833; State Department clerk, 75, 180, 457, 488, 494–95, 620, 757, 769, 781
- Brent, Thomas Ludwell Lee, 814–15
- Brewster, Lawrence & Co., 174, 785
- Briggs, George Nixon, 227, 776
- Bright, Thomas Graves, 778
- Bristol, William, 775
- Britain (*see also* Northeast boundary dispute *and* West Indian Colonial Trade): in American Revolution, 160–61, 177, 179, 188, 193, 414–16; in annual message, 635–36, 640; colonial emancipation, 177, 179; disposition toward U.S., 23, 25, 106, 197, 199–204, 275–76; in European affairs, 141–42, 144, 166, 169–70, 195, 198, 201, 204–5, 247, 318–21, 417–19, 488, 528–29, 531–32; impressment issue, 58–59, 87, 89, 92, 106, 108, 141–45, 154–56, 166–67, 184, 199–201, 205, 636, 640; and Ireland, 195, 198; and Mexico, 67–69, 314, 484, 741, 747, 749; politics and internal affairs, 105–6, 109, 166, 195–200, 274–76, 306; Reform Bill, 25, 108, 110, 141, 143, 166, 195–96, 198–201, 274–76, 379, 381, 636; *Portsmouth* claim against, 562–63, 620, 840, 843; trade and regulations, 777, 796–97, 799; U.S. diplomat to, 184, 193, 198–99, 224, 231–32, 361–62, 808 (*see also* Randolph, John: seeks diplomatic post; Van Buren, Martin: minister to Britain)
- Brodie, Charles D., 769
- Brodnax, John Hunt: 34–35; 36
- Bronaugh, James Craine, 458–59
- Brooklyn, N.Y., navy yard, 813, 833, 854
- Brooks, Whitfield, 607–8
- Broom, Ann Crooke Barber, 359–60, 713, 817
- Broom, Charles Crooke, 359–60, 713–14, 817
- Broom, Mary Crooke, 359–60
- Brothertown Indians, 830
- Brougham, Henry Peter, 196, 199
- Brown, Alexander, 309–10, 729
- Brown, Edmund Francis: 150–51
- Brown, Ethan Allen, 765
- Brown, George, 309–10
- Brown, Jacob Jennings, 233, 235
- Brown, James (Chickasaw), 133, 211, 221, 605
- Brown, Jeremiah, 826, 828
- Brown, Jesse, 34–35
- Brown, John A., 728–29
- Brown, Mr. (Georgia), 476, 481
- Brown, Obadiah Bruen, 72–73

- Brown, Richard Campbell Sevier, 831
Brown, Thomas, 850
Brown, William, 774
Brown Brothers & Co., 765, 769
Bruffee, James B., 308
Bryce, James Gordon, 137, 358, 770–71, 807
Buchanan, Elizabeth Speer, 737–38
Buchanan, George Washington, 737–38
Buchanan, James: 274–76, 317–22, 528–32, 736–39; appointed minister to Russia, 81, 792; commercial and maritime negotiation, 81, 319–22, 528, 531, 736–38, 843; Randolph on, 175, 190, 192, 194; reports from Russia, 317–22, 528–32, 736–39; reports on England, 274–76; and Sacken affair, 612, 739; salary complaint, 319, 321, 530–31, 762
Buchanan, John, 626–27
Buchanan, Thomas McKean, 834
Buck, Charles Nicholas, 776
Buckner, Alexander, 72–73, 271–72, 776, 801
Buckner, Richard Aylett, 463
Buenos Aires: consulate, 772, 795, 836; relations with, 639, 834, 854
Buford, Napoleon Bonaparte, 848
Burch, Samuel, 416
Burd, George, 854
Burfoot, Thomas E., 781
Burford, David: 495, 495–96; 761–62
Burgoyne, John, 160–61, 177, 179
Burke, John R., 831
Burke, Mary Wheaton, 798
Burke, Thomas, 823, 845
Burlington County (N.J.) Association for Improving the Breed of Horses, 501–2, 833
Burnett, James (Potawatomi), 768, 820
Burnett, John (Indian), 793
Burnett, Nancy (Potawatomi), 820
Burr, Aaron, 104–5, 109, 674–75
Burrough, Marmaduke, 799
Burrows, Silas Enoch: 91, 91–92; 304–5, 780
Burwell, John, 802
Bush, Daniel B., 776
Bustamante, Anastasio: acting Mexican president, 49, 51, 66, 95, 99–100, 313–15, 483–85; civil war general, 456, 458, 483–85, 518–20, 545
Butler, Anthony: 4–9, 98–100, 116–17, 123–25, 131–33, 151–52, 242–43, 313–15, 426–28, 456–58, 483–85, 490–91, 518–20, 521–23, 544–45, 657–58, 739–41, 746–49; compensation and rank, 6–9, 152, 739–41; couriers and communications, 67, 69, 74–75, 123, 125, 314, 426–27, 782, 811, 826, 839; health and leave requests, 78, 94, 98–100, 116–17, 126, 132–33, 242, 313, 427; in Ky. politics and War of 1812, 747–49; on Mexican boundary, 4–6, 9, 120, 123–25, 152, 242, 314; on Mexican civil war, 94, 99, 116–17, 131–32, 313, 426, 456–58, 483–85, 518–23; Mexican commercial treaty, 4, 9, 69, 75, 120, 123, 125, 242, 491, 746–47, 749; relations with Alamán, 100, 314, 426, 457, 490, 519, 521–23, 657; Texas negotiation, 5–6, 9, 99–100, 116–17, 120, 124–25, 131–32, 151–52, 242, 313–14, 426–28, 456–57, 484–85, 490, 519, 544, 658, 739–40
Butler, Benjamin Franklin, 623–24, 713–14
Butler, Elizur, 151, 713–14
Butler, Martha Thompson Hays, 76, 434, 479
Butler, Richard, 775
Butler, Robert, 809
Butler, Thomas, 823
Butler, William Edward, 75–76, 311, 434, 479
Byars, William, 458–59
Bynum, John A., 602, 606
Byron, George Gordon (Lord Byron), 169–70, 204–5
Byron (Hermitage slave), 230, 251, 304, 311, 438, 536–37, 561, 752, 842
Cabinet, presidential (*see also names of individual secretaries*): and annual

- message, 613, 633; and BUS, 305;
and Carroll obsequies, 568–69;
criticized, 15–16, 157, 161;
Department expense reports, 810–
11, 813, 815, 817–18, 820–21,
824, 835; dissolution of First,
18–20, 33, 55, 98, 111, 115, 134–
35, 250–51, 513, 515–16; and
Dutch jewels case, 26; greetings to,
321, 449–50, 460, 463, 480, 498–
99, 520, 531, 738; meeting, 778;
and Mexico, 8, 75; Monroe's, 16,
52–54, 129–31, 233, 287, 324–26;
and Northeast boundary, 207, 268,
322; personnel changes, 504–5,
591, 593–94, 613–14, 623–24, 674;
and Russia, 320–22
- Cabot, Joseph Sebastian, 855
- Caesar, Julius, 3–4
- Cage, Harry, 504–5
- Calderón, José María, 67, 69, 125–26,
314–15, 427
- Caldwell, James, 433
- Calhoun, John Caldwell: 287–88, 292–
93; AJ assails, 32–33, 37, 55–56,
76, 85, 92, 97, 125, 152, 225, 250,
281, 422, 589; and Boston politics,
799; Clay alliance, 15, 37, 59, 76,
92, 97, 121–22, 125, 139, 152,
161, 171, 174, 225, 250, 281, 362,
422, 442, 486, 674; in Eaton affair
and Cabinet breakup, 76, 250–51;
and 1824 election, 105, 109, 233–
35; and Indian removal, 97, 225;
nullifier, 15–16, 121, 123, 139, 281,
422, 444, 476–77, 480–81, 499,
533, 553, 560, 585, 607–8, 622,
625–28, 659, 751; Randolph on,
15–16, 139–40, 161, 174, 176,
188, 192, 197, 362, 659, 674, 793;
resigns vice-presidency, 627–28,
674; in Seminole controversy,
52–54, 77–78, 128–31, 232–38,
254–55, 272–74, 287–88, 292–93,
324–30, 492, 535; and Van Buren
rejection, 32–33, 37, 55–56, 76, 85,
92–93, 97, 102, 125, 139, 174,
188, 607
- Call, Richard Keith, 218–19, 791, 793
- Callaghan, Charles, 812–13
- Calthorpe, George Gough- (Baron
Calthorpe), 195, 198
- Camacho, Sebastián, 315
- Cambreleng, Churchill Caldom, 247,
267, 551, 591, 613, 756–57,
783, 811
- Camden, S.C.: Hamilton dinner, 187–
88; politics, 855
- Cameron, John Adams: 49–51, 66–69,
78, 93–95, 125–27; 152, 242,
314, 426
- Camp Armistead (Tenn.), 534
- Campau, François Edouard (Chippewa),
820
- Campbell, Allan Ditchfield: 270–71
- Campbell, Anthony, 806, 821
- Campbell, Argyle, 839, 846
- Campbell, Captain (British officer), 415
- Campbell, Elisha S., 744, 839
- Campbell, George Washington, 438,
445–46
- Campbell, John (Indian subagent), 171
- Campbell, John (U.S. Treasurer): 84–85;
160, 290, 361–62, 779, 823, 846
- Campbell, John Wilson, 810
- Campbell, Nancy White Bakewell,
270–71
- Campbell, Thomas, 234–35
- Campbell, William (Ill.), 814, 821
- Campbell, William (Md.), 270–71
- Camp King (Fla.), 51–52
- Cañedo, Juan de Dios, 68–69
- Canning, George, 142–44
- Cannon, Elias Brevoort, 501–2, 833
- Cantonment Brooke (Fla.), 51–52
- Cantonment Gibson (Okla.). *See* Fort
Gibson
- Capitol building, U.S.: sculptures,
158–59, 833, 851
- Carbery, Thomas, 789, 791, 824
- Carleton, Henry, 790
- Carlos, Don, of Spain, 529, 532
- Carlton, Thomas, 445–46
- Carmichael, Edward H., 91
- Carpenter, Elizabeth Dunn, 183
- Carr, John, 72–73
- Carr, Mary Elizabeth Polk, 307–8
- Carr, Samuel John, 307–8, 811

- Carriel, John Douglas: 503–4; 833
- Carrington, Edward Codrington, 157
- Carrington, Eliza Henry Preston, 157
- Carroll, Charles, 568–69, 841
- Carroll, Thomas King, 786
- Carroll, William: 95, 101–3, 463–65, 631–32, 733–35; 21–22, 277; Indian appointment, 448, 463–65, 828; land grant, 852; recommends, 735, 852
- Carskaden, Thomas, 771
- Carson, William, 771
- Carusi family, 219
- Carvalho Paes de Andrade, Manuel de, 825
- Cass, Elizabeth Selden, 467
- Cass, Lewis: 36, 89–90, 289, 467, 540–42, 542, 546, 714–15, 730–31, 760
daughter's death: 467
Michigan governor: 185
and Van Buren: 169
secretary of war: absence, 303, 441, 811, 822, 841; annual message draftsman, 633, 655–57; annual report, 655–56, 713–14, 844; and Black Hawk War, 303, 440–41, 447–48, 467, 470, 825–26, 828, 847–48; and Charleston defenses, 497–98, 506, 534, 546, 584, 630–31, 730–31, 851; and Cherokees, 10, 13, 147, 289, 414, 464, 656–57, 806; and Chickasaws, 89, 554, 606, 618, 624, 717, 760; and Choctaws, 89, 771–72; commissary, quartermaster, & paymaster appointments, 819, 852–53; contract fraud investigation, 565, 714–15; and Creeks, 34–36, 98, 525, 527–28, 776, 788, 856; engineer assignments and postings, 776, 823, 839; Florida troop deployment, 52; and Fort Delaware, 772; Hendricks and Lumpkin letters, 818; Indian agent appointments, 768, 807, 816, 818; and Indian annuities, 34–36, 147, 771, 788; and Indian commissioner appointments, 464, 819, 821–22, 830, 846; and Indian education, 448; and Indian locations in West, 89, 147, 776, 779; and Indian medals, 289; on Indian removal, 10, 13, 147, 414, 781–82, 788; and internal improvement surveys, 779–80, 839; and lead mine licenses, 802–3, 843; miscellaneous reports, 766, 768, 772–73, 779, 837; officer appointments and promotions, 787, 789, 811, 818, 821, 846; officer court-martials, 255–56, 540–42, 798, 806–7, 838; officer reinstatements, 794, 851, 853; officer resignations, 812; ordinance appointments, 238, 542, 785, 800, 814; and Osages, 65; and Potomac improvements, 854; ranger appointments, 308; and salt lease investigation, 134; submits Indian treaties, 768, 787, 792, 848; surgeon appointments, 782, 785, 816, 819; sutler appointments, 162, 753–54, 781; and West Point cadet appointments, 225, 781, 816; and West Point military academy, 817, 838
- Cassaro, Prince of (Antonio Statella), 297
- Castle Pinckney (S.C.), 534, 546, 558, 583–84, 610–11, 630, 727
- Catilina, Lucius Sergius (Catiline), 59–60, 607–8
- Caton, Mary Carroll, 785
- Causin, Nathaniel P., 424
- Censor, El* (Vera Cruz, Mexico), 69
- Census, U.S., 310, 373, 402, 408, 481, 505
- Central America: chargé to, 80, 638, 640, 773, 829, 833, 855; relations with, 320–21, 638

- Central Hickory Club (D.C.), 846
 Chambers, Benjamin Stuart, 845, 847
 Chambers, Ezekiel Forman, 782
 Chandler, Edward, 807
 Chandler, William, 787
 Chandonai, Jean B. (Indian), 828
 Chapin, Stephen, 797
 Chaplains. *See* Navy: chaplains
 Chapman, Nathaniel, 550
 Charles Frederick of Baden, 788, 810
 Charles (slave), 248, 677
 Charleston, S.C.: custom house (*see* Pringle, James Reid); in nullification controversy, 497–98, 506, 533–34, 546, 558–61, 571–73, 583–87, 609–11, 616–18, 621, 630–31
 Charlestown, Mass., dry dock, 487
 Charles X, King of France, 178, 622
 Charles XII, King of Sweden, 127–28
 Charlotte of Prussia. *See* Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia
 Chase, Dudley, 837
 Chatalie, Mary (Potawatomi), 820
 Chatham, Earl of (William Pitt), 195–96, 198
 Cherokee Indians, Eastern: **145–47**; AJ pursues removal, 10, 13, 147, 151–52, 187, 226–27, 316–17, 413–14, 618, 656–57; in annual message, 656–57; annuities, 13, 146–47; gold lands, 13, 806; missions, 787; removal by individual enrollment, 10–11, 13, 146–47, 765; resist removal, 10, 269, 289–90, 413–14; and Supreme Court, 10, 12–13, 151–52, 179, 226–27, 254, 290, 523, 570, 578; *vs.* Georgia, 10–13, 20, 151, 226–27, 254, 316–17, 412–14, 476–77, 713–14; Washington delegation, 792; and Western Cherokees, 145–47
 Cherokee Indians, Western: **172**; agent complaint, 172; annuities, 13, 146–47; and Eastern Cherokees, 11–13, 145–47; Jolly medal, 289; and Osages, 63–65
Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 10, 151
 Chester, Elisha W., 414
 Chester, Elizabeth Hays, 434, 511
 Chester, Robert Johnstone: **434**; 510–12, 537
 Chickasaw Indians: **117–20, 595–605, 606**
 agent (*see* Reynolds, Benjamin Franklin)
 AJ pursues removal: 250, 461, 548
 Alabama jurisdiction over: 141, 798
 and Choctaws: 19, 89, 97–98, 118–19, 461
 private reserves: 780
 and salt springs lease: 133–34, 211–12, 221, 600, 603, 605, 783–84
 slaves and slavery (*see* Donnelly)
 subagent (*see* Allen, John L.)
 Treaty of Franklin (1830): 19, 89, 118–20, 133–34, 212, 221, 554, 596–97, 599–601, 603, 605, 784
 Treaty of Pontotoc Creek (1832): AJ approves, 554, 723–24; Chickasaws protest, 555, 595–606, 723, 743; Coffee defends, 624, 715–17; in Senate, 605–6, 723–24; terms, 119, 554–55
 Childress, George Campbell, 836
 Childs, Lieutenant, 792
 Chile: American in, 781; treaty with, 639, 810, 848
 Chilton, Thomas, 163–64
 Chipman, Henry, 185
 Chippewa Indians, 749, 820
 Chlopicki, Joseph, 175, 179
 Choctaw Indians, Eastern: **188–89**;
 AJ accused of defrauding, 503–4; annuities, 188–89; and Chickasaws, 19, 89, 97, 117–19, 461; gunsmith, 795; lament removal, 97–98; mission schools, 188–89; private treaty reserves, 118–19, 188–89, 771–72; removal, 189, 253–54, 496–97, 798, 807, 831; Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830), 89, 119, 189, 254, 771–72

- Choctaw Indians, Western: agent
(*see* Armstrong, Francis Wells);
and Osages, 63
- Cholera: AJ on, 312, 423, 438, 476,
479, 500, 504–6, 536, 544, 619;
in annual message, 634; in Black
Hawk War, 440, 448, 469, 823,
825–26; in Canada, 312–13; in
Europe, 154–55, 169, 175, 243,
247, 563, 776; prayer and fast day
proclamations, 300–302, 354–57,
445–46; in U.S., 312–13, 421, 423–
24, 438, 445, 447–48, 474–75, 478,
508, 525, 544, 565–66, 583–84,
632, 725–26, 734, 828, 830, 832
- Chouteau, Auguste Pierre, 63–65
- Chouteau, Paul Liguist, 64–65
- Church, Frederick S., 812
- Church/State separation, 300–302,
354–57
- Churchwell, George W., 452
- Cicott, John B. (Indian), 820
- Cissell, Julianna, 853–54
- Citadel, the (Charleston, S.C.), 533–34
- Citizen (horse) and progeny, 32–33,
76, 217, 241, 264, 278, 333, 465,
676, 851
- Clagett, Darius & Co., 826
- Claiborne, John, 843–44
- Claiborne, Nathaniel Herbert, 789
- Claiborne, Thomas, 512–13, 843–44
- Clark, Edwin T.: 182–83
- Clark, Isaac, 789
- Clark, James, 798
- Clark, James William, 798
- Clark, Joel, 808
- Clark, John, 808
- Clark, Marston Green, 816
- Clark, Satterlee, 779, 781
- Clark, William, 65, 303
- Clarke, Edward W., 846
- Clarke, John, 811–12, 824
- Clarke, Matthew St. Clair, 757
- Clay, Clement Comer: 133–34; 163,
210–11, 783
- Clay, Henry: Adams secretary of state,
115, 142, 145, 153, 155; AJ assails,
37, 55, 76, 92, 97, 125, 250, 281,
422; “American system,” 614; on
BUS, 310, 365, 370; cholera fast
day resolution, 354, 357; Ghent
commissioner, 9; and Indian
removal, 97, 179, 225–26; opposes
Van Buren, 37, 55–56, 76, 92, 97,
104, 122, 125, 174; political foe,
16, 83, 105, 109, 121–22, 139,
152, 161, 171, 176, 197, 234, 273,
486, 607, 674–75, 748; presidential
candidate, 17, 19, 59, 164, 421,
442, 464, 467–68, 474, 479, 486,
504–5, 514, 517, 521, 531, 563,
591, 607, 609, 629, 631; on
tariff, 263
- Clay, John Randolph, 81, 175, 192,
194, 197, 199, 276, 318–19, 321,
736–38
- Clayton, Alexander Mosby, 547, 609,
836–37, 846, 848
- Clayton, Augustin Smith, 199, 266,
476–77, 481–82, 680
- Clayton, Mary Walker Thomas, 547
- Clement, Samuel E., 97–98
- Clements, _____, 786
- Clerks, government: applications,
appointments, and staffing, 148–49,
212–13, 248–49, 460, 494–95, 782,
797, 808–9, 813, 825, 835, 846–47
(*see also under individual
departments*)
- Clermont (Osage), 63, 65
- Clinton, Charles Alexander, 566–67,
589, 591, 853
- Clinton, De Witt, 105, 109, 179–80,
508, 510, 566–67, 589–91
- Clinton, De Witt, Jr., 815
- Clinton, Henry, 416
- Clinton, Miss., land office. *See* Mount
Salus, Miss., land office
- Clopton, Abner Wentworth, 659
- “Coalition,” 15–16, 97, 121, 125, 127,
143, 174, 273, 281, 305, 362, 422,
442, 578
- Cobb, Alfred, 781
- Cobb, Nathan, 781
- Cobb, Thomas Willis, 233, 235
- Cobbett, William, 197, 199
- Coburn, John, 843
- Cochin China, 775
- Cocker, Edward, 138–39
- Cocker’s Arithmetick*, 139

- Coddington, Jonathan Inslee, 507, 509–10
- Coffee, Andrew Jackson, 548
- Coffee, John: 37–38, 55–56, 79–80, 96–98, 120–23, 159–60, 163–64, 187, 210–12, 220–23, 225–27, 422–23, 460–61, 548, 554–55, 618–19, 624–25, 715–17, 723–24, 731; in Alabama politics, 38, 55–56, 120–23, 477, 481, 625; Chickasaw negotiator, 19, 89, 97, 118–19, 212, 226, 461, 548, 554–55, 595–606, 618, 624, 676, 715–17, 723, 760; Choctaw negotiator, 19, 89, 461; Creek cession surveyor, 187, 226, 624–25, 723–24; Hermitage agent, 832; and Hutchings, 38, 79–80, 96–97, 159–60, 187, 724; political confidant, 37–38, 55–56, 97–98, 120–23, 160, 225–26, 422–23, 460–61, 625, 723–24, 773; recommends, 846; and salt springs lease, 133–34, 163–64, 210–12, 220–23
- Coffee, John (Ga.), 12, 14
- Coffee, John Donelson: 471
- Coffee, Mary Donelson (1793–1871), 38, 98, 160, 163, 211, 221, 461, 548, 625, 724, 852
- Coffee, Mary Donelson (1812–1839), 97–98, 461, 548, 554, 618–19, 625, 723, 731, 852, 854
- Coffin, John, 416
- “Coffin handbill,” 15
- Cogswell, Pearson, 772, 774, 793
- Colbert, Alexander (Chickasaw), 600, 602, 605–6
- Colbert, Dougherty Winchester (Chickasaw), 602, 606
- Colbert, George (Chickasaw), 602–4, 606, 716, 723
- Colbert, Levi (Chickasaw): 117–20, 595–605; 97–98, 461, 555, 606, 716, 724, 743; and salt springs lease, 133, 211–12, 221, 600, 605
- Colbert, Pitman (Chickasaw), 596–97, 600, 603–6, 716–17
- Colbert, Susan (Chickasaw), 780
- Colbert’s Island, 596, 603
- Colcock, Charles Jones, 607–8
- Colden, Cadwallader David, 813
- Cole, Mathew M., 841
- Coleman, Littleton H., 438
- Collinsworth, James, 163–64, 210
- Colombia: relations with, 7, 320–21, 638, 748–49, 751, 767, 769, 790, 807
- Colonization of free blacks, 831
- Colt, Roswell Lyman, 309–10
- Colton, Walter, 136–37
- Columbia, District of: magistracy, 782–83, 785, 841; penitentiary, 544, 774–75, 785–87, 789, 791
- Columbian College, 659
- Conard, John, 783
- Concord* (U.S. Navy sloop), 176, 179, 192, 360, 362, 821
- Condict, Lewis, 258, 283
- Condy, Thomas Doughty, 673, 844, 850–51
- Connecticut: politics in, 185, 437, 563, 775
- Conrad, John, 767
- Constellation* (U.S. frigate), 62
- Constitutional amendment proposals: BUS, 372–73, 378; electoral college reform, 643; internal improvements, 378–79, 439, 633, 654–55, 665–66; tariff on imports, 633
- Constitution (horse) and progeny, 82, 465–66
- Consuls: accounts and compensation, 69, 319, 810, 850; applications and recommendations, 434, 591, 765–66, 768–72, 786, 790, 794–95, 805, 807, 809–10, 812, 814, 824–29, 833, 836, 838, 841, 843–45, 847, 849, 851, 853; appointments, 308, 460, 563, 567, 765, 770–71, 789, 791, 802, 804, 810–12, 814–15, 817–18, 820, 822, 830, 841, 843, 847; controversies, complaints, and removals from office, 307–8, 562–63, 566–67, 841, 844, 847, 849; functions and duties, 781, 792, 804, 806, 815, 818, 823. *See also* Cameron, John Adams
- Contee, John, 813
- Conway, James Sevier, 311, 815, 834
- Conwell, Henry, 804

- Coodey, William Shorey (Cherokee), 290
- Coody, William, 812–13
- Cook, Henry, 598–99, 605
- Coolidge, Cornelius, 785–87
- Cooper, Benjamin, 100–101
- Cooper, Benjamin B.: 82–84, 181–82, 501–2; 505–6, 789, 829, 838
- Cooper, Dr., 792
- Cooper, James Fenimore: 158–59; 418, 567, 787
- Cooper, Thomas, 89
- Cooper, William, 598–99, 605
- Cornwallis, Charles, 186
- “Corrupt bargain,” 16
- Cos, Martín Perfecto de, 67, 69
- Cotten, Henry, 77
- Cotten mare (horse) and progeny, 75, 77, 465
- Cotton: AJ’s crop, 37, 71–72, 162, 215–17, 238, 271–72, 282, 295, 331, 333, 363, 462, 465, 510, 536, 564, 676–77, 726, 745, 752, 766, 786, 815; production and marketing, 79, 547, 553
- Cotton, John Brown, 32–33
- Count de Leon. *See* Müller, Bernhard
- Counterfeiting, 368, 801, 813, 822, 826, 834
- Courier and Enquirer*. *See* New York *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*
- Cowardin, Collin Manly, 833
- Cowell, Benjamin, 806
- Cowes, England, consulate, 360, 362, 804, 806, 815, 818
- Cowper, William, 191, 193, 447
- Coxe, Charles Davenport, 810
- Coxe, Richard S., 829
- Crabb, Elizabeth Duane, 557
- Crabb, Henry Selden: 556–57
- Craig, Hector, 589–91
- Craig, John D., 148, 212–13
- Crane, Isaac Watts, 780, 802
- Crane, William Montgomery, 786
- Crary, Mary, 787
- Crawford, Andrew Jackson, 477, 481–82
- Crawford, James, Jr., 80, 477, 744
- Crawford, James Williams: 718–20
- Crawford, William (Ala.), 140–41
- Crawford, William (Md.), 819
- Crawford, William Harris: and BUS, 410; and nullification, 481–82; and Seminole controversy, 53, 128–29, 131, 233, 235, 327
- Crawford, William White: 743–44; 79–80, 96, 477, 676–77
- Crawford family (S.C.), 658
- Creath, Albert Gallatin, 300, 775
- Creek Indians, Eastern: agent (*see* Crowell, John); Alabama jurisdiction over, 141, 526–27; annuities, 34–36, 526–27, 788; claim against, 826; intruders among, 526–28, 835; removal applauded, 253; removal implemented and resisted, 290, 525–28, 807, 835; Treaty of Washington (1832), 97–98, 187, 225–26, 250, 253, 290, 525–28, 792, 796; treaty reservations, 225–26, 527, 801, 856
- Creek Indians, Western: boundary, 776; and Osages, 63–65; schools, 791
- Croghan, George, 748–49
- Cronise, Henry, 819
- Cross, Henry L., 767
- Crossman, Benjamin Pratt, 812
- Croswell, Edwin, 482, 594, 624
- Crowell, John, 34–36, 98, 525–27, 835
- Crusader (horse), 32–33, 278, 280, 333, 458, 465
- Cruse, Harris B., 786
- Crutcher, George B., 66
- Crutcher, Thomas, 461–63
- Crutchfield, Peter Tinsley, 839
- Cryer, Elizabeth L. Rice, 32–33
- Cryer, Hardy Murfree: 32–33; 77, 84, 280, 282, 500, 506
- Cryer, Rachel Jackson, 32–33
- Crysler’s Farm, Battle of, 157
- Cuba, 177–78. *See also* Santiago de Cuba consulate
- Cullen, Joseph, 814
- Cumberland Road: superintendent appointments and controversies, 778, 791–93, 795, 798, 802–3, 809–10, 812, 815, 817, 856
- Cummins, Richard Waller, 171
- Cunningham, Robert, 732–33

- Currier, Jacob M., 826
Currin, Robert P.: 221–22, 222–23;
133–34, 163–64, 210–12, 220–23,
600, 603, 605
Cushman, Samuel: 70
Customs and revenue: Dutch jewels
case, 26–27, 214–15, 767, 769,
827–28; enforcement *vs.* nullifica-
tion, 533–34, 557–61, 570–85,
589, 610, 649, 685–86, 727; officer
appointments, 145, 270–71, 507–
10, 589–91, 613, 674, 784, 795,
797–98, 808–9, 812, 816–17, 850–
51, 855; officer complaints and
removals, 266–67, 585, 587. *See*
also Tariff on imports
Cutts, Walter Coles, 830, 854

Dade, Lawrence Taliaferro, 771
Dade, William Ashton Gibbons, 840
Dake, Arnold Benedict, Jr., 817
Dalberg, Karl Theodor von, 246–47
Dallas, George Mifflin: 661–62; 23,
233–35, 442, 768–69, 783
D’Ambrugeac, Countess (Constance-
Thérèse de Vimeur), 306–7, 789
Dameron, George B., 66, 780
Dancing Rabbit Creek, Treaty of
(1830). *See under* Choctaw Indians,
Eastern
Danforth, Joshua, 258, 284–85
Danforth, Joshua Noble: 257–58;
283–87
Daniel, Beverly, 796
Daniel, Peter Vivian, 770
Darlington, Edward, 739
Darnes, Thomas, 445–46
Darst, Thomas J., 206, 218, 793
Dartmouth College v. Woodward, 339–
40, 353
Dashiell, Thomas Bennett, 330–31, 361
Davenport, George, 785
Davenport, Marmaduke S., 818
Davenport, Thomas, 844
Davezac, Auguste Genevieve Valentin,
488–89
Davidge, Francis Hathorn, 568
Davidge, John Beale, 308
Davis, Augustine, 156–57
Davis, Charles W., 841
Davis, Eli Simpson: 57–58, 607–8; 774
Davis, John, 819
Davis, Sarah, 804
Dawson, Moses: 420–21
Day, Alexander Hamilton, 806
Day & Hubbell, 828
Dayne, J., 768
Dayton, Aaron Ogden, 794
Death penalty, federal, 335–36, 353
Debt, imprisonment for, 748–49
Decatur, John Pine, 754
Decatur, Susan Wheeler, 779
Decembrist uprising, 532
Decker & Dyer, 832
Declaration of Independence, 376, 389,
442, 568–69, 694
Deffaudis, Antoine-Louis, 657–58
DeForest & Son, 795
De Krafft, Edward: 150–51
Delaplaine, John Ferris, 775, 787
Delaware: politics in, 563, 591, 594
Delaware breakwater, 766, 780
Delaware Indians, 63, 171
“Democracy” and Democratic party,
70, 87, 104, 173, 462, 478, 485,
507, 516, 540, 554, 587–90, 608,
614, 662, 718–20
Democratic Press (Philadelphia), 15
Democratic Republicans. *See* New York
City: Tammany Hall
Demosthenes, 409
Denham, Zebulon Warner, 304
Denmark claims convention, 624, 637,
808–9
DePauw, John, 769
Dermott, John J., 782–83, 785
DeRome, Charles H., 803
DeSaternand, A., 768
Desha, Robert, 721, 760–62
Desnoyers, Peter, 800, 830
Detray, William R., 819
De Witt, Charles Gerrit: 80; 855
Dezong, Dirk Ary, 829, 832
Dick, William (Indian), 830
Dickins, Asbury, 790–91, 823, 839
Dick (slave), 677
Dickson, William, 104, 109
Dietz, Louis, 843, 849–50
Diller, Adam: 759–60
Dillingham, Charles, 540

- Dinsmoor, Samuel, 782
Diogenes, 196, 199
Diomed (horse) and progeny, 83–84
Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States compilation, 96, 436, 460, 494–95
Dismukes, John Thompson, 510–11, 536
Disney, David Tiernan, 720
Distribution of surplus revenue, 592, 594, 665–66
Dix, John Adams, 713–14, 756–57, 809
Doak's Stand, Treaty of (Choctaw, 1820), 189
Dodds, E., 825
Dodge, Henry, 454–56, 467, 814, 826
Dodge, Joshua, 847, 849
Dodson, Isaac Jefferson, 170–71
Dogs: AJ on, 252
Donaldson, John Johnston: 568, 568–69
Donelson family connections, xxxiv–xxxv
Donelson, Alexander, 72, 75–76, 149, 216, 277, 291, 311, 313, 676, 778
Donelson, Andrew Jackson: 449, 458–59, 459–60, 465–67, 472–75, 479–81, 500–501, 505–6, 507, 517, 520–21; AJ's aide, agent, and messenger, 66, 77, 96, 181, 288, 292, 439, 491, 493, 506, 661, 757, 766, 769, 777–78, 781, 803, 806–7, 823–24, 841, 851, 856; AJ's scribe and secretary, 3, 26, 31, 48, 57, 73, 77, 115, 120, 129, 152, 180, 184–85, 213, 232, 235, 249, 258, 283, 287–88, 298, 300–301, 315, 317, 354–56, 362, 542, 546, 559, 569, 631; and appointments, 780, 785–87, 789–90, 794–95, 799–800, 853; checks to and by, 218–19, 789, 792, 799, 820, 824, 826–27, 829, 831–34, 848, 854; children, 449, 459–60, 466, 479, 500, 507, 517, 520, 538 (*see also* Donelson, Andrew Jackson (1826–1859); Donelson, John Samuel; Donelson, Mary Rachel); in Eaton affair, 55–56; family correspondent, 445, 561, 564, 830; farm and overseer, 282, 332, 458–59, 465–66, 479–81; greetings to and from, 25, 38, 249, 254, 265, 281, 290, 323, 412, 428–29, 462, 536, 538, 594, 738, 750; health, 479, 505, 538–39, 551; horse dealings, 32, 181, 239, 256, 264, 271, 277–78, 280, 295, 438, 449, 458, 465–66, 479, 500–501, 505–6, 536, 830, 851; and Hutchings, 38; message draftsman and copyist, 364, 409–11, 633–34, 643–49, 651–55, 675, 680; parental and family relations, 26, 219, 241, 277–79, 423, 449, 852; on politics, 773; and River and harbor improvements bill, 439, 472–75, 478–79, 504; slave dealings, 219, 241, 449, 465–66; and William Alexander, 218–19, 278, 459, 480, 820, 830
Donelson, Andrew Jackson (1815–1861), 729
Donelson, Andrew Jackson (1826–1859), 449, 466–67, 475. *See also* Donelson, Andrew Jackson: children
Donelson, Daniel Smith, 56
Donelson, Elizabeth Anderson, 76–77, 218
Donelson, Elizabeth Rucker, 25, 475–76
Donelson, Eliza Whyte, 323
Donelson, Emily Tennessee: checks to and for, 218, 838; and Eaton affair, 55–56; greetings to and from, 25–26, 38, 249, 254, 265, 281, 307, 323, 412, 418, 428–29, 438, 449, 459–60, 462, 465–66, 479, 507, 517, 520, 536, 538, 551, 594, 713, 738, 750; health, 281, 296, 423, 449, 458, 475, 479, 500, 551, 614, 619, 623; and Mary Coffee, 618, 852; mentioned, 231, 312–13, 323; parent, 219, 241, 277–79, 296 (*see also* Donelson, Andrew Jackson: children)
Donelson, Emma Yorke Farquhar: courtship and marriage, 174, 296–97, 312, 412, 429, 475–76, 505, 507, 676, 752; greetings to and from, 248, 251–52, 257, 264–65, 272, 279–81, 294, 297, 323, 333,

- 411–12, 428–29, 443, 453, 466,
510–12, 515, 536, 538–39, 549,
729; travels to Tennessee, 174, 230–
31, 264, 277, 279, 323
- Donelson, John (1755–1830), 72, 77,
171
- Donelson, John (1787–1840): 170–71;
277, 311, 538, 588, 676–77, 735–
36, 752–53, 848
- Donelson, John (1807–1879), 75–76,
277, 279, 291, 536, 538–39, 676–
77, 729, 752–53
- Donelson, John, Jr. *See* Donelson, John
(1787–1840)
- Donelson, John Samuel, 278–79, 281,
296, 423. *See also* Donelson,
Andrew Jackson: children
- Donelson, Lemuel, 323
- Donelson, Lucinda Rucker, 72, 149
- Donelson, Mary Purnell, 76–77,
230–31, 312–13, 323, 465–66,
506–7
- Donelson, Mary Rachel: 241; 219, 475.
See also Donelson, Andrew Jackson:
children
- Donelson, Rachel (1803–1824), 72
- Donelson, Samuel Rucker: education,
550, 729, 840; land sale, 71–72,
75–76, 149, 215–16, 277, 291,
311, 313, 428, 778, 824
- Donelson, Severn (1773–1818), 25,
475–76
- Donelson, Stockley, 75–77, 216, 264,
278, 311, 459, 465–66, 500, 561,
676, 786
- Donelson, Thomas Jefferson: and AJ's
farm, 75–76, 282, 438; courtship
and marriage, 174, 475–76, 505,
507, 676; greetings to and from,
264, 272, 277, 279, 295, 333, 443,
459, 466, 511–12, 515, 536, 538–
39, 549, 729, 752; job for, 311
- Donelson, William (1758–1820), 729
- Donelson, William (1795–1864):
75–77; and AJ's land purchases,
71–72, 75–76, 149, 216, 218, 291,
428, 778, 792, 823–24; and AJ
Donelson's farm, 332, 459, 465–66,
479–80
- Don Juan* (steamboat), 241
- Donnelly (slave), 140–41, 227–28, 785,
798
- Dorr, Joseph, 836
- Dos Amigos* (Spanish brig), 800, 810
- Doty, James Duane, 184–85
- Dougherty, Hanibal, 816
- Doughten, William, 82–84
- Douglas, Peter, 847
- Douglas, Thomas, 800
- Douglass, George L., 798
- Douglass, William, 798
- Dove, Marmaduke, 849, 855
- Downing, Joseph, 840–43
- Downs, George, 35–36, 52
- Dowson, Alfred R., 210, 793
- Drayer, Barend, 828–30, 839
- Drayton, William, 533–34, 559–60,
611, 622, 678–79
- Drennen, John, 778, 840
- Drew, John (Cherokee), 289
- Dry Tortugas (Fla.), 617–18
- Duane, William, 557, 614
- Duane, William John, 505, 614, 623–24
- Dudley, Charles Edward, 58, 107, 613,
842
- Dudley, Thomas E., 795
- Duels and dueling, 16, 38, 96, 662,
774, 806
- Duer, John, 22–23
- Duncan, Joseph, 785
- Duncan, Joseph Moulder, 494–95
- Dunlap, Richard Gilliam, 831
- Dunlop, James, 774, 789
- Dunn, Gideon, 183
- Dunn, Williamson, 818
- Dunwoody (Hermitage slave), 230, 238,
241, 251, 479–80, 500, 506
- Dupuy, Charles Meredith, 836
- Durham, Baron (John George
Lambton), 529, 532
- Duryee, Charles H., 662
- Duryee, Richard, 662
- Dutch jewels case, 26–27, 214–15, 765,
767, 769, 827–28
- Duval, William Pope, 769, 773, 843
- Dwyer, Thomas O., 779, 785
- Dyer, Nichols, 853
- Eakin, Constant Mathieu, 769
- Eakin, James, 824

- Earl, Ralph Eleazar Whitesides: AJ's aide and agent, 131, 442, 449, 521, 537, 539–40; checks to, 219, 799, 826; greetings to and from, 25–26, 38, 254, 265, 281, 294, 297, 412, 428–29, 438, 449, 460, 462, 479, 501, 506, 517, 520, 536, 538, 594, 607, 727, 729, 750; travels, 248, 252, 539
- Eastin, Elizabeth Donelson, 323, 619, 735
- Eastin, John Donelson, 619
- Eastin, Mary Ann. *See* Polk, Mary Ann Eastin
- Eastin, Rachel Donelson, 323
- Eastin, Rachel Jackson, 323
- Eastin, Thomas, 831
- Eastman, Jonathan, Jr., 812
- Easton, Robert, 838
- Eaton affair: AJ on, 26, 55–56, 76, 135, 250, 316, 515–16; Calhoun in, 76, 250–51; congressmen in, 134–35, 251, 721, 761–62; Donelsons in, 55–56; Eaton on, 18–20; and Van Buren, 25, 55–56, 250
- Eaton, John Henry (*see also* Eaton affair): 16–20, 164–65, 238–41, 760; with AJ, 477, 550; AJ biographer, 727; AJ on, 26, 135, 250, 496, 513–16; AJ's agent, 809–10, 832; and AJ's colts, 230, 238–39, 241, 256; and Carroll, 464, 734; counsels AJ, 16–19, 164; at Hermitage, 238–41, 257; Indian commissioner, 16, 19, 89, 118–19, 134, 461, 464, 554, 603; recommends for office, 164–65, 464, 835; and salt springs lease, 133–34, 163; and Saunders, 720–21, 760–61; secretary of war, 243, 772; in Seminole controversy, 326, 329; Senate candidate, 26, 316, 495–96, 512–16, 632, 720–21; travels to Tennessee, 423–24, 441, 445, 447, 461, 466, 826; Van Buren and, 25
- Eaton, Margaret O'Neale Timberlake: 238–41; 20, 25–26, 164, 235, 257, 423–24, 445, 447
- Eckfeldt, Jacob Reese, 802
- Eclipse Lightfoot (horse), 84
- Economy (Rapp community), 39–48
- Ecuador, 769
- Eddington, James, 770
- Eddy, Henry, 817
- Edmonds, John Worth, 88
- Education and schooling: academies and universities (*see under individual names*); in AJ's family (*see under* Donelson, Samuel Rucker and Hutchings, Andrew Jackson); federal funding, 594, 665; Indian, 188–89, 448, 602, 604, 791
- Edwards, Alfred Henry Pierpont, 789
- Edwards, Henry Waggaman, 775
- Egypt, 821
- Ehrenbreitstein (fort), 245, 247
- Eldon, Earl of (John Scott), 195, 198
- Eldred, Nathaniel Bailey: 587–88
- Elections, presidential, 1824: 14–15, 49, 104, 109, 233–35, 557, 720
- Elections, presidential, 1828: 14–15, 38, 719
- Elections, presidential, 1832: AJ on, 25, 37, 55, 57, 73, 76, 85, 92, 97, 125, 281, 462–63, 468, 477, 480–81, 504, 517, 521, 539–40, 545, 551, 564, 591, 613–14; in Alabama, 477, 480–81, 551, 625; Baltimore convention, 102–3, 107, 164–65, 169, 235, 281, 462, 468, 504, 755–57, 809; BUS in (*see* Bank Veto: in 1832 elections); in Connecticut, 563; in Delaware, 563, 591, 594; Eaton on, 17–19; in Georgia, 480; in Illinois, 540; in Indiana, 540, 591, 629; in Kentucky, 421, 468, 470–71, 517, 521, 525, 540, 551, 563, 607–8, 613, 749, 828; in Louisiana, 504, 539–40, 551, 725–26; in Maine, 563–64; in Maryland, 563; in Massachusetts, 70, 563, 607–8; in Mississippi, 504–5, 539–40, 551, 721; in Missouri, 540; in New Hampshire, 103, 563–64; in New Jersey, 563–64, 838, 843; in New York, 269, 474–75, 478, 534, 563–64, 631, 662, 736, 809; in North Carolina, 446, 462–63, 489–90, 540, 591, 593–95, 613; in

- Ohio, 420–21, 540, 563–64, 718–20, 749; in Pennsylvania, 17–19, 235–36, 422, 442, 463, 540, 551, 553–54, 563–64, 587, 591, 631–32, 736, 829; prognostications, 70, 160–61, 177, 427, 531, 547, 748, 765; results, 463, 505, 517, 540, 554, 563; results hailed, 564, 570, 587, 591, 594, 607–9, 623, 625–26, 631–32, 662, 718–20, 725–26, 735–36, 842–43, 846; in Rhode Island, 563; in South Carolina, 539–40, 551, 563, 584, 607, 613, 626; *Telegraph* and, 520–21, 563; in Tennessee, 102–3, 164–65, 540, 591, 631–32; in Vermont, 563; vice-presidency, 17–19, 103, 188, 281, 444, 446, 462–63, 468, 481, 489–90, 504–5, 539–40, 551, 591, 625, 631, 749 (*see also* Van Buren, Martin: vice-presidential candidacy); in Virginia, 161, 188, 462–63, 468, 481, 563–64, 591, 613, 631. *See also* Anti-Masonry; Clay, Henry; National Republicans
- Elections, presidential, constitutional reform, 643
- Elgar, Joseph, 835, 837
- Eliason, William Alexander, 609–11
- Ellery, Charles, 782
- Elliot, John, 140–41, 227–28
- Elliott, Jesse Duncan: 811, 831; commands West India squadron, 51, 61, 78, 136–37, 180, 493, 811, 831; ordered to Charleston, 492–93, 498–99, 586–87, 618, 621
- Ellis, Powhatan: 66, 294; 300, 429, 821
- Ellis, William H., 775
- Ellsworth, Henry Leavitt: 437–38; 448, 771
- Elwes, Alfred W., 774
- Emeline (slave), 219, 241
- Emery, Nicholas, 268
- Emlen, George, 728
- English, James T., 769, 782–83
- English, William F., 813
- Erie* (U.S. Navy sloop), 852
- Erving, George William: 74; 60
- Erwin, Andrew, 489–90
- Eskridge, Thomas P., 840
- Esky puckee pees kaw kaw (Shawnee), 435
- Espinosa, José Ignacio, 49, 51, 66–68, 313–14
- Esther* (ship), 771
- Eumenes, 138–39
- European political conditions: AJ on, 249; Buchanan on, 276, 318, 528–30; Lafayette on, 417–19; Livingston on, 488; Randolph on, 175–76, 194–95; Rives on, 771; Van Buren on, 204, 243–47
- Eustis, Abraham, 469–70
- Eutaw Springs battle, 415–16
- Evans, French Strother, 825–26, 835
- Evans, Joseph Russell, 728
- Evelina (slave). *See* Emeline
- Evens, Benjamin, 851
- Everett, Edward, 133–34, 179, 210–11
- Ewing, Thomas, 28–29, 31
- Ewing, William Lee Davidson, 855
- Experiment* (schooner), 832, 836
- Experiment* (U.S. Navy schooner), 621, 630
- Facio, José Antonio, 50–51, 66–67, 313–14, 518–20, 522–23
- Fagoaga, Francisco, 483–85, 519
- Fagoaga, José Francisco, 483, 485
- Fairfield* (U.S. Navy sloop), 51
- Fannin, Abraham Baldwin, 816–17
- Fanning, Alexander Campbell Wilder, 773, 796
- Farquhar, Eliza Yorke: 475–76; 537
- Farquhar, Emma Yorke. *See* Donelson, Emma Yorke Farquhar
- Farrow, Kenaz, 608–9
- Fauche, Jonas, 826
- Federalists and Federalism: and Alien and Sedition acts, 255, 485–86; condemned, 718–20, 775; Randolph on, 15–16, 139, 156–57; Van Buren on, 104–5, 109, 144, 485–86, 594–95
- Feeny, Hugh F., 774
- Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies, 797, 827, 845, 854
- Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, 68–69, 529, 532, 637, 777, 814–15, 824, 834–35, 837

- Ferguson, James, 415–16
 Ferguson, John, 507, 509–10
 Fernando Maria Mariano of Spain, 824, 837
 Ficquelmont, Karl Ludwig von, 318, 321
 Field, Jane Pope, 183
 Field, William, 183, 838
 Fields, Robert, 819, 823
 Fillebrown, Thomas, 796
 Finch, Aaron, 773, 855
 Finch, William Bolton, 38, 97, 144
 Findlay, William, 233, 235
 Fish, Preserved, 756–57
 Fitz, Gideon, 814
 Fitzgerald, William, 72–73, 133–34
 Fitzpatrick, Phillips, 526–27
 Flagg, Azariah Cutting, 154–55, 624, 713–14, 756–57
 Flood, Thomas, 817
 Florence, Ala., political meeting, 55–56, 121–22
Florence Gazette, 121–23
 Flores, Juan José, 769
 Florida Territory: AJ's 1818 campaign (*see* Seminole campaign); governor appointment, 769, 773; grand jury, 806; judiciary appointments, 22, 137, 184–85, 357–58, 771–72, 774–78, 781, 808; marshal appointment, 807, 809–10, 813, 831; naval timber reserves, 822, 852; politics and elections, 35–36; procurement of Spanish archives, 637, 803, 805; secretary corruption charges, 843, 849–50; slave insurrection fears, 51–52; Spanish damage claims, 823; Spanish land claims and cases, 60, 770, 791, 803, 842; surveyor, 809; U.S. arsenal, 838; U.S. attorney, 137
 Florida Treaty (1819), 4–6, 9, 60, 74, 120, 325, 329, 803, 823
 Flotard, Thomas, 773
 Floyd, John, 540, 563, 590, 680–81, 752, 806
 Floyd, John (Ga.), 841
 Fogg, Francis Brinley, 836
 Foot, Samuel Augustus, 185
 Ford, Lemuel, 814
 Forrest, Joseph, 785
 Forstall, B., 805
 Forster, Thomas, 855
 Forsyth, John: appointment for, 591; and Ga. missionaries, 714, 749–50; and Seminole controversy, 326, 329; and Van Buren, 108–10, 507, 510, 591, 623
 Fort Armstrong (Ill.), 469–70, 828
 Fort Delaware (Del.), 771–72
 Fort Duquesne (Pa.), 177, 179
 Fort Gibson (Okla.), 254, 754, 778, 840
 Fort Gratiot (Mich.), 440–41
 Fort Johnson (S.C.), 609–11
 Fort King (Fla.), 51–52
 Fort Mitchell (Ala.), 525, 527
 Fort Monroe (Va.), 561
 Fort Moultrie (S.C.), 534, 546, 558, 561, 572, 581–82, 584, 609–11
 Fort Pinckney. *See* Castle Pinckney (S.C.)
 Fort Sumter (S.C.), 610–11
 Fort Washington (Md.), 162
 Fort Winnebago (Wis.), 454, 456, 779, 781
 Foster, Ann Slaughter Hubbard, 316
 Foster, Ephraim Hubbard: 315–16; 102–3, 216, 471, 786, 837, 850; Senate candidate, 315–16, 495, 516
 Foster, Henry Allen, 775
 Foster, Jane Mebane Lytle, 316
 Foster, Robert Coleman, 316
 Foster & Giraud, 800
 Foushee, William, 156–57
 Foushee, William, Jr., 156–57
 Fowler, James, 842, 846
 Fox, Charles James, 195, 198
 Fox, Henry Richard Vassall (Baron Holland), 195, 198
 France: in American Revolution, 306, 831; in annual message, 635; claims commission appointments, 269, 437–38, 445–46, 772, 774–76, 780, 785–87, 789, 793–94, 800, 802, 812–13, 822; claims convention, 73–74, 770, 776, 778, 821; and European affairs, 144, 204–5, 244, 247, 276, 417–19, 488, 528–29, 532; King (*see* Louis Philippe, King of the French); and Mexico, 8–9, 314, 484, 657–58, 741; minister to,

- 176, 193–94, 504–5, 613 (*see also under* Rives, William Cabell); politics and internal affairs, 175, 178, 194, 244, 247, 417–18; trade and regulations, 73–74, 113, 777, 815, 851; U.S. legation secretary, 810; Van Buren on, 243–47
- Frankfurt (German city), 244, 246–47
- Franking privilege, AJ's use of, 115, 722, 773, 828, 852
- Franklin, Treaty of (Chickasaw, 1830). *See under* Chickasaw Indians
- Franklin* (steamboat), 610–11
- Franklin* (U.S. Navy warship), 96
- Frazier, Benjamin W., 772
- Fredericksburg, Va., Mary Washington monument, 91–92
- Frederick William III, King of Prussia, 245
- Free blacks: in AJ's employ, 712; colonization abroad, 831; in federal employ, 150–51. *See also* Slaves and slavery
- Freeman, William H., 786
- “Free Trade and Sailors' Rights,” 88–89
- Frelinghuysen, Theodore, 226
- French, John, 808
- French, John (smuggler), 837, 842–43, 845
- Fuller, John, 805, 808
- Fulton, Hickory, 254
- Fulton, William Savin: 252–54; 79–80, 96, 790–91, 839
- Fur trade, inland, 308, 779
- Gadsby, John, 424
- Gadsby's hotel, 423–24, 568
- Gadsden, James, 35–36, 769, 773, 856
- Gadsden family (S.C.), 658
- Gaillard, Theodore, 587
- Gaines, Edmund Pendleton, 52, 256, 302, 326, 329
- Gaither, Greenbury, 150–51
- Gales, Joseph, Jr., 462–63
- Gales, Weston Raleigh, 813
- Gallatin, Albert, 9, 115, 142–43, 145, 153–55, 176, 178
- Gallinero, Battle of El, 518–20
- Galway, Ireland, consulate, 847
- Gamble, William, 844
- Garay, Ramon de, 66–67, 69
- Garden, Andrew, 799
- Gardiner, James Booker, 28–31, 769, 777–78, 827
- Gardner, Charles Kitchel, 824
- Gardner, William A., 781
- Garner, Preston, 300, 775
- Garnsey, Daniel Greene, 780, 783
- Gassaway, Hanson, 564–65, 714–15, 840, 842, 848
- Gay, George W., 815, 844
- Gay, Payton, 807, 814
- Gayle, John, 829–30
- Geisse, Francis William, 728
- Geisse, George W. & Co., 829
- General Land Office: clerkships, 825; commissioner, 170, 849; funding, 829. *See also* Hayward, Elijah; Land office appointments; Moore, John M.; Public lands; Surveyors of public lands
- Genêt, Edmond-Charles: 3–4
- Geography of South-Carolina*, A, 830
- George (Hermitage slave), 424, 458–59
- George (slave), 80
- George III, King of Great Britain, 195–96, 198–99
- Georgetown, S.C., postmaster, 732–33
- Georgia: and BUS, 403; and Cherokees, 10–14, 20, 151–52, 226–27, 254, 290, 316–17, 412–14, 476–77, 656–57, 713–14, 806; and missionaries, 13, 151–52, 523, 578, 713–14, 749 (*see also* Worcester v. Georgia); nullification in, 476–77, 480–82, 488, 622, 680, 750; politics, 19–20, 178, 480
- Germany: and European affairs, 175, 417–19, 488, 528; Van Buren tours, 244–47
- Gerry, Elbridge, 7, 9
- Ghent, Treaty of (1814), 7, 9, 89, 206–8
- Gibraltar consulate, 562–63
- Gibson, Abraham Priest, 319, 321
- Gibson, George, 801, 815, 827
- Giesey, Valentine, 798, 809–10, 815
- Gilchrist, Edward, 767, 772, 774
- Gillespie, Archibald Hamilton, 854
- Gilliss, Thomas Handy, 809
- Gilmer, George Rockingham, 10, 20

- Gilmore, Samuel A., 832
 Gilpin, Henry Dilworth, 830
 Ginseng cultivation, 835
 Girard, Stephen, 400, 410, 614
 Girdon, James, 845
 Giusta, Michael Anthony: 219, 520–21;
 checks to, 218, 767, 777, 787, 804,
 818, 827, 831, 833, 839, 846
 Glenn, Elias, 81–82
Globe, The (D.C.): 204, 520; adminis-
 tration voice, 55, 80, 140, 170,
 267, 612, 739, 747; AJ distributes,
 281; AJ praises, 450; AJ's subscrip-
 tion, 304; AJ writes for and directs,
 148, 258–60, 283–87, 459, 462,
 477, 841; on BUS, 442, 450; cham-
 pions Van Buren, 123, 148; circu-
 lation, 204, 520; on Eaton affair,
 135, 251; editor (*see* Blair, Francis
 Preston); on Gwin, 433, 444–46,
 462; on Houston and Stanbery,
 283–87; McLane writes for, 433,
 444–46, 459, 462; on nullification,
 450; on public profligacy, 436, 594;
 on Russia, 612, 739; on Seminole
 controversy, 535; Van Buren
 requests, 662; and *Worcester v.*
 Georgia, 151, 570
 Glória, Maria da, 170, 418
 Glynn, Anthony Greville, 150–51
 Goddard, Charles Backus, 792
 Godfroy, Louison (Miami), 820
 Godfroy, Richard, 768
 Godoy, Juan Ignacio, 483, 485
 Goentgen, Johann Georg: 38–48
 Gold mines and mining: in Cherokee
 country, 13, 806; in North
 Carolina, 109–10, 144; S.C.
 assayer, 856
 Gooch, James, 799, 801
 Goode, William Osborne, 192–93
 Goodenow, John Milton, 847
 Gorce, Marchioness de la (Augustine-
 Eléonore de Vimeur), 306–7, 789
 Gordon, George Hamilton- (Earl of
 Aberdeen), 417–18, 620
 Gordon, Martin, 100, 180, 782, 786
 Gordon, Robert, 780
 Gordon, William Fitzhugh, 181, 846
 Gordon, William L., 815
 Gosport, Va., navy yard, 492–93, 800
 Goss, Mary, 807
 Goss, William, 836, 840
 Gough-Calthorpe, George (Baron
 Calthorpe), 195, 198
 Gould, William, 170, 780
 Gouverneur, Samuel Laurence, 27–28,
 33–34, 534–35, 589–91
 Gowen, James, 632
 Grace (Hermitage slave), 218–19, 424
 Graham, James Robert George, 105–6,
 109, 142
Grampus (U.S. Navy schooner), 62,
 484–85
 Granger, Francis, 269, 475
 Grape cultivation, 170
 Gratiot, Charles: 542–43; 821, 852; and
 improvements veto, 439, 472–75,
 478, 504–5, 542–43, 551, 592,
 594, 663, 667, 836
 Gray, John, Jr., 803
 Great Britain. *See* Britain
 Greece, 529, 532, 833
 Greeley, Horace, 227
 Green, Duff, 139–40, 235, 521. *See also*
 United States' Telegraph
 Green, John Williams, 190, 193
 Green Bay, Wis., Indian agent, 779, 819
 Greene, Nathanael, 415–16
 Greene, Nathaniel, 804
 Greene, Pardon C., 807, 810
 Greene, Richard Ward, 815
 Greenhow, Robert, 483, 485, 789
 Greenough, Horatio, 158–59, 787, 851
Green v. Terrill, 810
 Greenwood (Chickasaw), 606
 Greer, A., 808
 Gregg, James, 627
 Gregory, E. N., 809
 Gregory, William (Creek), 801
 Grey, Charles (Earl Grey), 106, 109,
 142, 177, 179, 195–96, 198, 202,
 204, 276
 Griffin, William, 79–80, 96
 Griggs, Jane Turner Wells, 788, 792
 Griggs, John H., 788
 Grundy, Ann Phillips Rodgers, 468
 Grundy, Felix: 72–73, 184–85, 467–68;
 22, 810, 813; Senate candidate,
 315–16, 495–96, 512–13, 516

- Gualtieri, Duke of (Carlo Avarna), 297
 Guatemala, chargé to, 638, 640, 847–48, 851–52, 854–55
 Guaymas, Mexico, consulate, 841
 Guerrero, Vicente Ramón, 99–100
 Guild, Josephus Conn, 721
 Gwin, James, 33, 299–300
 Gwin, Samuel: 721–22; 32–33, 250–51, 294, 298–300, 422–25, 429–30, 433, 444, 446, 459, 462, 712, 775–76, 824, 835, 849–50
- Hagan, James, 786
 Hagner, Peter, 485–86, 504–5, 551–52, 669–71, 812, 832, 834, 837
 Haiti: 566; relations with, 831
 Hall, Allen A., 734–35
 Hall, Charles Henry, 809, 812
 Hall, Cyrenius, 772
 Hall, James, 830
 Hall, James C., 765, 767
 Hall, Richard, 766
 Hall, Willard, 829
 Hall, William, 72–73, 768
 Haly, John, 824, 826
 Hamblin, John Mark Anthony, 805
 Hamilton, James, 835
 Hamilton, James, Jr.: 583–84; declines Cabinet post, 18, 20; nullification leader, 18, 20, 534, 549, 561, 614–15, 618, 621–22, 626–28, 661–62, 672–73, 678–79, 705, 711, 733–35; Randolph on, 127, 139–40, 187–88, 197
 Hamilton, James Alexander: 22–23, 27–28, 33–34, 56–57, 193–94, 213–14, 237–38, 266–67, 305–6, 534–35, 549–50, 672–73, 722–23; AJ's agent, 843; AJ's confidant, 22–23, 56–57, 193–94, 549–50, 672; on appointments, 213–14, 237–38, 266–67, 306; on BUS, 22, 213–14, 266–67, 370; district attorney business, 22–23, 774, 787, 844; and Dutch jewels case, 27, 767, 828; and Gouverneur, 27–28, 33–34; and Seminole controversy, 237–38, 534–35; on tariff and nullification, 305, 672, 722–23; and Van Buren, 24–25, 214, 305, 363–64, 550–51
- Hamilton, Mary Morris, 56–57, 194
 Hamilton, Samuel S., 35–36, 172
 Hamm, John, 810
 Hammond, Samuel, 852
 Hampson, James, 791–92, 798, 802–3, 817
 Handy, Henry S., 781
 Hanging Rock, Battle of, 415–16, 744
 Hannah, Old (Hermitage slave), 238, 241
 Hannah (Hermitage slave), 238, 241
 Hardia, William, 847
 Hardin, William, 765
 Harding, Edward, 814, 818
 Harkins, George Washington, 97–98
 Harmony (Rapp community), 38–39, 42
 Harmony Society, 38–48
 Harper, Robert, 774
 Harper, Robert Goodloe, 712
 Harper, Samuel Hadden, 725–26
 Harris, Levett, 276
 Harris, Richard D., 425
 Harris, Thomas, 33
 Harrison, Albert Galliton, 801, 855
 Harrison, Richard (first auditor), 804, 825
 Harrison, Richard (Revolutionary veteran): 180–81
 Harrison, William Henry, 448
 Harrowby, Earl of (Dudley Ryder), 195, 198
 Hartford *Jeffersonian*, 437–38
 Hartstene, Henry Julius, 816
 Harvey, Jonathan, 782
 Harvey, William Presley: 184; 178
 Haskell, Joseph, 842
 Hastings, Flora Mure-Campbell (Countess of Loudoun), 191, 193
 Hastings, Francis Rawdon (Lord Rawdon), 191, 193, 414, 416
 Hats and hatters, 808
 Hawaii, chargé to, 799
 Hawkins, Richard C., 838
 Hawkins, William G., 798
 Hay, Peter, 793
 Hayden, Chester, 853
 Hayne, Robert Young: Calhounite, 93, 174, 192; nullifier, 444, 446, 622, 627–28, 674, 741–43, 852;

- Hayne, Robert Young (*cont.*)
 recommends, 800; Van Buren opponent, 55–56, 92–93, 174
Hayne family (S.C.), 658–59
Hays, Elizabeth. *See* Chester, Elizabeth Hays
Hays, Frances Pinckney Middleton, 312–13
Hays, Jane Donelson, 231, 434, 479
Hays, Joseph M., 769–70, 773, 775
Hays, Narcissa, 434, 479
Hays, Robert, 231
Hays, Samuel Jackson, 131, 230–31, 295, 312–13, 828, 836
Hays, Stockley Donelson, 33, 299
Hays family (S.C.), 658–59
Hayward, Elijah
 and Cumberland Road: 802–3
 and Gardiner: 778
 recommends: 852
 and Van Buren: 169
 GLO commissioner: 170;
 absence, 849; and Creek cession surveys, 226, 625; and Florida arsenal land, 838;
 and Indian treaty reservations, 767–68, 772, 784, 789, 792, 797, 812, 814, 820; and naval timber reserves, 840;
 and salt spring lease, 812;
 and Spanish land claims, 769–70, 842; and surveyors, 775, 784, 786, 791, 813–14, 834
Haywood, John, 799
Hebb, William, 424
Hedges, Joseph, 797
Heileman, Julius Frederick, 534, 546, 585
Heiskell, Frederick Steidinger, 452
Heliopolis (steamboat), 496–97
Henderson, Archibald, 555–56
Henderson, Bennett H., 812
Henderson, James L., 767
Hendricks, William, 774, 781, 818
Henrietta (steamer), 825, 829
Henry, Bernard, 562–63
Henry, James Dougherty, 454–55
Henry, Patrick, 401, 410
Henshaw, David, 409, 798–99, 812
Hepburn, James S., 784
Hephaestion, 138–39
Hercules, 445–46
Heriot, Thomas, 732–33
Hermione (HMS), 27
Hermitage plantation: AJ's refuge, 17, 19, 32, 240, 257, 264–65, 270, 279, 296, 511–12, 619; conditions and management, 37, 71–72, 215–17, 238, 251–52, 264–65, 271, 278, 280, 282, 291, 296, 331–33, 362–63, 465–66, 510–11, 515, 535–38, 676–77, 736 (*see also* Jackson, Andrew, Jr.: Hermitage manager); cotton crop (*see* Cotton: AJ's crop); expansion, 218, 363 (*see also* Jackson, Andrew, Jr.: land purchases); expenses and accounts, 20–21, 162, 216, 295, 787, 833; family cemetery, 832; furnishings and supplies, 20–21, 162, 173–74, 216–17, 219, 248, 270–71, 281, 294–95, 312–13, 421–22, 428, 499–500, 511–12, 797, 799; garden and Rachel's tomb, 32, 72, 215, 217, 239–41, 252, 257, 265, 272, 278–79, 331, 537, 539, 677, 831; hickory cane from, 304; horses at (*see under* Horse breeding and racing); overseer (*see* Steele, Graves W. and Holtzclaw, Burnard Warner); renovations and improvements, 71–72, 215–17, 239–40, 278, 291, 294, 323, 331, 428, 677, 786, 811; seeds for, 71, 170, 736, 834; visitors, 238–41, 257, 263, 323; wedding at, 429, 476, 505. *See also* Jackson, Andrew: Tennessee journey
Hermitage slaves: and AJ's racing stock, 229–30, 241, 251, 304, 438, 479–80, 500, 506, 536–37; greetings and inquiries, 238, 241, 251–52, 412, 424, 752; health, maintenance, and mortality, 217, 248, 280, 304, 311, 313, 362–63, 438, 536, 676–77, 782; management and discipline, 272, 291, 296, 312, 480, 507, 511–12, 515, 538, 561, 677, 842; provisioning, 217, 278, 499, 825. *See also* Jackson, Andrew: slave deal-

- ings *and* Jackson, Andrew, Jr.: slave dealings and management
- Herrill, Barney, 823–24
- Herring, Elbert, 36, 189, 289, 527, 856
- Heytesbury, Baron (William A'Court), 318, 321
- Hickory canes, 304, 587–88, 831
- Hickory Club: Philadelphia, 556–57; Salem, N.J., 843; Washington, D.C., 846
- Hiester, William, 739
- Higgins, Eugene, 808
- Hill, Elias, 815
- Hill, Harry Rufus Willie, 20–21
- Hill, Isaac, 70, 204–5, 516, 774, 819, 833
- Hill family (S.C.), 658
- Hilliard, Isaac Henry, 837
- Hinds, Thomas, 300, 775
- Hitchcock, Andrew Hull, 225
- Hitchcock, Marcus: 225
- Hobbs, Edward, 466
- Hodgson, William Brown, 788
- Hogan, Michael, 781, 850
- Hogg, Jane, 790
- Hogg, Samuel, 80, 458–59, 468
- Holland, Baron (Henry Richard Vassall Fox), 195, 198
- Hollins, John Smith, 765, 799
- Hollister, Charles, 832–33, 841, 845
- Holmes, Ephraim, 802
- Holmes, John, 33, 70
- Holt, William Cocke, 813
- Holtzclaw, Burnard Warner: AJ engages, 332–33, 480–81, 538, 677; Donelson's overseer, 282, 458–59, 465–66
- Homans, Daniel, 618
- Homans, James T., 840
- Hook, James Harvey, 819, 827
- Hooper, James, 839
- Horn, Henry, 467–68, 813, 815, 829, 838
- Horner, Elizabeth Dunn Carpenter, 183
- Horner, William Bird Richards, 183
- Horse breeding and racing: AJ's colts to Washington, 230, 238–39, 251, 256, 263–64, 271, 277–78, 280, 282, 295, 304, 311, 438, 449, 802; AJ's Hermitage stock, 32–33, 76, 217, 252, 264–65, 278, 280–82, 333, 459, 465–66, 479–80, 500, 505, 515, 536, 538, 676; AJ's sales and purchases, 75, 216, 291, 311, 501, 537, 539, 676–77, 753, 851 (*see also* Bolivar); AJ's trained and raced, 218–19, 229–30, 241, 264, 271, 278, 280, 500–501, 506, 536–37, 820; Donelson's, 458, 465–66, 479; Wm. Alexander's, 459, 480, 500, 830, 856
- Hosack, David: 179–80
- Hospitals and asylums, military and marine, 555–56, 617–18, 836
- Hotchkiss, Miles, 802
- Hough, Joseph H. & Co., 832
- House, James, 799
- Houston, Eliza Allen, 761
- Houston, Samuel: loan to, 458, 818; marital separation, 761; and Seminole controversy, 77; Stanbery assault, 242–43, 255, 258–60, 263, 271–72, 283–87
- Howard, Bainbridge D., 793
- Howard, Benjamin Chew, 792, 794
- Howard, Richard, 793
- Howe, Samuel Gridley, 417–18, 803
- Howland, G. G. & S., 787, 805
- Hubbard, David, 122–23
- Hubbard, Henry, 774
- Hubbard, John F., 88
- Huck, Christian, 415–16, 594
- Hudson River improvements, 473–74, 594
- Huger, Daniel Elliott, 732–33
- Humboldt, Alexander von, 438–39
- Hume, Ebenezer James, 80, 148–49, 162, 218, 248–49
- Hume, William, 148, 162, 511–12, 786
- Hunt, James S., 832, 836
- Hunt, Jesse, 568, 853
- Hunt, Theodore Gaillard, 805–6, 810
- Hunt, William Gibbs, 734–35
- Hunter, Charles G., 806
- Hunter, Robert Robertson, 360, 362
- Huntt, Henry, 776
- Hutchings, Andrew Jackson: 90–91; and AJ's colts, 238, 256, 264, 271, 278; AJ's ward, 38, 79–80, 90–91, 96, 159–60, 187, 218, 792;

- Hutchings, Andrew Jackson (*cont.*)
education, 38, 85–86, 90, 96–97,
159–60, 187, 218, 792; farm and
slaves, 79–80; greetings and in-
quiries, 264, 271, 277, 291, 333, 459,
466, 724; travels, 38, 86, 90, 97,
163, 187, 229
- Hutchings, John, 38, 90
- Hutchins, Lewis, 812, 819, 833, 841–
42, 845
- Hutchinson, Archibald, 836–37
- Huygens, Christiaan Diederik Emerens
Johan Bangeman, 26–27, 214–15,
831
- Huygens, Roger Bangeman, 27, 769
- Hyatt, Noah, 812
- Hyde, Archibald Waterman, 842
- Hypocrisy Unmasked!* (1832), 236
- Iberri, José Ignacio, 483, 485
- Illinois: governor (*see* Reynolds, John);
Indian commissioner appointment,
819, 822; marshal appointment,
855; militia, 302–3, 454–56, 655;
politics and elections, 540, 821;
public land surveyor, 261, 277, 784,
786, 790, 806, 825. *See also* Black
Hawk War
- Impressment. *See* Britain: impressment
issue
- Imprisonment for debt, abolition of,
748–49
- Inaugural address (1829), 35–36
- India* (ship), 775, 787
- Indiana: AJ invited to, 829; appoint-
ments in, 766, 768–70, 773–75,
819; congressmen recommend, 814;
legislators recommend, 774, 855;
politics and press, 48–49, 629; pres-
idential election, 540, 591, 629
- Indiana Democrat* (Indianapolis), 49,
629
- Indiana Palladium* (Lawrenceburg), 629
- Indian affairs bureau: clerkship, 835.
See also Herring, Elbert and
Hamilton, Samuel S.
- Indian agents: applications and appoint-
ments, 526–27, 765–66, 768, 772–
73, 793, 801, 807–8, 812, 816,
818; killed, 812; malfeasance and
misbehavior, 34–36, 171–72, 716–
17, 760, 765, 821
- Indian annuities: 63, 65, 788; Cherokee
division, 13, 146–47; distribution
controversies, 13, 34–36, 64–65,
526–27, 771; as treaty inducements,
461, 595, 598, 603–4, 716; white
payments from, 34–35, 188–89
- Indian Board (New York), 448
- Indian peace medals, 289
- Indian Removal Act (1830), 10, 89–
90, 788
- Indian removal policy: AJ on, 89, 97,
225–26, 250, 316–17, 448, 461,
554, 618, 781–82, 827–28; in
annual messages, 118–19, 642,
656–57; Cass on, 13, 147, 781–82,
788; endorsed and urged, 19–20,
713–14, 814, 821; Ill. and Mo.
commissioners, 819, 822; lamented
and resisted, 97–98, 226, 290, 600–
601; in Ohio, 28–31, 778, 827–28,
830; operations and logistics, 172,
189, 253–54, 496–97, 526, 765,
788, 801, 807, 827–28, 830–31;
pursued, 10–14, 289–90, 412–14,
525–28; relocation commissioners,
63–64, 269, 290, 438, 448, 463–65,
821, 828, 830, 846–47; western
relocations, 5, 146–47, 171, 435.
*See also under tribal names and
state names*
- Indians: annuities (*see* Indian annuities);
commissioner appointments (*see
under* Indian removal policy); pri-
vate treaty reservations, 188–89,
225–26, 526–28, 595–99, 602–5,
767–68, 771–72, 779–80, 784,
788–89, 792–93, 797, 801, 803,
812, 814, 820, 828, 856; treaty
submissions and ratifications, 31,
187, 225–26, 554–55, 605–6, 723–
24, 766, 768, 787–88, 792, 796–97,
800, 819, 848; vaccination, 797–98;
western trade, 779. *See also under
tribal and personal names*
- Indian schools and education, 188–89,
448, 602, 604, 791
- Indian Springs, Treaty of (Creek, 1825),
527

- Influenza, 20, 32, 37, 211
- Ingham, Samuel Delucenna, 18–20, 76,
131, 233, 235–36, 631–32
- Inginac, Joseph Balthazar, 831
- Ingraham, Alfred, 537
- Insolvent debtor relief Act, 80
- Interest on state claims bill. *See* State
claims veto
- Internal improvements, federal: AJ on,
305, 439, 481–82, 542–43, 551; in
annual messages, 439, 472, 475,
592, 594, 633, 642, 652–55, 665–
66; Army surveys, 776, 779–80,
790, 817, 839; expenses of, 772–73;
Van Buren on, 472–75, 478, 540,
592–95, 663–67; vetoed, 663–67.
See also Lighthouse bill veto (1830);
Maysville Road veto; River and
harbor improvements veto
- Inventions and innovations: nautical,
809, 837, 847; piano, 845, 855;
threshing machine, 832
- Iredell, James, 446
- Ireland and the Irish: AJ and, 727, 801–
2, 817; religious unrest, 195, 198
- Irvin, William W., 797
- Irvine, Callender, 82, 84
- Irving, Washington, 23, 25, 107, 143,
205, 228
- Irwin, Robert, 415–16
- Isabella, princess of Spain, 529, 532
- Isacks, Jacob C., 72–73
- Ishtehotopa (Chickasaw): 606; 602
- Ishtimolukta (Chickasaw), 606
- Isler, Nathaniel, 810
- Israel, Michael E., 767
- Italy, 175, 417–19
- Ituante, ____, 67
- Iturbide, Agustín de, 69
- Iturbide, Agustín Jerónimo de, 68–69
- Jackson, Andrew
bank book: 218–19
memoranda: 186, 255–56, 283–
87, 322, 322, 357–58
memorandum book: 298–99,
364–70, 560–61, 628, 633–
34, 680–81
orders and decisions: 26–27,
569, 620
- allusions and quotations:
Biblical, 37–38, 291, 312,
372, 653, 687, 761–62; liter-
ary, 422–23, 467
- aphorisms and sayings: “ask
only right; submit to nothing
wrong,” 114–15, 620, 636–
37; “hydra of corruption,”
411, 729; “neither seek or
decline office,” 718, 720;
“Spanish inquisition,” 29,
57; “Union must be pre-
served,” 477, 545, 550, 658–
59, 678–80, 711–12, 724,
727, 745, 752–53
- ceremonies, receptions, and
events: Carroll’s funeral,
568–69; dinners declined,
452–53, 461–63, 466, 782,
827; Fredericksburg corner-
stone laying, 91–92;
Nashville reception,
462–63, 466, 827
- charitable contributions: 223–
24, 845; AJ on, 312, 322
- dinners given: 54–55, 720, 809,
823
- finances: account statements,
20–21, 79–80, 218–19, 295,
304, 766, 786 (*see also*
Hermitage plantation *and*
Jackson, Andrew: purchases
and expenses); checks and
drafts, 218–19, 223, 765,
767–69, 775, 777, 787, 789,
791–95, 797–99, 804, 810,
812, 816, 818, 820, 823–27,
829, 831–34, 836, 838–41,
845–46, 848–49, 853–54
- gifts bestowed: mare and filly,
466–67; memento, 548;
necklace, 173; silver medal,
229; slaves, 219, 241; walk-
ing cane, 304
- gifts received: astral lamps, 767;
bark jacket, 56–57; books,
179–80, 830; cigars, 780;
hat, 808; pen and paper
knife, 23; piano, 845, 855;
saddle, 801–2; seeds, 736,

Jackson, Andrew (*cont.*)

834; shirt, 767; walking
canes, 57–58, 587–88, 774,
831; Yorktown candle, 186

Globe editorialist: 258–60,
283–87

health: ball extraction, 32–33,
37, 104; bloodletting and
calomel, 444; cold, 852; con-
stipation and diarrhea, 56;
general, 76, 226, 264, 411–
12, 423, 428–29, 438, 442,
449–50, 453, 460, 467, 480,
487, 491, 498–99, 512, 515,
517–18, 520, 536, 539, 544,
549–50, 564; headache, 614;
hydrocele, 765; influenza,
32, 37

honors and tributes: medal pre-
sentations, 3–4, 425; naming
son, 149, 229, 254, 548

horse breeding and racing (see
Horse breeding and racing)

land dealings: 827, 832, 839,
852 (*see also* Hermitage plan-
tation and Jackson, Andrew,
Jr.: land purchases)

lawsuits: 809–10, 839

life and career: ancestry and
birth, 57, 713, 727, 774;
Benton fight, 33, 37–38;
Florida governor, 358; Indian
commissioner, 147, 675; in
Revolution, 415–16; senator,
235; youth and schooling,
415–16, 841

purchases and expenses: book-
binding, 304; carriage and
horses, 173–74, 219, 438,
785, 802, 804, 825; china,
174, 312, 421–22, 428–29,
797, 823; clothing, 173, 823,
834; coach, 828; coal, 839,
845; cook hire, 712, 725,
852; dry goods, 173, 778,
833, 854, 856; food, 832,
853; glassware, 173, 270–71,
776; newspaper subscrip-
tions, 304, 838; pharmaceut-
icals, 770; physician services,

765, 776, 782, 841; saddle
horse, 206, 218, 793; shoes
and shoe repair, 767, 804,
824; slave clothing, 825;
spinning machine repair, 787;
stationers, 818, 826; thresh-
ing machine, 833; watch
repair, 471; wines, 216–17,
726, 832, 839–40, 843, 845,
853. *See also* Hermitage
plantation; White House
religion: on church and state,
300–302, 354–57; church
attendance, 296, 429, 438,
514, 538; on divine aid and
protection, 163, 225, 251,
256, 411–12, 439, 449, 461,
466, 480, 505, 507, 511–12,
518, 537–38, 561, 614, 678;
on mortality and fate, 312,
423, 467, 619, 676; in official
messages, 373, 409, 634,
653, 687, 701, 710–11;
quotes Scripture, 37–38, 291,
312, 372, 653, 687, 761–62;
on religious duty, 32, 312,
322, 783

resignation plans: 16–17, 19

retirement yearnings: 32, 264–
65, 291, 619

slave dealings: 80, 186, 218–19,
227, 229, 241, 277, 424, 449.

See also Hermitage slaves

Tennessee journey: plans and
scheduling, 98, 187, 240,
248, 257, 265, 277, 279,
291, 296, 313, 323, 333,
411–12, 422–23, 428–29,
434, 438, 450, 460, 477,
480, 487, 491, 494, 498–99,
504–6, 832; state visits
invited en route, 471, 829–
30; travel to Tennessee, 439,
441–43, 449–53, 460;
Hermitage sojourn, 458–507
passim; return to
Washington, 507, 510–11,
514–15, 517–18, 520–21,
525, 535, 537, 539
will and testament: 219

- Jackson, Andrew, Jr.: 173–74, 215–18, 230–31, 248, 251–52, 256, 263, 263–64, 271–72, 277, 277–79, 280–81, 291, 294–95, 304–5, 311, 332–33, 411, 428, 438–39, 442–43, 453, 510–11, 514–15, 535–37, 539, 549, 561, 563–64, 611, 675–77, 735–36, 752–53; AJ admonishes, 248, 257, 312–13, 428, 561, 564; AJ advises and instructs, 173–74, 215–18, 230–31, 251, 256, 263–64, 271–72, 277–81, 291, 294–95, 304, 311, 332–33, 428, 438, 510–11, 515, 535–37, 539, 561, 676–77, 736, 752–53; AJ characterizes, 252, 279, 296, 411–12, 537–38; AJ's scribe, 364–70, 492; checks to, 218–19, 768, 792; clothes and tailoring, 772, 792; dog, 230, 252; gives news, 170, 778; greetings to and from, 25, 257, 296–97, 424, 446, 459, 466, 478–79, 482, 504, 539, 551, 790; health, 248, 251, 277, 411–12, 423, 461, 466, 476, 479, 499, 535–38, 564, 729; Hermitage manager, 32, 186, 215–18, 251, 264, 271–72, 278, 280–82, 291, 296, 311, 332–33, 428, 438, 500, 507, 510–12, 515, 535–39, 561, 564, 611, 676–77, 736, 745, 752, 811, 832; horse dealings and management, 32, 181, 217, 251, 256, 263–64, 271, 278, 280–81, 311, 500, 506, 515, 536, 539, 677, 753; and Hutchings, 38, 97, 160, 264, 271, 291; journey to Hermitage, 97, 160, 173–74, 186, 223, 226, 230–31, 248, 251–52, 263–65, 270, 277, 279; land purchases, 71–72, 75–76, 149, 215–16, 277, 291, 311, 313, 428, 438, 676–77, 778, 792, 823–24; marriage, 24–25, 32, 37, 223, 493; in Philadelphia, 160, 173–74, 181; slave dealings and management, 186, 218–19, 227, 272, 291, 296, 449, 511–12, 515, 538, 561, 677, 752, 842
- Jackson, Andrew, Sr., 727
- Jackson, Andrew McDowell, 794, 805
- Jackson, Andrew Richardson, 792
- Jackson, Hugh, 727
- Jackson, James, 37–38, 55, 163–64, 210, 212, 221–22
- Jackson, Nathaniel, 798
- Jackson, Rachel (1767–1828): 467; AJ mourns, 32–33, 252, 257, 280, 458, 537, 539, 563; Eatons eulogize, 239–41; family relations, 25–26, 38, 72, 76–77, 171, 231, 313, 434, 476, 729; namesakes, 32–33, 278–79, 323, 563; pet parrot, 280; tomb (*see* Hermitage plantation: garden and Rachel's tomb)
- Jackson, Rachel (1832–1923), 279, 563–64, 611, 675–77, 729, 735–36, 752
- Jackson, Robert, 727
- Jackson, Sarah Yorke: 252, 257, 264–66, 279–80, 296–97, 304–5, 312–13, 411–12, 423–24, 428–29, 511–12, 518, 537–38, 729; with AJ Jr. (*see* Jackson, Andrew, Jr.: in Philadelphia *and* journey to Hermitage); check to, 218; clothing and fabric purchases, 173, 790, 856; family relations, 174, 475–76; filly, 536, 538; greetings to and from, 25, 38, 174, 248, 251, 264, 272, 277, 281, 291, 294, 311, 333, 428, 438, 443, 446, 453, 459, 466, 476, 482, 504, 511, 515, 539, 551, 677, 736; guitar, 230; health, pregnancy, and maternity, 251–52, 277–79, 294, 423, 438, 461, 466, 479, 499, 505, 511, 515, 518, 535, 537–39, 549, 551, 561, 563, 611, 675–76, 729, 735, 752; Hermitage mistress, 216, 257, 263–65, 281, 291, 294, 296, 304, 312–13, 323, 428, 510–12, 537–38; marriage (*see* Jackson, Andrew, Jr.: marriage); mentioned, 217, 271, 280, 536, 745; necklace, 173; slave Grace, 218–19, 424
- Jacobs, Solomon D., 790
- Jacques, Henry (Wyandot), 807
- Jaffrau Jeannette* (Dutch ship), 855
- Jalapa, Plan of (1829), 99–100
- Jamaica, 177, 179

- Jame (Hermitage slave). *See* Jim (Hermitage slave)
- James I, King of England, 196, 199
- Jameson, Green Berry: 74–75; 85, 123, 125
- James River and Kanawha Canal, 674–75
- Japan, relations with, 811
- Jay, John, 197, 199
- Jay Treaty (1794), 115
- Jefferds, William, 786
- Jeffers, William Nicholson, 843
- Jefferson, Thomas: 361, 661; on AJ, 420–21; on BUS, 378–79; on distributing surplus revenue, 592, 594, 665; foreign policy, 635, 640; honored and hallowed, 485–86, 718–19, 756; and judiciary, 337, 353; and patronage, 58, 156–57, 510; on state's rights, 746
- Jefferson Barracks (Mo.), 256
- Jenkins, Alexander M., 855
- Jenkins, John T., 822
- Jenkinson, Charles, 196, 199
- Jesse (Hermitage slave), 230, 251, 304, 311, 438
- Jim (Hermitage slave), 230, 251, 304, 311, 438, 536–37, 561, 752
- Jinnett, James, 83–84
- Johnson, Benjamin, 831–34, 837–40, 844, 848
- Johnson, Cave, 72–73, 133–34, 243, 547, 837
- Johnson, Ezekiel Porter, 809, 812, 827
- Johnson, James, 206
- Johnson, John Telemachus, 845
- Johnson, Richard Mentor: 206, 801; and appointments, 233, 807, 853; and imprisonment for debt, 748–49; vice-presidential candidate, 281, 748–49
- Johnson, Samuel, 197, 199
- Johnson, William Ransom, 83–84
- Johnston, Stroder, 810–11
- Jolly, John (Cherokee), 13, 147, 289
- Jones, Chamberlayne, 186
- Jones, Colonel, 191
- Jones, Hiram, 773
- Jones, James C., 782
- Jones, John H., 809
- Jones, Joseph, 842
- Jones, Llewellyn: 186, 227; 229, 841
- Jones, Mr., 186, 227
- Jones, Prudence Ward, 186
- Jones, Robert, 781, 796
- Jones, Roger, 542, 784
- Jones, Rolling, 841
- Jones, T. & Co., 20
- Jones, William, 660–61
- Jones, William H., 775
- Jordan, Thomas, 825
- Judah, Samuel, 49
- Judiciary, federal: in annual message, 643
- Judiciary Act of 1789, 699–700, 711
- Judiciary Act of 1801, 337, 353
- Judson, Levi Carroll, 587–88
- Julia* (schooner), 772
- Kahl, Frederick, 39, 47–48
- Kammerer, David, 47–48
- Kane, Elias, 822
- Kane, John Kintzing, 438
- Kane, Joseph K., 850, 852
- Kankrin, Egor Frantsevich, 531–32
- Kansas Indians, 816
- Karamanli, Ali, Pasha of Tripoli, 844
- Kaskaskia, Ill., land office, 802
- Kearney, James, 823, 852
- Kearny, Lawrence, 617–18
- Keller, John, 819
- Kellogg, Daniel, 845
- Kempenfelt, Richard, 190–91, 193
- Kendall, Amos: 54–55, 60, 148, 439, 476; BUS message draftsman, 353–54, 364, 379–410, 633, 649–51; check to, 845; Gardiner message draftsman, 31; Gassaway investigation, 714–15; *Globe* writer, 148, 439, 450, 462; greetings, 466, 480, 520; internal improvements draftsman, 439, 462–63, 475; nullification draftsman, 680, 684–87; and patronage, 462, 494, 594, 835; political confidant, 54–55, 60, 148, 353, 439, 450, 462, 476–77; Seminole controversy aide, 55, 329; Treasury auditor, 55, 237, 360, 809
- Kendall, Jane Kyle, 439, 462, 476
- Kennedy, William, 853

- Kennon, Richard, 807
 Kensett, George, 837
Kensington (ship), 321
 Kentucky: BUS in, 400–401, 403, 410;
 politics and elections, 421, 462–66,
 468, 470–71, 477, 479, 486, 517,
 521, 525, 540, 551, 563, 607–9,
 613, 748–49, 828
 Kentucky Resolutions (1798). *See*
 Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions
 Keokuk (Sac), 469–70
 Keppel, William Charles, 381, 409
 Kershaw family (S.C.), 658
 Key, Francis Scott, 770, 809, 819
 Kihega Washinpechai (Osage), 65
 Kilty, Augustus Henry, 61–62
 King, Mitchell, 839
 King, Mr., 160
 King, Rufus, 197, 199
 King, William Rufus DeVane, 785
 Kirby, Edmund, 819
 Knapp, Samuel Lorenzo, 494–95
 Knowles, James Davis, 787
 Knox, Samuel Richardson, 854
 Knoxville, Tenn., AJ visits, 450–53
 Koolepatheh (Shawnee), 435
 Krepps, Solomon Gillespie, 793, 812
 Krudener, Paul Baron de, 319, 321, 531
 Kuhn, Joseph L., 796

 Labory, Pierre Joseph, 780
 Lacock, Abner: 129–31, 232–36, 236,
 324–30; 53–54, 128–29, 232, 255,
 272–74, 287–89, 292, 535
 Lacoste, Pierre, 790
 Lafayette, Marquis de: 306–7, 307–8,
 417–19, 425; 249, 777, 842
Lafayette (schooner), 565–66
 La Framboise, Joseph (Indian), 820
 Lambton, John George (Baron
 Durham), 529, 532
 Lamos, Nathaniel, 826
 Land office appointments: 767, 795,
 850; Alabama, 814, 817, 821;
 Arkansas, 778, 817, 847; Illinois,
 802; Indiana, 769–70, 773, 775;
 Louisiana, 805; Mississippi, 32–33,
 66, 250–51, 294, 298–300, 422–24,
 429–30, 433, 444–46, 459, 462,
 676, 712, 744, 775–76, 780, 783,
 824, 835, 839, 850, 852; Ohio,
 31, 720
 Lane, Jane Buchanan, 737–38
 Lane, John Foote, 827
 Langham, Elias Thomas, 790, 806, 825
 Lansing, George, 813, 815
 Larned & Torrey, 828
 Larwill, Joseph Hart, 819
 Larwill, William, 847
 Lasley, Samuel C., 782
 Laub, John, 824
 Laval, William Jacint, 585, 587
 Laval de la Loubrerie, Jean-Charles
 François de, 529, 532
 Lawliss, James, 801–2
 Lawton, Job G., 804, 806, 815, 818
 Lay-loh-she-coh (Shawnee), 435
 Leach, Joseph, 809
 Leake, Joseph S., 813
 Léaumont, Marie-Robert de, 832
 Léaumont, Nicolas-Marie de, 831–32
 Ledbetter, Wiley, 300, 775–76
 Lee, Henry: 491–92, 493–94; 77
 Lee, Henry (“Light Horse Harry”), 492
 Lee, Henry (Mass.), 540
 Lee, Robert Edward, 492
 Leflore, Greenwood (Choctaw), 98,
 118–19
 Legaré, Hugh Swinton, 770
 Legrand, Nash, 808
 Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company,
 839
 Lehmanowski, Lewis, 768
 Leib, James Ronaldson, 308, 811, 817
 Leigh, William, 127–28
 Leiper, George Gray, 537–38, 550
 Leiper, Matthew, 831
 Leipers & Co., 780
 Leland, John, 485–86
 Leland, Sarah Divine, 485–86
 Lelewel, Joachim, 419, 805
 Leonard, John, 460, 812, 814–15,
 830, 841
 Leonard, John A. B., 812
 Leopold, Grand Duke of Baden, 788,
 810, 825
 Leopold I, King of the Belgians, 797,
 827, 835
 Letcher, Robert Perkins, 773
 Levy, Chapman, 853, 855

- Levy, David, 52
 Lewis, David M., 811
 Lewis, Dixon Hall, 37–38, 55
 Lewis, Jonathan, 813
 Lewis, Mary Ann. *See* Pageot, Mary Ann Lewis
 Lewis, Morgan, 787
 Lewis, Samuel, 834
 Lewis, William Berkeley: 134–35, 353–54, 441–42, 450, 461–63, 476–77; 80, 249, 548, 550; AJ's business agent, 173, 499, 818, 825, 853; AJ's political operative, 21–22, 27, 74, 134–35, 329, 353–54, 422, 442, 450, 462, 464, 476–77, 480–82, 491–93, 742, 817; greetings to and from, 25–26, 38, 254, 281, 290, 297, 421, 428, 449, 460, 466, 480, 551, 594, 750; and salt springs lease, 133–34, 163, 210–12, 220–23; second auditor, 22, 824, 834
 Lewis and Clark expedition, 303
 Librarian of Congress, 71
 Lieven, Christopher Andreievitch, 195, 198, 204, 276
Life of Andrew Jackson (1817), 727
 Lighthouse bill veto (1830), 472, 475, 592, 594, 665–66
 Lightner, Isaac Ferree, 568
 Lincoln, Abraham, 659
 Lincoln, Benjamin, 414, 416
 Lindsay, George F., 780, 785, 793, 841
 Lindsay, William, 533–34
 Lindsley, Harvey, 424, 544
 Lindsley, Nathaniel Lawrence, 544
 Lindsley, Philip: 544
 Lining, Thomas, 533–34
 Linn, Lewis Fields, 818
 Linnard, Thomas Beasley, 815
 Lippincott, Mary, 174
 Lippincott, Selina, 174
 List, Friedrich, 810, 833
 Little Osages. *See* Osage Indians
 Little Rock, Ark., land office, 847
 Liverpool consulate, 157–58
 Livingston, Charles Ludlow, 794
 Livingston, Cora, 494–95, 659
 Livingston, Edward (*see also* Livingston, Edward, secretary of state): 60, 73–74, 81, 85, 148–49, 180, 206–9, 212–13, 228, 261, 297, 436, 460, 488–89, 494–95, 562–63, 565–66, 588, 612, 658–59, 675, 753, 757, 762; family relations, 360, 459, 488, 495; greetings, 307, 418, 458–59, 466; minister to France, 176, 178, 193–94, 504–5, 613; Randolph on, 15–16, 161, 176, 178, 191–92, 197–98
 Livingston, Edward, secretary of state: absence, 445, 488, 494, 824; annual message draftsman, 633–41; appointment, 768; and appointments of congressmen, 757; and Arkansas, 183, 766; and Austrian trade, 784–85; and Belgium, 488–89, 783–84; and British colonial trade, 785, 787, 795, 800; and British relations, 23–25, 92, 106, 108, 142–43, 145, 153–56, 166–67, 169–70, 201, 205, 228, 786, 796–97; and Capitol statuary, 159, 850–51; and Carroll funeral, 569; and clerk hire, 148–49, 212–13, 494–95, 797; and Colombian relations, 767, 790; and consular appointments, 460, 771, 843; and consular removals, 562–63, 567, 847, 849; and counterfeiting, 801; and court protocol, 166, 169–70; and customs reciprocity, 853; and Danish relations, 808; and Department expenses, 813, 818, 835; and diplomatic compensation, 228, 319, 321, 741, 762, 804; and diplomatic correspondence publication, 436, 460, 494–95; and Dutch jewels case, 26–27, 767, 769; and European fisheries, 777, 815; and executive nominations, 778, 851; and federal register, 801; and Florida, 60, 74, 803, 843; and French relations, 73–74, 178, 770, 851; and fugitive extradition, 791; and Mexican boundary survey, 243, 261, 489–90, 588, 752–53, 842; and Mexican relations, 49, 51, 66, 69, 75, 85, 124–25, 127, 152, 180, 314–15, 426, 428, 458, 483, 485, 523, 766, 811, 850; and Neapolitan spolia-

- tion claims, 267, 297, 640; and Northeast boundary, 206–9, 268, 322, 445–46, 488, 773–74, 781, 793; and nullification, 488, 658–59, 673, 675; nullification draftsman, 658–59, 675, 680, 682, 687–711; and office quarters, 436, 795, 797; and Pacific territory, 791, 794; and pardon cases, 565–66, 781, 800, 827, 830–32; and Patent Office, 148–49, 212–13, 795, 818; and Pennsylvania marshal, 783; and *Portsmouth* claim, 562–63, 620, 840, 843; and Portugal, 166, 169–70, 488, 798; and Potomac bridge, 824–25; and public printers, 629; and Russian relations, 81, 197, 317–22, 532, 612, 737–39, 842–43; and S. G. Howe, 803; and Sacken controversy, 612, 738–39; and Sloat claim, 795; and South Carolina marshal, 673, 851; and Spanish relations, 640, 816; and Sweden, 852; and Turkey, 786, 808, 821; and Va./Md. boundary, 806
- Livingston, Edward Philip: **359–60**; 713–14
- Livingston, Louise D’Avezac Moreau de Lassy, 458–59, 494
- Livingston, Mary Croke Broom, 359–60
- Livingston, Robert R., 9
- Lockwood, Thomas Perkins, 830
- London Conference of 1830, 141–42, 144, 166, 195, 198, 205, 488, 528
- Long, Gabriel W., 606
- Long, Stephen Harriman, 776, 839
- Loughborough, Preston Samuel, 441–42
- Louisa Barbara* (Dutch ship), 829–30, 835
- Louise, Princess of France, 827, 835
- Louise, Princess of Saxe-Weimar, 201–2, 205
- Louisiana: judge appointment, 790; naval timber reserves, 795, 801, 825, 840; presidential election, 504, 539–40, 551, 725–26; Spanish land claims, 770
- Louisiana Purchase (1803), 7, 9, 754–55
- Louison (Potawatomi), 784
- Louis Philippe, King of the French, 175, 178, 246, 528, 635, 827, 835
- Louisville Public Advertiser*, 304
- Love, Charles Jones, 291, 461, 463, 466–67, 547
- Love, Frances Peyton Dixon, 291, 461, 466, 676
- Love, Mary Ann Dillard, 490
- Love, Robert: **489–90**; 261, 588, 804, 842, 847
- Love, Thomas Dillard, 847
- Lovejoy, John Naylor, 304
- Lovejoy & Denham: **304**
- Lowrie, Walter, 169–70, 757
- Loyall, George, 812
- Lucas, Robert, 847
- Luckett, Craven P., 776–77
- Luckett, Susan Greenup, 776
- Ludwig, King of Bavaria, 532
- Lufborough, Nathan, 819
- Lumpkin, Wilson: **10–14**, **316–17**, **412–14**; 476–77, 713–14, 765, 818
- Lyles, Thomas, 804
- Lynch, D. L., 829
- Lyon, Chittenden, 72–73, 784
- Lyon, France, Polish relief society, 418–19, 425
- Lysimachus, 138–39
- Lytle, John Stahl, 164–65
- Lytle, Robert Todd, 789
- Lytle, William, 165
- Macaulay, Patrick, 109–10, 144, 205, 244, 247, 279
- Mace, Thomas, 804–5
- Machen, Lewis Henry, 824
- Macomb, Alexander: **440–41**, **454–56**; 155; and Black Hawk War, 303, 440–41, 454–56, 826; and court-martials, 256, 542, 798; and Fort King, 52; and ordnance corps, 238; and S. Carolina defenses, 546
- Madawaska incident, 448
- Madison, James, 138–39, 746
- Madisonville, La., custom house, 809
- Magruder, Mary, 766
- Mahmud II, Sultan of Turkey, 846, 851–52
- Mahon, Michael, 829

- Mahon's River (Del.), 592, 594
Maine: appointments, 825; congressmen recommend, 771; and Northeast boundary, 206–9, 268, 322, 445–46, 448, 488, 776, 793; presidential election, 563–64
Mainz, Germany, 244–45, 247
Maison, Nicolas Joseph, 532
Maitland, Thomas, 846
Mallett, Edward James, 804
Malone, Samuel B., 791, 803, 807
“Mammoth cheese,” 485–86
Manchester, England, consulate, 765, 769–70
Mangino, Rafael, 50–51, 66–68
Mangum, Willie Person, 814
Manila consulate, 789
Mann, Joseph, 807
Manning, Richard Irvine, 732–33
Mansfield, Earl of (William Murray), 197, 199
“March of Intellect,” 15–16
Marcy, William Learned: and BUS, 409; and Genêt, 3–4; and “Marcy's farm,” 592, 594; in N.Y. politics, 154–55, 269, 509–10, 613, 623–24, 712–14, 759; Van Buren and, 24–25, 108–9
Mardis, Samuel Wright, 34–35
Maria Amalia of the Two Sicilies, 797, 827
Maria Cristina of Savoy, 845, 854
Maria Luisa Fernanda, Infanta of Spain, 777, 815
Marine corps: court-martials, 555–56, 796, 834, 836, 840; officer appointments, 771, 786, 788, 797, 815, 823, 834, 845–46, 854; officers' quarters, 811
Marion family (S.C.), 658–59
Mark Anthony (horse), 82–84
Markoe, Francis, Jr., 557
Marks, William, 130–31
Marseille consulate, 847, 849
Marshall, John: 9, 130–31, 674; *McCulloch* case, 353; *Worcester* case, 151, 178–79, 226
Marshall, William, 766, 768
Marshals, U.S. *See under names and states*
Martin, Andrew Jackson, 149
Martin, George Washington: **149**; 72, 75–76, 216, 218
Martin, John P., 802
Martin, Lucinda Rucker Donelson, 72, 149
Martin, William, 848, 853
Martin, William Thomas, 802
Maryland: and BUS (*see McCulloch v. Maryland*); presidential election, 563; Virginia boundary, 806
Masi, F. & Co., 812
Mason, George, 808
Mason, James: **608–9**
Mason, John, 622–23, 680, 736
Mason, John, Jr., 622–23, 680
Mason, John Thomson, 9, 78, 94, 850, 852–53
Mason, Milo, 855
Mason, Mr. (Tenn.), 468
Massachusetts: and BUS, 70, 409; politics and elections, 485–86, 563, 607–8, 798–99
Massias, Abraham A., 533–34, 585, 851, 853, 855
Matamoros, Mexico, consulate, 804, 827, 830, 843
Mathews, Charles, 197, 199
Maulsby, John H., 771
Maury, James, 157–58
Maxcy, Virgil, 806, 821
Mayo, Isaac, 62
Mayson, Mr. (Tenn.), 607
Maysville Road veto, 378–79, 439, 452–53, 482, 540, 551, 594, 633, 665
McCaraher, Alexander, 842
McCarty, Johnathan, 72–73
McCauley, Daniel Smith, 844
McClung, Charles, 827
McClure, Richard, 230–31
McConnel, Alexander, 718, 720
McCorkle, Miles Blythe, 782
McCoy, Alexander (Cherokee), 290
McCoy, Isaac, 171, 735, 776, 791, 797
McCoy, John Calvin, 171
McCoy, Rice, 171
McCracken, Henry F., 766
McCrady, Edward, 622–23
McCulloch, James Haines, 270–71

- McCulloch v. Maryland*, 341–44, 346, 353, 385, 392–94, 396, 399, 401–2, 409
- McDonnell, John, 826
- McDonogh, Margaret, 806, 846
- McDuffie, George: BUS champion, 15–16, 23, 197, 199, 266, 310; Calhounite and nullifier, 15–16, 139–40, 197, 262, 584, 622
- McGavock, James, 468
- McGavock, Randal, 468
- McGavock, Sarah Dougherty Rodgers, 468
- McGee, Malcolm, 599, 605
- McGillivray, William (Chickasaw), 606
- McGrath, John W., 842
- McHenry, James, 765, 769–70
- McHenry, Robert W., 817
- McIlvaine, Joseph B., 840
- McIntire, Rufus, 771
- McIntosh, John Houston, Jr.: 51–52
- McIntosh, William (Creek), 525, 527
- McKeever, Isaac, 834
- McKenney, Thomas Loraine, 748–49
- McKennie, Clement Pynes, 218–19, 792
- McKeon, John, 737–38
- McKim, Isaac, 794
- McKinley, John, 38, 55–56, 121–23, 163, 781
- McKnew, Zadoc W., 825
- McKnight, George B., 556
- McLane, Catherine Milligan, 176, 179, 445, 458, 462
- McLane, Louis (*see also* McLane, Louis, Treasury secretary): 261–63, 424–25, 444–46; acting secretary of war, 35; appointed secretary of state, 505; cholera draftsman, 354, 356–57; Federalism, 15–16, 144; greetings to and from, 276, 458–59, 462, 466, 738; Gwin editorialist, 424–25, 433, 444–46, 459, 462; and impressment issue, 142, 145; late minister to Britain, 228, 275; on nullifiers, 444; and *Portsmouth* claim, 562–63, 620; Randolph on, 15–16, 160–61, 176, 179, 198; and Van Buren, 107–8, 144, 148, 154, 305, 509, 540, 550, 593–94, 623; West Indian trade settlement, 102–3, 111, 113, 115, 155, 795
- McLane, Louis, Treasury secretary: 75, 622; absence, 790, 823, 839; annual message draftsman, 633, 641–43, 649; annual reports, 16, 23, 641–42, 650–51, 713–14; appointment, 115; and British colonial trade, 784, 799; and BUS, 15–16, 23, 161, 305, 370, 409, 593, 628, 650–51, 729–30; and Charleston customs officers, 533–34, 558–59, 587, 589; and claims adjudications, 254, 770, 823; and clerk hire, 248; and Creek reservation, 801; and Creek surveys, 723–24; and customs appointments, 270, 509; and Dutch jewels case, 26–27, 765; and French claims commissioners, 445–46; and GLO funds, 829; and insolvent debtor law, 80; and New York suits, 844; and Northeast boundary, 268, 445–46; and office quarters, 436; and pardon appeals, 804, 806, 829, 832–33, 835; and Potomac bridge, 445–46, 824, 835; public lands report, 801; and ship overloading, 823, 829, 835; successor, 504–5, 591, 593–94, 613–14, 623; and tariff, 262–63, 713–14
- McLane, Rebecca Wells, 462–63
- McLaughlin, James A., 713
- McLean, George Washington, 815
- McLean, John, 236
- McLemore, Elizabeth Donelson, 312–13, 323, 459, 466, 536
- McLemore, John Christmas: 512–13, 513–14; 38, 80, 103, 123, 312, 323, 466, 496, 536
- McLemore, Mary, 38, 174, 248, 252, 312–13, 333, 423–24, 428, 438, 449, 459–60, 462, 466, 479, 500, 517, 520, 536, 538, 618, 852
- McLene, Jeremiah, 720
- McLish, John (Chickasaw), 599, 605
- McMahon, William, 795
- McMichael, Margaret, 839
- McMinn, Joseph, 464–65
- McNair, Alexander Washington, 65
- McNairy, Boyd, 37–38, 163, 210

- McNairy, John, 38, 210
 McNairy, Nathaniel Adams, 37–38, 210
 McNamee, Elias, 798
 McNeal, John Harris, 817–18
 McRee, William, 261, 736, 753, 775, 790–91, 804
 McVay, Hugh, 625
 Meade, Richard Worsam, 805, 815
 Mease, James, 854
 Meehan, John Silva: 71
 Meigs, Henry, 507, 510
 Melcher, Nathaniel, 807
 Melcher, William Fullerton, 804, 807, 809
 Menominee Indians, 455–56, 785, 819, 830
 Mercein, Thomas R., 775
 Mercer, Charles Fenton, 138–39
 Methodist clergy, 33, 477
 Mexia, José Antonio, 67, 69
 Mexican boundary treaty: Arkansas location, 5, 124–25, 766; ratification, 120, 123–25, 152, 242, 314, 491, 783, 796, 803; Sabine River location controversy, 4–6, 9, 60, 120, 123–25, 152, 242, 314, 491; survey commission, 242, 261, 489–91, 588, 676–77, 735–36, 752–53, 804, 822, 842, 848; terms, 4
 Mexico (*see also* Mexican boundary treaty *and* Texas): in annual message, 637–38; British and European relations, 8–9, 67–69, 314, 657–58, 741, 747, 749; internal conditions and civil war, 49–51, 66–69, 78, 93–95, 99–100, 116–17, 125–27, 131–32, 180, 242, 313–15, 426–27, 456–58, 483–85, 518–23, 544–45, 657, 747, 751, 786, 811, 853; maritime depredations and U.S. naval deployment, 51, 69, 78, 180, 427, 484–85, 519, 545, 786; U.S. commercial treaty, 4, 67, 69, 75, 85, 120, 123–25, 132, 242, 314–15, 491, 746–47, 749, 783, 796, 803; U.S. consulates, 6, 427, 434, 804, 827, 830, 841, 843 (*see also under* Vera Cruz); U.S. dispatch and treaty bearers, 67, 69, 74–75, 85, 123, 125, 427, 826, 850; U.S. overland trade, 6, 638, 747, 749, 779
 Miami Indian treaty reservations, 788, 792, 803, 820
 Michael, prince of Russia, 836
 Michigan Territory: appointments, 780, 783; internal improvements, 817, 826; judge controversies, 184–85, 774–75; land donation, 787; militia, 455–56, 823; salt spring leases, 812. *See also* Black Hawk War
 Middleton, Ann Elbertina Van Ness, 175, 178
 Middleton, Arthur, 178
 Middleton, Henry, 16, 138, 175, 178
 Middleton family (S.C.), 658
 Miguel, Dom, King of Portugal, 169–70, 417–18, 529, 532
 Milburn, Timothy, 848–49
 Miles, John, Jr., 855
 Miles, William, 805, 807, 810
 Militia: in annual message, 655–56; in Black Hawk War, 302–3, 454–56, 655, 823; and nullification suppression, 573, 575, 580, 583, 616, 744, 759–60; South Carolina, 546, 609, 615, 618, 621, 626–27 (*see also* Nullification)
 Miller, James, 773
 Miller, Stephen Decatur, 55–57, 422, 446, 744, 813
 Miller, Thomas, 138, 140
 Miller & Co., 676
 Millington, John, 132–33
 Mills, Robert, 811
 Mills, Sylvester Higley, 783
 Minor, Charles Landon Carter, 255–56, 798
 Mint of the United States, 289, 765, 769, 778, 802
 Mississippi: Choctaw cession lands, 676, 744, 814, 839, 852; Indian removal (*see* Chickasaw Indians; Choctaw Indians); judgeship, 821; naval timber reserves, 832, 844; politics, 76, 160, 250, 503–4, 622, 721–22, 833, 835; presidential election, 504–5, 539–40, 551; Spanish land claims, 770; U.S. marshal, 806, 821

- Missouri: Indian commissioner, 822;
land claims, 818, 822, 851, 855;
Mexican overland trade, 638, 747,
749; presidential election, 540
- Mitchell, David Brydie, 326, 329
- Mitchell, Mr., 529
- Mitchell, Thomas Rothmaler, 810
- Mix, Mervine Peck, 95–96, 781
- Moctezuma*. *See* *Montezuma* (Mexican schooner)
- Moctezuma, José Esteban, 456, 458,
484, 518, 520, 811
- Mohawk & Hudson railroad, 447–48
- Mongrain, Baptiste (Osage), 65
- Mongrain, Noel (Osage), 812
- Monroe, James: diplomat, 9;
Gouverneur and, 27–28, 535;
patronage policy and appointments,
15–16, 104, 358, 424, 433, 661;
president, 96, 185, 617; in Seminole
controversy, 52–54, 77–78, 128–30,
232–33, 287, 324–30, 491–93, 535;
Va. convention delegate, 138–39
- Montevallo, Ala., land office, 817
- Montezuma* (Mexican schooner),
484–85, 519
- Montoya, José María, 8–9, 741
- Moore, Benjamin Tyson, 122–23
- Moore, Gabriel, 37–38, 55–56, 76, 97–
98, 121–23, 160, 422–23, 477, 481
- Moore, John M., 849, 851
- Moore, Maurice Augustus, 856
- Moore, Samuel (Md.), 568
- Moore, Samuel (Mint director), 765
- Moore, Thomas Patrick, 638, 748–49,
751
- Moran, Pierre (Potawatomi), 768, 779
- Mordecai, Alfred, 826
- Morehead, James Turner, 464–65
- Morgan, William, 269
- Morison, David, 71–72, 215–17, 239,
278, 280, 311, 786, 811
- Morocco, relations with, 817
- Morris, Charles, 821
- Morris, Phineas Pemberton, 849
- Morris, Thomas (N.Y.), 589–90
- Morris, Thomas (Ohio), 720
- Mortier, Adolphe Édouard Casimir
Joseph (Duke of Treviso), 318, 321,
528, 532
- Morton family (Va.), 157
- Moseley, Peter Guerrant, 363
- Moses, Myer, 847–48
- Moses, Reuben, 826, 834, 848
- Moss, Joseph Moravia, 794
- Moss, Mr. (Va.), 506
- Moss, Samuel, 728
- Moulder, John Nicholson, 846
- Moulton, David, 853
- Mount Salus, Miss., land office: receiver,
66, 780; register (*see* Gwin, Samuel)
- Muhlenberg, Henry Augustus Philip,
793, 810
- Muhlenberg, Peter, Jr., 793
- Müller, Bernhard, 39–40, 45–48
- Munich consulate, 822
- Munroe, Thomas (1771–1852), 321
- Munroe, Thomas (c1798–1834), 318,
321
- Murray, John Samuel, 205
- Murray, William (Earl of Mansfield),
197, 199
- Muscat, relations with, 775, 780
- Mushulatubbe (Choctaw): 188–89
- Múzquiz, Melchor, 456–58, 483–85,
520
- Myer, Franklin S., 786
- Mynatt, William C., 452
- Naglee, Henry Morris, 835–36
- Naglee, John, 728–29, 784
- Nancy (slave), 424
- Naples. *See* Two Sicilies
- Napoleon, Emperor of France, 128,
176, 179, 195, 244–47, 321
- Nash, Thomas, 27
- Nashville, Tenn., political meetings, 26,
164–65, 462–63, 632, 734–35, 827
- Nashville, University of, 544, 837
- Nashville *National Banner and
Nashville Whig*, 102–3, 735
- Nashville *Republican and State Gazette*,
165, 735
- Natchez* (U.S. Navy sloop), 137, 587,
621, 630
- National debt: AJ on, 261–62, 296,
373, 396, 482, 665, 707, 735; in
annual message, 641–43, 647,
650–52, 735; BUS and, 352–53,
404, 650–52; Clay on, 105, 109;

- National debt (*cont.*)
retirement anticipated, 17, 266,
310; sinking fund, 89–90, 641;
Van Buren on, 105
- National Hotel (D.C.). *See* Gadsby's
hotel
- National Intelligencer* (D.C.), 55, 93,
135, 151, 179, 204–5, 243, 285,
304, 462–63, 563, 761, 838
- National Journal* (D.C.), 495
- National Republicans, 17–19, 269, 465,
474–75, 608, 736. *See also* Clay,
Henry: presidential candidate;
Elections, presidential, 1832
- Naval asylum. *See* Hospitals and asy-
lums, military and marine
- Navy: Brazilian squadron, 100–101;
burial protocol, 834; chaplains,
136–37, 770, 836; command con-
troversies, 100–101; commodore
rank, 51; court-martials, 799, 802,
805–6, 808, 810, 813–16, 830, 834,
840, 844, 854; diplomatic functions,
427, 545, 795, 807, 821; gunners,
833, 835; Mediterranean squadron,
176, 179, 821; Mexican deployment
(*see under* Mexico); midshipman
appointments, 225, 765–68, 770–
71, 773–74, 777, 780–82, 785, 804,
808, 810, 812–13, 816, 840, 843–
44, 846–47, 849, 854; midshipman
dismissals and reinstatements,
61–62, 662, 776, 781, 796, 805–6,
808, 810, 839, 844, 849; nautical
inventions and improvements, 809,
837, 847; nullification countermea-
sures, 487, 492–93, 497–99, 506,
586–87, 610–11, 617, 621, 630;
officer appointments and promo-
tions, 766, 775, 793, 799–802, 804,
807, 816, 822, 846, 849, 852, 855;
officer dismissals and reinstate-
ments, 95–96, 774, 777–78, 781–
82, 796, 808, 815–16, 834; Pacific
squadron supply, 803; pay, pensions,
and prize money, 769, 808, 811,
829; purser appointments, 769, 777,
789, 793–94, 796, 802, 805, 808,
817, 844; purser delinquencies, 237,
768; Sumatra expedition, 639–40,
820; surgeon appointments and dis-
missals, 767–68, 772, 774, 776,
780, 785, 791, 803, 807; timber
reserves (*see* Public lands: naval tim-
ber reserves); *Vincennes* affray, 136–
37; West Indian squadron, 51,
61–62, 69, 78, 136–37, 180, 427,
493, 617–18
- Navy agents: appointments, 424–25,
432–33, 765, 781, 822, 835, 841,
846; compensation, 780; complaints
against, 808
- Navy Commissioners, Board of:
abolition of, 105, 109; corruption
charges, 564–65, 714–15, 840–42,
848; and navy yard locations, 617–
18; personnel, 101, 223, 821;
Renshaw controversy, 100–101;
Stiles bread controversy, 81–82,
773, 779
- Navy Department (*see also* Woodbury,
Levi, Navy secretary): acting secre-
tary, 825; and U.S. Pacific territory,
791, 794; annual report, 713–14,
845; contingent expenditures, 815,
817, 820–21; public works, 773
- Navy yards: proposed at Charleston,
617–18. *See also under locality*
names
- Nederlands Welvaren* (Dutch ship), 829,
832
- Nelson, John, 107, 109, 267, 297, 637,
640, 713–14
- Neptune* (brig), 69
- Nesmith, James, 809
- Nesselrode, Karl Robert, 195, 198,
319–22, 528, 531, 612, 738–39
- Netherlands: and Belgium, 144, 166,
198, 204–5, 488–89; fisheries
regulations, 777; minister recalled,
831. *See also* Dutch jewels case;
William I, King of the Netherlands
- Neville, Morgan, 816
- Newburyport, Mass., custom house,
798
- New Echota, Treaty of (Cherokee,
1835), 147
- New Granada, in annual message, 638
- New Hampshire: marshal appointment,
772, 774, 776, 782, 793; politics

- and patronage, 70, 103, 173, 516;
presidential election, 563–64
- New Harmony, Ind., 39, 42–43
- New Jersey: politics and elections, 563–
64, 838, 843, 846
- New Jersey Association for Improving
the Breed of Horses, 84, 501–2
- New London, Conn., custom house,
808
- Newnan, Daniel, 816
- New Orleans, Battle of, 3, 87, 165,
186, 224, 235, 416, 470–71,
767, 807, 854
- New Philadelphia Society, 48
- Newton, John Thomas, 95–96, 137,
781
- Newton, Thomas, 157
- New-York Advertiser*, 137
- New York City: congressional election,
838; customs appointments, 145,
214, 266–67, 507–10, 589–91, 594,
613, 623; navy agent, 781; political
meetings, 109, 594–95, 662, 713,
722–23, 748–49; postmastership,
27–28, 33–34, 509–10, 535, 589–
91; Tammany Hall, 109, 507, 510,
662, 713, 723; Working Men's
party, 748–49
- New-York Evening Post*, 178, 304
- New York Indians, 779. *See also*
Brothertown Indians
- New York Journal of Commerce*,
258
- New York Morning Courier and New-*
York Enquirer, 98, 213–14, 238,
266–67, 304, 363–64, 474, 478,
535
- New York State: banks and politics,
474, 593–94; congressmen recom-
mend, 783, 805; gubernatorial and
presidential elections, 143–45, 154–
55, 269, 474–75, 478, 508, 510,
563–64, 631, 662, 736, 755–56,
809; legislators recommend, 794;
tariff and nullification stance, 262,
305, 595, 722–23, 750, 759; U.S.
marshal, 589–90, 853; Van Buren
support, 86–88, 108–10, 115, 148,
153, 165, 168, 170, 176
- Nichol & Hill, 20–21
- Nichol, Charles McAllister, 20–21, 787
- Nichol, Josiah: 20–21, 162; 71, 215–17,
251, 278, 281, 295, 333, 463, 471,
499, 539, 745, 766, 786, 815, 827
- Nichol, William, 20–21
- Nicholas, John, 186
- Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia:
Buchanan on, 317–18, 321, 528–
32; in European affairs, 198, 204–5;
Randolph on, 175, 194–95; U.S.
relations, 81, 637, 739, 792, 836
- Nicholds, William, 839
- Nichols, Thomas, 770
- Niles, John Milton, 771
- Noah, Mordecai Manuel, 213–14, 237–
38, 266–67, 590–91, 794
- Noaquett (Potawatomi), 789
- Noble, Patrick, 607–8
- Norfolk, Va., navy yard. *See* Gosport, Va.
- North, Frederick (Lord North), 177,
179, 195, 198
- North Carolina: congressmen recom-
mend, 814; gold mining, 109–10,
806; marshal appointment, 796;
and nullification, 616, 622; presi-
dential election, 446, 462–63, 489–
90, 540, 591, 593–95, 613
- North Carolina, University of, 729
- Northeast boundary dispute: in annual
message, 636; border friction, 447–
48; Cabinet on, 322; Maine nego-
tiation, 206–9, 268, 445–46, 488,
776, 793; in Senate, 207–9, 268,
322, 773–74, 776, 781, 793
- Northern Liberties, Bank of the, 728–29
- Nourse, Joseph, 770, 796
- Nourse, Michael, 823, 855
- Nowland, Edward William Benjamin,
253–54, 753–54, 778
- Nowland, Harriet Craig Berryhill,
753–54
- Nowokeshik. *See* Campau, François
Edouard
- Nuckolls, William Thompson, 855–56
- Nullification (*see also* Nullification
Proclamation): AJ on, 249, 265,
281, 422, 450, 460–61, 476–77,
480–82, 487, 499, 504, 539, 545,
549–50, 560, 588–90, 630, 632,
657–58, 672–73, 675, 678–84,

Nullification (*cont.*)

723–24, 726–27, 729–30, 745–46, 751–55; AJ's countermeasures, 487, 492–93, 497–99, 506, 533–34, 546, 557–61, 584–87, 609–11, 621, 630–31, 678–79, 727, 730–31, 851, 856; in annual message, 589, 633, 643, 648–49; Baldwin's suppression plan, 570–83; Calhoun and (*see* Calhoun, John Caldwell: nullifier); Hamilton's message, 621–22, 626–27, 661, 672–73, 705, 711, 734–35; Hayne's proclamation, 741–43, 852; McLane on, 444; northern response, 661–62, 672, 722–23, 750, 759–60; Randolph on, 15–16, 127, 139, 177–78, 187–88, 197, 659, 674; S. Carolina congressmen endorse, 444, 446, 450; S. Carolina convention and ordinance, 532, 549, 560–61, 614–15, 621, 626–27; S. Carolina enforcement measures, 615, 621–22, 626–27, 741–43; S. Carolina Unionist resistance, 532–34, 539, 553, 560, 584–87, 607–8, 615–18, 621–22, 626–27, 630–31, 661, 673, 678–79, 732–33, 741–43, 754, 844–45; southern opinion, 121, 123, 476–77, 480–82, 512–13, 540, 553, 622, 625, 673, 680–81, 733–35, 744, 751–52, 758–59, 851; as “rebellion,” “revolution,” and “treason,” 481, 560, 616, 621, 632, 658, 672–73, 675, 678–79, 681–87, 702–4, 706, 709, 724, 727, 742, 751–55, 758; Van Buren on, 540, 595, 750, 758–59

Nullification Proclamation: **680–711**; preparation and drafts, 658–59, 672, 675, 678; AJ disseminates, 679, 712, 724, 726; praised, 722–23, 732, 750, 851; denounced, 752; S. Carolina response, 741–43

O'Brien, John Paul Jones, 804–6
Offley, David, 786
Ogden, Francis Barber, 158, 247
Ogden, Henry, 849
Ogden, Lewis, 810
O'Gorman, Charles Thaddeus, 67, 69

O'Hanlon, Elizabeth Myers, 627–28, 673, 742
O'Hanlon, James: **626–28, 673, 741–43**
Ohio: boundary survey, 821; and BUS, 403, 410; congressmen, 803; Indian removal, 28–31, 768, 777–78, 787–88, 827–28, 830; land office locations, 797, 819; politics and elections, 420–21, 540, 563–64, 718–20, 749, 817
Old Hannah (Hermitage slave), 238, 241
“Old Hickory,” 254, 742
Old Sampson (Hermitage slave), 238, 241, 676–77
Oliver, Robert, 309–10, 622–23
Olmsted, Charles G., 795
Oman. *See* Muscat
O'Neale, William, 233, 235, 789
Onís y Gonzalez Vara López y Gómez, Luis de, 325, 329
Ontario (U.S. Navy sloop), 297
Orange, Prince of (William II), 214
Orange, Princess of (Anna Pavlovna), 26, 214–15, 765, 767. *See also* Dutch jewels case
Ordnance corps. *See under* Army
Orloff, Alexis, 204–5
Osage Indians: **62–65**; treaty reservations, 812, 814
Osborn, Ralph, 410
Osborn v. Bank of the United States, 410
Oscar (horse) and progeny, 32–33, 76, 84, 217, 278, 280, 282, 333, 465
Osgood, John W., 799
Osgood, Samuel, 510
Osten-Sacken, Dimitri von der. *See* Sacken, Baron de
Otero, Pedro, 456, 458
Ottawa Indians, 31, 766, 796
Otto I, King of Greece, 532, 833
Ouachita, La., land office, 805
Ouilmett, Michell (Potawatomi), 772
“Overslaugh” (N.Y.), 592, 594
Overton, John: **547, 553, 755–57**; 458; with AJ, 241, 277, 446, 459; on politics and patronage, 547, 553, 735, 755–57, 805; and racing colts,

- 238–39, 256, 277; and Van Buren, 479, 486, 547, 727, 754–57
- Overton, Mary McConnell White May, 238, 241, 547
- Overton, Walter Hampden, 134–35
- Owen, Thomas Jefferson Vance, 789
- Owens, John, 824–25
- Owens, Theodore, 807, 809–10
- Pace, Alfred E., 838
- Pacolet (horse) and progeny, 84
- Pactole* (French ship), 851
- Page, Benjamin, 271
- Page, James, 725, 728–30, 800
- Pageot, Alphonse Joseph Yves, 249, 714
- Pageot, Mary Ann Lewis: 25–26, 248, 252, 423–24, 462, 466, 477, 548, 550–51; marriage, 249, 297, 713–14
- Paita, Peru, consulate, 845
- Paithuckoosaw (Shawnee): 435
- Palmer, Barnabas, 768
- Palmerston, Viscount (Henry John Temple), 106, 108–9, 141–42, 154–56, 166–67, 170, 199–205, 224, 620
- Panama Congress (1826), 154–55
- Pandarus, 192–93
- Papin, Pierre Melicourt, 65
- Pardons and remissions, presidential
See also Dutch jewels case
 granted: 140–41, 227–28, 766, 770, 780, 782–83, 785, 787, 798, 800, 804–11, 813, 818, 822–25, 828–29, 832, 836–46, 849–50, 852–54
 opposed: 841–42, 845
 refused: 228, 359–60, 565–66, 713–14, 819, 835, 845
 solicited and recommended: 359–60, 565–66, 713–14, 766, 769, 775, 780, 784, 787, 791, 793, 796, 799–800, 804–13, 815, 817, 819–20, 823–38, 840–43, 848–49, 851, 853–55
 offenses: abandoning ship's crewman, 775, 787; assault, 766, 769, 782–83, 805–6, 813, 823–24, 826, 828, 836–38, 840–44, 848–54; BUS embezzlement, 359–60, 713–14, 805, 808, 817; counterfeiting and forgery, 813, 817–18, 822, 826–27, 834, 836, 848; Dutch jewels theft, 827–28; gambling, 824, 836, 840; horse stealing, 824–25; insulting police, 780; mail pilfering, 804, 807, 809; mail robbery, 810–11; manslaughter, 784, 793, 796, 799–800; murder, 140–41, 227–28, 785, 798; murderous assault, 800, 830–31, 838; mutiny, 565–66; passenger ship overloading, 791, 819–20, 823, 825, 828–30, 832, 835–39, 855; petty theft, 766, 769–70, 804–5, 808–9, 811–12, 823–24, 828, 842, 846, 853–54; receiving stolen property, 807; selling into slavery, 804; ship clearance omissions, 804, 806, 815, 818, 832, 836; slave importation, 800, 810; smuggling, 800, 812, 819, 832–33, 837, 840–43, 845
- Paris, George, 808–9
- Paris, Treaty of (1783), 206, 208
- Paris consulate, 566–67, 591, 849, 853
- Parker, Richard Elliott, 84–85, 779
- Parkinson, George, 725
- Parkman, Daniel, 805
- Parks, Pleasant, 775
- Parsons, Benjamin S., 525–27
- Parsons, Enoch: 289–90, 525–28
- Parsons, Kitty Kain, 527–28
- Parsons, William, 809
- Pashipaho (Sac), 469–70
- Patent Office: clerkships, 148–49, 212–13, 782; expenditures, 818; quarters, 795
- Patterson, Daniel Todd: 223–24; 101, 833
- Patterson, Robert Maskell: 85–86; 90, 159
- Patterson, William, 309–10

- Patterson, William & Sons, 772
 Patteson, Benjamin, 123
 Paulding, James Kirke, 781
 Pawhuska (White Hair) (Osage): 62–65
 Pawnee Indians, 63
 Peabody, George, 772
 Peabody, Joseph, 772, 855
 Pearce, Dutee Jerauld, 798
 Pearce, Nathaniel, 786, 790, 792, 794, 844
 Pearl, Christopher, 136–37
 Pearse, Richard, 804, 843
 Pearson, P. F. & Co., 79–80, 96
 Pearson, Percifor F., 79–80, 96
 Peck, James Hawkins, 184–85
 Pedraza, Manuel Gómez, 520
 Pedro, Dom, of Brazil and Portugal, 169–70, 417–18, 488, 529, 532
 Pemberton, John: 14–15, 553–54, 712, 725, 728–29; and AJ's cook, 712, 725; on BUS directors, 14–15, 725, 728–29; introduces, 794, 800, 823; on politics, 14–15, 553–54, 780, 829; recommends for office, 767, 770, 780, 786, 829, 835–36, 849, 854
 Pendleton, Edmund Henry, 782
 Pendleton, James, 769
 Penitentiary. *See under* Columbia, District of
 Pennsylvania: appointments in, 767, 770–71, 800, 832; BUS issue, 421–22, 442, 531, 557, 729–30; congressmen and legislators recommend, 772, 777, 783, 810, 851, 856; marshal complaint, 783; and nullification, 661–62, 759–60; politics and elections, 14–15, 131, 168, 170, 176, 233–36, 262, 421–22, 442, 556–57, 587–88, 591, 613–14, 738–39, 756; 1832 presidential campaign, 17–19, 235–36, 421–22, 442, 463, 531, 540, 551, 553–54, 563–64, 591, 631–32, 736, 829
 Pennsylvania, University of, 156–57, 550
Pennsylvania Whig, 236
 Pensacola, Fla.: navy agent, 780, 835, 841; navy yard, 617–18; and Vincennes affray, 135–37
 Pension claims, military, 161–62, 784, 808. *See also under* Revolutionary War
 Pension Office clerkships, 808, 813
 Percival, John, 793
 Perdiccas, 138–39
 Pernambuco, Brazil, consulate, 825
 Perry, Matthew Calbraith, 360, 362
 Persico, Luigi, 158–59, 833
 Persse, Thomas Moore, 847
 Peruvian relations, 639, 771, 795
 Peters, William, 775, 787
 Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, 128
 Petigru, James Louis, 732–33
 Peyton, Balie, 760–61
 Phagan, John William, 35–36, 777
 Phelps, Noah Amherst, 771
 Philadelphia, Pa.: naval asylum, 836; navy yard, 556–57, 811; political meetings, 168, 170, 235–36, 421–22, 442, 556–57, 662; postmaster-ship, 18–19
 Philadelphia Bank, 728
 Philip II, King of Macedon, 390, 409
 Phillips, George, 841
 Phillips, Isaac, 765
 Phillips, Zalegman, 826, 829, 833, 838, 856
 Phoenix, Thomas, 802
 Piatt, William, 164–65
 Pickens family (S.C.), 658
 Pickett, George C., 832
 Pickett, William R., 527
 Pickman, Benjamin, 855
 Pierce, Benjamin, 173
 Pierce, Benjamin Kendrick, 173, 773, 782, 790
 Pierce, Franklin, 173
 Pilcher, Joshua, 828
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, 7, 9
 Pinckney, Thomas, 7, 9
 Pinckney family (S.C.), 658, 709
 Pirates and piracy, 484–85, 519, 639–40, 781, 820
 Piscataqua River improvements, 826
 Pitcher, Nathaniel, 508, 510
 Pitt, Hester Grenville, Baroness Chatham, 196, 198
 Pitt, William (1759–1806), 195–96, 198

- Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, 196, 198–99
Pittsburgh Mercury, 234–35
Pittsfield Sun (Mass.), 486
Pizarro Martinez, Francisco, 180
Platt, James, 809
Pleasanton, Stephen: 248–49; 149, 228, 319
Plummer, Franklin E., 66
Poindexter, George: AJ denounces, 55–56, 76, 97, 160, 250, 481, 504, 680, 712; AJ opponent, 122, 160, 250, 481, 503–4, 722, 833; *vs.* Hays and Gwin, 33, 298–300, 712; *vs.* Van Buren, 55–56, 76, 97–98, 503
Poinsett, Joel Roberts: 532–34, 559–60, 584–87, 609–11, 614–18, 621–23, 630–31, 678–80, 732–33; minister to Mexico, 4–7, 9, 125, 428, 739, 746–47, 749; recommends, 805, 844; Unionist and anti-nullification confidant, 532–34, 553, 558–60, 584–87, 609–11, 614–18, 621–23, 630–31, 678–80, 732–33, 754, 844, 853
Poland. *See* Polish revolt and relief efforts
Polari, Constant, 26, 214–15, 827–28
Polética, Pierre de, 531–32
Polish National Committee (Paris), 417–19, 805
Polish revolt and relief efforts, 175, 179, 417–19, 425, 532, 612, 805
Polk, Andrew Jackson, 229
Polk, James Knox: 729–30; 548, 618–19, 744, 846, 849
Polk, Lucius Junius, 38, 97–98, 174, 226, 229, 296–97, 311, 323, 331–32, 619, 735
Polk, Mary Ann Eastin: 323, 619, 735; accounts and expenses, 218–19, 818; courtship and marriage, 37–38, 97–98, 144–45, 174, 226, 229, 619; greetings, 25–26, 296–97, 312
Polk, Sarah Childress, 548, 618–19, 625
Polk, Sarah Hawkins, 229
Polk, William: 229; 98
Poll the parrot, 280
Polly Baker (horse), 32–33, 229, 271, 280, 311, 500–501, 506, 536–37
Poltava, Battle of, 127–28
Ponce, Puerto Rico, consulate, 768, 771, 812, 818
Pontotoc Creek, Treaty of (1832). *See under* Chickasaw Indians
Pool, Mr., 854
Pope, Alexander, 608
Pope, John, 182–83, 253, 748–49, 789, 840
Porter, David, 148–49, 493–94, 637, 846, 851–52
Porter, George Bryan, 185, 456, 779, 781, 823, 825
Porter, James, 827
Portsmouth, N.H., navy yard, 812
Portsmouth (ship), 563, 620, 840, 843
Portugal: civil war, 166, 169–70, 417–18, 488, 529, 532; U.S. chargé, 814; U.S. relations, 637, 798, 830
Post Office Department: Albany office, 594–495; annual reports, 23, 25, 845; expense report, 824; New York office, 27–28, 33–34, 509–10, 535, 589–91; Philadelphia office, 18–19; Richmond office, 156–57; South Carolina offices, 533, 558–60, 585, 587, 622, 680, 732–33; Washington office, 660–61
Potawatomi Indians: in Black Hawk War, 850; treaty reservations, 767–68, 772, 779, 784, 789, 820
Potomac bridge (D.C.), 445–46, 823–25, 835, 852–53
Potomac River improvements, 854
Potomac (U.S. Navy frigate), 820
Potts, David, Jr., 739
Potts, Stacy Gardner, 806
Poussin, William Tell, 811, 827
Powell, George W. J., 814
Prairie du Chien, Treaty of (1825), 455–56
Prairie du Chien, Treaty of (1829), 789
Prairie du Chien Indian agency, 455–56, 469
Preble, William Pitt, 207–9, 268, 445–46
Presbyterian church and clergy, 162, 258, 270, 448, 512, 544

- Prescott, William, 782
Presidential elections. *See* Elections, presidential
Presque Isle, Pa., custom house, 855
Prestage, William, 800, 830–31, 838
Preston, Ann Barraud Taylor, 157
Preston, Francis, 157, 817
Preston, James Francis, 817, 823
Preston, James Patton, 156–67
Preston, John, 157
Preston, Mr., 66
Preston, William Campbell, 741–43
Prevoux, John, 725, 852
Price, William M., 847
Priest, Gabriel, 35–36
Pringle, James Reid, 533–34, 558–61, 585, 587
Printers, public, 48–49, 234–35, 436, 629
Proclamation on Nullification. *See* Nullification Proclamation
Proli, Maximilian Ludwig. *See* Müller, Bernhard
Prophet, The (Sac). *See* Wabokieshiek
Prussia: in European affairs, 144, 176, 179, 204–5, 244–45, 247, 417–18, 528; Howe detention, 417–18, 803
Pryor, Cincinnatus, 805, 815
Pryor, Mr., 539, 677
Public lands: in annual message, 641, 643–46, 649; arsenal reserve, 838; bounty claims, 181, 837; lead leases and licenses, 802–3, 843; naval timber reserves, 795, 801, 805, 822, 825, 832, 840, 844, 852; private claims, 60, 252–54, 525, 770, 790–91, 818, 822, 842, 851, 855; salt springs leases, 812 (*see also* Tennessee: salt springs lease); summary report, 801. *See also* General Land Office; Land office appointments; Surveyors of public lands
Punch, John S., 802
Purcell, John Baptist, 805

Quincy, Charles Edmund, 805

Railroads, 132, 274, 310, 447–48, 839
Ralston, Matthew C., 845

Ramsay, William W., 319, 321
Randolph, Frances Bland, 179
Randolph, Isham, 674–75
Randolph, John: 15–16, 127–28, 138–40, 156–58, 160–61, 174–79, 187–88, 190–93, 194–99, 231–32, 330–31, 360–62, 419–20, 659, 674–75; AJ quotes, 459; on British society and politics, 176–77, 195–97, 361; on BUS, 15–16, 139, 161, 188, 197, 199, 330, 361, 419; on Calhoun, 15–16, 139–40, 161, 174, 176, 188, 192, 197, 362, 659, 674, 793; congressional candidate, 191, 674–75; on European affairs, 175–76, 194–95, 361; health complaints, 15, 127, 139, 161, 177, 184, 187–88, 190, 198, 209–10, 330, 360–62, 419, 659, 674, 792–93; horse breeder, 84; on Livingston and McLane, 15–16, 157, 160–61, 176, 178, 197–98; on military discipline, 191, 193; minister to Russia, 15–16, 81, 127, 174–75, 178, 198, 321, 360–62; on nullification, 127, 139, 178, 188, 197, 659, 674; plantation and overseer, 127, 139, 184, 419; postal complaints, 15, 127, 138, 156–57; recommends for preferment, 210, 330–31, 361, 659, 674, 793; on Ritchie, 127, 176, 674; seeks diplomatic post, 174, 176, 178, 184, 188, 195–97, 231–32; on slavery, 127, 138–39, 156, 177–78, 191, 419; on suffrage expansion, 138–39, 195, 674; in Va. convention, 138–39, 174, 178; on Van Buren, 16, 139, 174–76, 178, 188, 192, 419; on Virginia politics, 127, 138–39, 156–57, 160–61, 188, 191, 361, 419, 674; on Worcester, 178–79
Randolph, Mary O'Neale, 240–41
Randolph, Meriwether Lewis, 660–61
Randolph, Peyton, 177, 179
Randolph, Thomas Beverley, 660–61
Raphael, 159
Rapp, Frederick, 39, 42–43, 47
Rapp, Johann Georg, 38–48

- Rappists, 38–48
Rawdon, Lord (Francis Rawdon Hastings), 191, 193, 414, 416
Ray, James Brown, 770
Ray, Joseph, 825
Raymond, George B., 214–15
Read, James Gray, 829
Records, Daniel, 769
Records, Susan, 769
Reed, Edward Cambridge, 792
Reed, Rufus Seth, 855
Reed, William, 785
Reeder, Nathaniel, 780
Reese, William Brown, 452
Reeside, James, 173–74, 219, 438, 785, 802, 804, 825
Reformed Dutch Church, 269, 300–302, 356–57
Register of the Treasury, 214–15, 480–81, 823, 855
Reid, John, 727
Reid, Robert Raymond, 185
Removals from office policy: 17–19, 35–36, 157–58; AJ on, 111, 462–63, 494; as “proscription,” 59–60, 463. *See also* Appointments to office policy
Renshaw, James, 100–101, 498
Republicanism: 3–4, 39, 43, 58, 86, 88, 95, 104–5, 109–11, 115, 121, 158, 195, 202, 246, 275, 420, 462, 530, 608, 755–56, 758, 765; AJ espouses, 259, 265, 322, 366, 434, 439, 560, 642, 644, 648, 655, 680, 683, 711, 727, 751, 753
Republican Party (Jefferson/Jackson): 105, 109–11, 115, 127, 168, 281, 468, 485–86, 489, 508, 531, 557, 614, 674, 718–19, 775. *See also* New York City: Tammany Hall
Revenue cutters, 62, 558–59, 571–72, 576, 584, 812–13
Revolutionary War: 160–61, 177, 179, 186, 188, 193, 206; invoked against nullification, 658–59, 673, 678–79, 683, 691, 707–9, 744; invoked in BUS veto, 375, 379, 390, 408; pension claims, 180–81, 414–16, 642, 788, 831–32; Rochambeau claim, 306–7, 789; veterans, 186, 229, 249, 258, 284–85
Reynolds, Benjamin Franklin, 461, 599, 603–6, 715–17, 760
Reynolds, Enoch, 768, 834
Reynolds, John, 302, 848, 850, 853
Reynolds, Joseph, 150
Rhea, John, 53, 128–30, 236, 328, 330, 491–93, 534–35
Rhode Island: customs surveyor, 812; presidential election, 563
Rice, Luther (Potawatomi), 789
Richards, Benjamin Wood, 826
Richardson, John, 778
Richardson family (S.C.), 658
Richmond, Va., post office, 156–57, 674
Richmond Enquirer, 93, 127, 176, 197, 262–63, 304, 444, 446, 590, 675
Riddle, John M., 141
Ridge, John (Cherokee), 226, 290
Ridge, Major (Cherokee), 226, 290
Ridgely, Thomas Perkins, 796, 800, 803
Riley, James, 562–63
Rine, John, 851–52
Ringgold, Thomas Lee, 816
Ringland, Thomas, 851
Ripley, James Wolfe, 542
Ritchie, Thomas, 92–93, 127, 176, 262–63, 674–75
River and harbor improvements veto: 663–67; preparation and drafts, 439, 462–63, 481–82, 504–5, 542–43, 551, 663–67, 836; annual message and, 633, 652–54; Van Buren on, 472–75, 478, 592, 594, 663–67
Rives, Judith Page Walker, 249
Rives, William Cabell: 249; elected senator, 590; minister to France, 73, 159, 306–7, 417, 567, 771, 787; resignation and return, 174, 178, 193, 249, 504–5, 842
Roads, John, 788
Roane, John Jones, 847
Roane, Samuel Calhoun, 833, 850
Robb, David, 778
Robb, John: 302–3, 441, 447, 448; acting war secretary, 811, 822–23, 827, 841; and Black Hawk War, 302–3, 441–42, 447–48; and Indian

- Robb, John (*cont.*)
 commissioner appointments, 448,
 464–65, 828, 830; and Ohio Indian
 removal, 827–28
- Robbins, Jonathan, 27
- Roberts, Edmund, 775, 811
- Roberts, Jonathan, 326, 329
- Robertson, Felix, 464, 828, 830
- Robinson, Alexander, 789
- Robinson, James W., 832
- Robinson, Penrose, 768, 772
- Robinson, William, 673
- Rochambeau, Count, 306, 789
- Roche Fontenilles, Pierre Paul Louis,
 Marquis de la, 831
- Rock Island, Ill., Indian agent, 812, 818
- Rocky Mount, Battle of, 415–16
- Rocky Mountain Fur Company, 308
- Rodes, Cornelius Heathcote Reaston,
 23, 25
- Rodgers, George Washington, 100–101
- Rodgers, John, 100–101, 564–65, 618,
 773
- Roenunas (Wyandot), 777
- Rogers, James (Cherokee), 289
- Rogers, Joseph, 799, 846
- Roney, Thomas, 833
- Root, Erastus, 371–72, 802
- Roper, James William, 816
- Rorer, David, 837
- Rose, John B., 845, 855
- Ross, John (Cherokee), 414
- Ross, Robert, 774
- Rossignol-Grandmont, Chevalier de, 831
- Rothmahler, Erasmus B., 732–33
- Roumage, John, 215
- Roumfort, Augustus Louis, 854
- Rowan, Atkinson Hill, 524–25
- Rowan, John: 523–25; 185
- Royal George* (British warship), 190–
 91, 193
- Ruedoffer, Robert, 822
- Ruggles, Benjamin, 817
- Runnels, Howell Washington, 835
- Rush, Richard, 115, 144–45
- Russell, Jonathan, 9
- Russell, Judson, 805–6
- Russell, William, 810
- Russia (*see also* Nicholas I, Emperor of
 Russia): in annual message, 637;
 and Dutch-Belgian conflict, 144,
 195, 198, 204–5, 528; in European
 affairs, 113, 175, 179, 244, 247,
 276, 418, 528–29, 532; politics and
 internal affairs, 194, 317–18, 528–
 31; legation at Washington, 321,
 612; Sacken controversy, 612, 738–
 39; U.S. commercial relations, 81,
 318–22, 528, 531, 736, 738, 843;
 U.S. diplomat to, 16, 81, 178, 737,
 792 (*see also* Buchanan, James;
 Randolph, John)
- Russo-Persian War, 532
- Russo-Turkish War, 532
- Rutledge, John, 414, 416
- Rutledge family (S.C.), 658, 709
- Ryder, Dudley (Earl of Harrowby),
 195, 198
- Ryder, Dudley (Viscount Sandon),
 195, 198
- Ryland, William, 808
- Ryland, William A., 808
- Sabbatarianism, 448, 517
- Sabine River location controversy. *See*
 under Mexican boundary treaty
- Sac and Fox Indians: grievances, 785;
 Martin murderers, 848, 853; and
 Menominees, 455–56, 785; 1804
 Treaty, 302. *See also* Black Hawk
 and Black Hawk War
- Sacken, Baron de (Dimitri von der
 Osten-Sacken), 612, 739
- Sadberry, Peter: 565–66
- Salem, Ind., *Annotator*, 629
- Salem, N.J., Hickory Club, 843
- Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus), 608
- Sam Patch (horse), 803
- Sampeyreac and Stewart v. The United*
 States, 253–54
- Sampson, Big (Hermitage slave),
 676–77
- Sampson, Old (Hermitage slave), 238,
 241, 676–77
- San Agustin del Palmar, Battle of, 518,
 520
- Sanders, Lewis, 816
- Sanderson, G., 801
- Sandiford, Vincent, 778
- Sandon, Viscount. *See* Ryder, Dudley

- Sandwich Islands. *See* Hawaii
- San Lorenzo el Real, Treaty of (1795), 7, 9
- Sanse, Richard, 798
- Santa Anna, Antonio López de: AJ on, 657; character and pro-U.S. disposition, 94–95, 117, 839; in Mexican civil war, 49–50, 67–69, 78, 93–94, 99, 116–17, 125–26, 131, 180, 426–27, 484–85, 518–23, 739, 786
- Santa Fe trade. *See* Mexico: U.S. overland trade
- Santander, Francisco de Paula, 807
- Santiago de Cuba consulate, 460, 827–30, 841
- Saratoga, Battle of, 161
- Sardinia, 530
- Sargent, John Hersey, 844–45
- Saunders, Alexander (Cherokee): 172
- Saunders, David Mitchell: 720–21, 761–62; 760
- Saunders, Henry, 610–11
- Saunders, Jane Dwyer, 761–62
- Savage, John, 783
- Savannah custom house, 797, 816–17
- Savannah River improvements, 779–80
- Savell, Jeremiah, 776
- Schaumburg, James Wilkinson, 555–56, 834, 836, 840
- Schenck, Ferdinand Schureman, 847
- Schermerhorn, John Freeman: 269, 300–302; 357, 465
- Schoon Verbond* (Dutch ship), 828–30, 835, 839
- Scott, David, 817, 856
- Scott, John, Earl of Eldon, 195, 198
- Scott, John H., 774
- Scott, Thomas, 720
- Scott, Winfield: 468–70; in Black Hawk War, 303, 440–41, 447–48, 454–56, 468–70, 655, 823, 825–26, 828, 830; recommends, 786; S. Carolina posting, 631
- Sealy, Benjamin, 602
- Sealy, Samuel (Chickasaw), 602
- Sebastian, Infante of Spain, 814, 835
- Selden, Dudley, 838
- Seminole campaign (1818), 52, 329, 823, 831
- Seminole campaign controversy: 52–55, 77–78, 128–31, 232–36, 254–55, 272–74, 287–89, 292–93, 324–30, 491–93, 534–35, 843; AJ's exposition, 54, 237–38
- Seminole Indian agency, 35–36, 51
- Seminole Indians, 51. *See also* Seminole campaign (1818)
- Seneca Indians (Ohio), 31, 766, 796
- Seney, Joshua, 819
- Sergeant, John, 17–19, 179, 462, 489
- Sergeant, Thomas, 18–19
- Sevier, Ambrose Hundley, 183, 311, 777–78, 839
- Seymour, Edward Augustus, 813
- Shabba Shinga (Osage), 65
- Shakers, 281
- Shakespeare, William, 25, 188, 193, 467
- Shaler, William, 803, 805
- Shannon, James, 638, 640, 773
- Shark* (U.S. Navy schooner), 62
- Sharp, Daniel, 787
- Shaw, James, 856
- Shawnee Indians: 435; 31, 63, 171, 448, 766, 768, 796–97
- Shelby, Anthony Bledsoe: 250–51
- Shelby, John, 466
- Shepard* (ship), 830
- Shinn, William Norton, 501–2, 833
- Short, William, 9
- Shreve, Henry Miller: 496–97; 831
- Shriver, Dr., 798
- Shubrick, William Branford, 617–18
- Siam, 775
- Sim, Thomas, 544, 765
- Simpson, Preeson, 560, 586–87
- Simpson, Stephen, 236
- Sinclair, Arthur, 492–93
- Singawassa (Osage), 64
- Singleton, Richard, 197, 199
- Sioux Indians, 469–70
- Sir Harry (horse), 181–82
- Sir William (horse) and progeny, 75–77, 230
- Skinner, Charles William, 95–96
- Skinner, John Stuart, 618
- Slade, William, 746–47, 749
- Slaves and slavery: with Georgia miners, 806; Hutchings's, 80, 792; insurrection fears, 51–52; *Lafayette*

- Slaves and slavery (*cont.*)
 insurrection, 565–66; in nullification controversy, 477, 553, 576, 679; Randolph on, 127, 138–39, 156, 177–78, 191, 419; Rappites compared to, 39–41; smuggling and illegal sales, 329, 800, 804, 810; Thomas J. Donelson's, 475. *See also* Free blacks; Hermitage slaves; and "slave dealings" under Donelson, Andrew Jackson; Jackson, Andrew; Jackson, Andrew, Jr.
- Slidell, John, 800
- Sloan, Jeremiah Haines, 501–2
- Sloat, John Drake, 795
- Slye, Benjamin D., 774
- Small, William, 853
- Smith, Andrew Jackson, 789
- Smith, Bernard, 838
- Smith, Daniel W., 830, 843
- Smith, Ephraim Kirby, 794–95
- Smith, George W., 789
- Smith, Isaac C., 782
- Smith, James, 827, 836
- Smith, Job, Jr., 568
- Smith, John E., 562–63, 620, 840, 843
- Smith, John Spear: 58–60, 309–10; 372
- Smith, Joseph Lee, 184–85, 771, 775, 777, 781, 823
- Smith, Kenderton, 824
- Smith, Moses, 837
- Smith, Richard, 824, 836
- Smith, Samuel: 58–60, 309–10; 765, 794, 798; and BUS, 309–10, 348, 353, 372; and Van Buren, 58–60, 168–70
- Smith, Samuel Emerson: 268; 207, 209, 488
- Smith, Samuel Granville, 463, 465
- Smith, Thomas Lilly: 214–15; 480–81, 823, 827, 835, 849, 855
- Smithson, Bryan Henry, 844
- Smyrna consulate, 791
- Snyder, John, 832–33
- Solomon, 37–38
- Sommerville, John H., 814
- Soult, Nicholas Jean-de-Dieu, 244, 247
- Southall, Peyton Alexander, 789
- South Carolina: AJ's nativity, 57, 678–79, 701, 706, 774; AJ's popularity, 20, 57–58, 774, 855; AJ's visit plan, 98, 187, 240; appointments in, 856; geography book, 830; governor election, 627–28; marshal, 626–27, 632, 673, 754, 844, 850–51; politics and elections, 532, 534, 853, 855–56; presidential election, 539–40, 551, 563, 584, 607–8, 613, 626; War of 1812 claims, 668. *See also* Charleston; Nullification; Nullification Proclamation
- Southworth, Mortimer Marcellus, 834
- Spain: in annual message, 636–37, 640–41; and Mexico, 67–69; and Portugal, 169–70, 417, 488; U.S. commercial relations, 320–21, 640–41, 816; U.S. ministers to, 7, 9, 60, 326, 329, 740. *See also* Ferdinand VII, King of Spain; Florida Treaty (1819); Seminole campaign (1818); Seminole campaign controversy
- Spencer, John Charles (Viscount Althorp), 195, 198
- Sperry, Charles, 839, 849
- Sperry, Laura, 839
- Sperry, Sarah, 837
- Sperry, Truman, 837
- Spicer, Peter Worthington, 854
- Spoor, Abraham, 787
- Spoor, Charles Henry Edward, 787
- Sprague, Horatio, 563
- St. Bartholomew Island, 852
- St. Louis *Free Press*, 540–41
- St. Louis* (packet ship), 658
- St. Louis* (U.S. Navy sloop), 795
- St. Louis, Treaty of (Osages, 1825), 63–65
- St. Vrain, Felix, 812
- Stabbing Chief (Sac). *See* Pashipaho
- Stambaugh, Samuel C., 779, 819
- Stanbery, William, 242–43, 258–59, 271–72, 283–86
- Standford, John, 183
- Standifer, James Israel, 72–73
- Stanley, Edward George Geoffrey Smith, 195, 198
- Stark, Caleb, Jr., 776
- Stark, Robert Bolling, 813
- Starkweather, George Anson, 853

- Starr, James (Cherokee): **145–47**
- State claims veto: **668–72**; preparation and drafts, 462–63, 481–82, 485–86, 504–5, 551–52, 592–93, 832, 834
- State Department (*see also* Livingston, Edward, secretary of state): acting secretary, 612, 824; and Carr removal, 308; clerks, 206, 224, 557, 661, 749 (*see also* Brent, Daniel); and consular reform, 563; contingent expenditures, 813, 818, 835; diplomatic compensation, 7–9, 108–9, 152, 174, 176, 178, 192–93, 224, 228, 307–8, 318–19, 321, 530–31, 738–41, 762, 810; diplomatic correspondence compilation, 96, 436, 460, 494–95; and Donnelly reprieve, 141, 227–28; foreign gift depository, 821; and public printing (*see* Printers, public); translator, 483, 485
- Statella, Antonio, 297
- Steamboats: 177, 241, 264, 545, 825, 829; accidents, 251–52, 277; in Black Hawk War, 455, 468–69; in Indian removal, 496–97, 597, 831; in nullification defenses, 610–11, 731, 844
- Steele, Graves W.: **71–72, 229–30, 282, 331, 362–63**; and AJ's colts, 229–30, 238–39, 241, 251, 256, 264, 271, 277–78, 282, 459, 465–66, 479–80, 500, 802, 856; complaints and dismissal, 37, 215–16, 251, 278, 280–82, 311, 331–32, 438, 465–66, 479–80, 500, 507, 511, 537–38, 786; Hermitage management, 20–21, 71–72, 75–76, 162, 215–16, 238, 251, 271, 278, 282, 291, 296, 313, 331, 362–63, 424, 428, 726; slave management, 507, 511, 538
- Steele, John, 770
- Sterett, Samuel, 827
- Steuart, George H., 827
- Stevens, Levi, 784
- Stevenson, Andrew, 160–61, 197, 199, 243, 272, 361–62
- Steward, Alexander, Jr., 800
- Stewart, Alexander L., 213–14
- Stewart, Charles, 96, 100–101
- Stewart, Joseph, 254
- Stiles, John Steele, 81–82, 773, 779
- Stillman's Run, Battle of, 303
- Stinson, Abner Pitt, 782
- Stockholder (horse) and progeny, 32–33, 75–76, 217, 278, 281, 465, 536
- Stoever, Frederick, 728
- Stokes, David Montfort, 61–62
- Stokes, Montfort: **61–62**; 448, 806
- Stollings, Griffin, 835
- Story, Joseph, 178–79, 805
- Stout, Elihu: **49**; 48–49, 629
- Stow, Joshua, 771
- Stower, John G., 780
- Street, Joseph Montfort, 455–56, 469–70
- Strong, Joseph Churchill: **450–52, 453**
- Stuart, John G., 780
- Sudam, John, 269
- Suffern, Thomas, 713, 727
- Sullivan, John T., 14–15, 730
- Sullivan's Island, S.C., 533–34, 558–59, 572, 586, 610–11, 727
- Sumatra naval expedition, 639–40, 820
- Sumter, Thomas, 414–16
- Sumter family (S.C.), 658–59, 709
- Supreme Court: AJ on, 151–52, 226, 316–17, 434; Arkansas land frauds case, 253–54; BUS cases, 341–44, 346, 353, 385, 392–94, 396, 399, 401–2, 409–10; Cherokee cases, 10, 12–13, 151–52, 178–79, 226–27, 254, 290, 523, 570, 578, 713–14; Dartmouth College case, 339–40, 353; in nullification controversy, 570, 615, 688, 711; praised, 130
- Surgeons. *See under* Army and Navy
- Surplus revenue. *See* Distribution of surplus revenue
- Surveyors of public lands: Alabama, 187, 226, 624–25, 723–24; Arkansas, 277, 311, 815, 834; Florida, 809; Ill., Mo., and Ark., 261, 277, 775, 784, 786, 790–91, 806, 825; Mississippi and

- Surveyors of public lands (*cont.*)
Louisiana, 33, 298–99, 770, 814;
Ohio, Ind., and Mich., 165
Susan (slave girl), 792
Sussex, Duke of (Augustus Frederick),
106, 109
Sutherland, William, 822
Sutlers. *See under* Army
Swaney, John, 819
Swann, Thomas, 783, 796
Swartwout, Samuel: 214–15; 27, 62,
510, 813, 846–48
Swartwout, Samuel Smith, 61–62
Sweden, 127–28, 852
Swift, William Henry, 773, 827
Symington, John, 565
- Tallmadge, Nathaniel Pitcher: 86–89,
110–15; 170, 756–57
Tammany Hall. *See under* New York
City
Tampico, Mexico, Americans in, 811
Taney, Roger Brooke: 140–41, 205–6,
227–28, 333–53, 429–34; appoint-
ment for, 623–24; and Arkansas land
cases, 253–54, 790–91; on attorney
compensation, 766, 790–91; on
BUS, 305, 333–53; on consular
accounts, 810, 850; and Donnelly
reprieve, 140–41, 227–28; on Dutch
jewels, 26–27, 767; expenditure
report, 811; formal legal opinions,
82, 140–41, 206, 429–34, 766–67,
796, 810, 837, 850; greetings to,
466, 738; on Gwin appointment,
425, 429–34, 446, 712, 849–50;
pardon recommendation, 799; and
Potomac bridge, 825; recommends,
813; on Stiles contract, 81–82; on
Taylor account, 205–6, 796; on
Washington street jurisdiction, 835,
837; on West Point discipline, 836
Tangier consulate, 307–8, 811, 817
Targee, John, 854
Tariff on imports: AJ on, 265, 281, 313,
363, 422, 424, 434, 438, 450, 476,
482, 549, 613–14, 808; in annual
messages, 261–62, 633, 641–43,
646–49, 735, 846; condemned, 20,
89, 446, 477, 482, 490, 549, 553,
733, 752; in Congress, 109, 261–
63, 349, 422–23; defended, 437,
450–51, 722, 734; Eaton on, 17;
French wine duties, 73–74; McLane
on, 262–63, 713–14; mentioned,
738; New York opinion, 750, 759;
Van Buren on, 540, 713, 750, 759;
Virginia opinion, 752. *See also*
Nullification
Tarleton, Banastre, 414, 416
Tarrant, Leonard, 527, 856
Tarver, R. R., 52
Tate, Joseph, 67, 69
Tattnall, Edward Fenwick, 797
Tattnall, Josiah, 484–85, 519
Taylor, Benjamin, 465, 828
Taylor, James, 205–6, 796
Taylor, Robert Barraud, 157
Taylor family (S.C.), 658
Tazewell, Littleton Waller: 120; 156;
and Northeast boundary, 322; nul-
lification and Senate resignation,
588–90, 680, 842; and Sabine
boundary, 120, 124, 152
Temple, Henry John. *See* Palmerston,
Viscount
Templeman, George, 826
Tenerife consulate, 805, 807, 814
Tennessee: congressmen recommend,
22, 793; internal improvements and
surveys, 776, 779–80, 790, 839;
nullification response, 477, 480–81,
504, 512–13, 622, 632, 734–35,
744; presidential election, 102–3,
164–65, 540, 591, 631–32, 786;
salt springs lease, 133–34, 163–64,
210–12, 220–23, 600, 603, 605,
783–84; Senate election, 26, 315–
16, 495–96, 512–16, 632, 720–21
Tennessee legislators: 515–16
Tennessee River improvements, 779–80
Terceira blockade, 637
Terrell, George W., 793
Terrell, John Dabney: 743; 595, 597–
99, 602, 605–6
Terrett, George Hunter, 500–501
Texas: as Chickasaw refuge, 596, 603;
in Mexican civil war, 484–85; U.S.
acquisition designs, 5–9, 60,
99–100, 116–17, 120, 124–25,

- 131–32, 151–52, 242, 313–14,
426–28, 456–57, 484–85, 490–91,
519, 544–45, 658, 739–40, 751
- Thayer, Sylvanus, 789–90
- Tholen, J. A., 835–36, 839
- Thomas, John McGill, 544, 841
- Thompson, Benjamin, 823, 828
- Thompson, Charles Carter Byrd, 834,
845
- Thompson, Emma, 845
- Thompson, George Western, 852, 855
- Thompson, Gillies, 766, 771, 834
- Thompson, Henry, 854
- Thompson, James, 812
- Thompson, Pishey, 205
- Thompson, Smith, 178–79
- Thompson, Wiley, 72–73, 776
- Thompson & Homans, 818
- Thomson, James, 801
- Thorndike, Andrew, 836
- Thorndike, Israel, 785
- Thornton, James Bonaparte, 768, 834
- Thornton, Reuben, 765
- Throop, Enos Thompson, 144–45,
154–55, 269, 478, 508–10, 589–
91, 594, 613, 623, 712, 792
- Throop, George Bliss, 475, 486, 504
- Thumlert, William, 804, 824
- Tibbets, Joel P., 776
- Tiffin, Ohio, land office, 31, 797, 819
- Tippecanoe, Battle of, 447–48
- Tipton, John, 812, 814, 818
- Tishomingo (Chickasaw), 602, 606,
716, 723
- Tobin, Benjamin, 163–64, 210, 212
- Todd, Walker, 775
- Tokugawa Ienari, Shogun of Japan, 811
- Toland, Henry: **421–22**, **499–500**, **550**;
173–74, 218–19, 295, 312, 428–29,
539, 557, 789–90, 797, 799, 823,
839–40, 845; BUS inspector, 730
- Toland & Magoffin, 833
- Toler, Hopeful, 818
- Tolomé, Battle of, 426–27
- Tompkins, William, 785
- Tornel y Mendiivil, José María, 8–9
- Toscan, Bonaparte, 52
- Towson, Nathan: **540–42**
- Tracy, Henry Dana, 771
- Travels of Ali Bey*, 199
- Treasurer of the U.S., 330–31, 362,
823. *See also* Campbell, John
- Treasury auditors and comptrollers:
first auditor (*see* Harrison,
Richard); second auditor (*see* Lewis,
William Berkeley); third auditor (*see*
Hagner, Peter); fourth auditor (*see*
Kendall, Amos); fifth auditor (*see*
Pleasanton, Stephen); interim
appointments, 768, 809, 812,
824, 834
- Treasury Department (*see also* McLane,
Louis, Treasury secretary): acting
secretary appointments, 790, 823,
839; Breathitt mission, 557–61;
BUS relations, 352–53, 370, 404,
409–10, 650–52; clerks, 149, 248–
49, 308, 330–31; Gardiner employ,
30; Hogan account, 850; Irving
account, 228; land sale reports,
645, 649, 801; McLane's successor,
504–5, 591, 593–94, 613–14, 623–
24; office quarters, 436; public offi-
cers' accounts, 237; public printing,
234; Randolph account, 360; regis-
ter (*see* Register of the Treasury);
and state claims bill (*see* State
claims veto); Taylor account, 205–
6, 796. *See also* Customs and rev-
enue; General Land Office; Treasury
auditors and comptrollers
- Treat, James, 853
- Treaty of the XXIV Articles, 198, 204–
5, 488–89
- Tremlett, William Henry Brown, 809
- Treviso, Duke of. *See* Mortier, Adolphe
Édouard Casimir Joseph
- Tripoli consulate, 810, 844
- Trist, Nicholas Philip: **206**, **660–61**;
290, 569, 673, 765, 841, 849
- Trist, Virginia Jefferson Randolph, 661
“Triumvirate,” 98, 171
- Troup, George Michael: **173**; **316**
- Tucker, Henry St. George, 188, 190,
362, 792
- Tucker, Thomas Tudor, 330–31, 361–62
- Tucker & Thompson, 772, 792, 816,
823, 834
- Turkey: in annual message, 637–38;
commercial treaty, 321–22, 746,

- Turkey (*cont.*)
777–78, 786, 808–9, 821; U.S. relations, 149, 788, 846, 851–52
- Turnbull, Alexander, 834
- Turner, Mary C., 779
- Turner, William, 812
- Tutt, Charles Pendleton, 780
- Tuttle, Stephen, 778
- Two Sicilies (Naples): claims commission appointments, 847–48, 855; royal family, 797, 827, 845, 854; spoliation negotiations and claims convention, 109, 267, 297, 637, 640, 713–14, 833, 850
- Tyler, Daniel, 836
- Tyler, George, 769–70
- Tyler, John, 680–81, 813, 817
- Tyng, Stephen Higginson, 796
- Ulrich, Hannah, 223–24
- Ulrick, George, 224
- Union* (brig), 804, 806, 815, 818
- United States Congress: 354–57; AJ criticizes, 249, 257, 263–65, 296, 439; cholera resolutions, 354–57; lists of Acts, 804, 808; patent clerks resolution, 148; Peck impeachment, 184–85; presidential messages, 354–57, 767, 769, 771, 778, 781–82, 795, 798, 800–801, 803, 816, 851, 853 (*see also* Annual message to Congress)
- United States House of Representatives: 663–67
- AJ criticizes (*see* “Houston assault case” below)
- clerks: 416, 757
- Committees: BUS investigating, 197, 199, 213–14, 266–67, 351, 353–54, 370–72, 375, 379, 405, 410, 728; Foreign Affairs, 762; Public Lands, 133–34, 163–64, 783–84; Revolutionary Pensions, 181; Ways and Means, 730
- Houston assault case: 242–43, 255, 257–60, 263, 271–72, 283–87
- presidential messages: 663–67, 772–73, 775, 777, 779–80, 785, 788, 790, 794, 803, 809, 820–21, 854
- reapportionment: 310, 373, 402, 408
- resolutions and information requests regarding: Arkansas-Mexico boundary, 766; breakwater and harbor expenditures, 772–73; Chickasaw salt lease, 133–34; Choctaw reservation sales, 771–72; Denmark claims negotiations, 808–9; executive appointments from Congress, 757; fisheries regulations, 777; Greenough statue, 159; Indian annuities, 788; manufactures and tariff, 262; *Pactole* duties, 851; Potomac obstructions, 854; Turkish negotiations, 808–9, 821; U.S. Pacific territory, 791, 794
- sergeant-at-arms: 660–61
- speaker (*see* Stevenson, Andrew)
- United States Senate: 28–31, 298–300, 364–411, 668–72
- AJ criticizes: 28–33, 37, 55–57, 76, 85, 92, 97, 125, 160, 184–85, 259, 298–300, 422–23, 462, 613, 712
- and Belgian relations: 783–84
- and British trade relations: 796–97, 799
- and British West Indian colonial trade: 784–85, 787, 795, 800
- BUS bill: 309, 333–34, 364–411, 813
- clerk and secretary: 170, 757, 824
- Committees: Finance, 213, 353, 379; Foreign Relations, 120, 124, 152, 242, 322; Indian Affairs, 31, 618, 778; Judiciary, 184–85; Manufactures, 263
- criticized: 15, 58–59, 70, 88, 102, 120–22, 148, 170–71, 446

- foreign treaty proceedings:
 - 73–74, 85, 120, 123–24,
 - 152, 242, 315, 640, 738,
 - 783, 848, 850
- and French claims convention:
 - 74, 770, 778
- Indian proceedings: 28–31, 187,
- 225–26, 554–55, 605–6,
- 723–24, 766, 768, 778–79,
- 787–88, 792, 819, 848
- and inland trade: 779
- Northeast boundary proceed-
ings: 207–9, 268, 322, 636,
- 773–74, 776, 781, 781 793
- and presidential election: 462–
63, 489
- proceedings on executive nomi-
nations: civil office, 767–68,
- 770–71, 778, 780–81, 783–
84, 789–90, 793, 795–98,
- 802, 805–6, 808–9, 812,
- 815, 817, 821–22, 847–48,
- 850–51, 854–55; diplomatic
and consular, 770, 773, 788–
89, 791, 802, 804, 808, 810–
12, 814–15, 818, 820, 822,
- 847, 855; Gwin, 32–33, 250–
51, 294, 298–300, 422–25,
- 429–34, 446, 462, 712, 768,
- 775–76, 824, 850; Indian
agents and commissioners,
768, 808, 816, 818–19, 821–
22, 847; Mexican boundary
commission, 804, 822, 848;
military and naval, 238, 765–
68, 770–72, 774, 776, 782,
- 789–91, 793, 795–97, 801–5,
- 807, 811, 814, 816, 818–19,
- 821–22, 846, 848, 852, 855;
- Van Buren, 23, 32–33,
- 37–38, 55–59, 70, 76, 85,
- 88, 92–93, 97, 102, 104,
- 106, 110–11, 120–23, 125,
- 141, 148, 153–54, 164, 166–
67, 170, 184, 275, 774, 779–
80; confirmations, 15, 66, 81,
- 95–96, 182–83, 185, 224,
- 261, 307–8, 438, 460, 542,
- 547, 563, 640, 673, 677;
- rejections, 22, 30–31, 70,
- 137, 185, 492–94, 516
- and public lands: 786, 801
- state claims bill: 668–72
- United States' Telegraph* (D.C.), 53, 98,
- 140, 235, 284–85, 304, 358, 520–
21, 535, 563
- Unknown (correspondent), 322, 803,
841
- Vaccination of Indians, 797–98
- Vail, Aaron, 25, 199, 224, 276, 319,
808–9
- Vail, Eugene Aaron: 224
- Valdor, Joseph, 827–28, 841
- Valon du Boucheron, Alexandre-
Charles-Louis de, 306
- Valparaiso consulate, 781, 850
- Van Buren, Abraham, 154–55, 204,
363–64, 539, 594, 750
- Van Buren, John, 23, 25, 106–7, 154,
169, 247, 419–20, 475, 539
- Van Buren, John (Dutch shipmaster),
855
- Van Buren, Martin: 23–26, 92–93, 104–
10, 141–45, 152–55, 155–56, 165–
70, 199–205, 243–47, 305, 363–64,
472–75, 478–79, 481–82, 485–86,
504–5, 507–10, 539–40, 551–52,
566–67, 588–91, 592–95, 613–14,
623–24, 662, 712, 713–14, 726–27,
749–50, 751–52, 754–57, 757–59
- advice on Cabinet changes: 504,
591, 593–94, 613–14,
623–24
- and AJ's genealogy: 713, 727
- as AJ's successor: 19, 37, 55,
121–22, 176, 631, 755–56
- and Broom pardon: 713–14
- on BUS and veto: 105, 305,
474–75, 478, 486, 540, 593
- and Carr: 307
- and cholera proclamation: 357
- dinner invitation: 823
- on English society and politics:
23, 25, 105–6, 166, 201–4
- on European affairs: 24–25,
143, 166, 169–70, 204, 244–
47, 417

- Van Buren, Martin (*cont.*)
 European tour: 243–47
 and Ga. missionaries: 713–14, 749–50
 greetings and introductions: 734, 780
 and McLane: 107–8, 144, 148, 154, 305, 509, 540, 550, 593–94, 623
 ministerial nomination and rejection: AJ on, 32–33, 37–38, 55–57, 76, 84–85, 92–93, 97, 110–15, 124–25, 148, 160, 184, 422, 613; commentary, 58–59, 70, 72, 85–89, 95, 102–3, 109, 120–23, 139, 148, 164, 170, 174, 188, 214, 275, 503, 607, 773, 779–80, 786; Senate proceedings, 23, 33, 38, 55–56, 70, 93, 110, 774; Van Buren on, 104, 106–8, 144, 153, 165–68, 203–4
 minister to Britain: expenses and outfit, 106, 108–9; impressment negotiation, 58–59, 87–89, 92, 106, 108, 141–45, 154–56, 166–67, 184, 199–201, 205, 636; and *Portsmouth* claim, 620; leavetaking and departure, 156, 201–5, 224; return to U.S., 247, 305, 363–64; successor, 80, 144–45, 193–94, 198, 224, 231–32
 on national debt: 105
 on nullification: 540, 595, 757–59
 and N.Y. politics and appointments: 107–9, 143–45, 154, 474–75, 478, 486, 507–10, 566–67, 589–92, 594–95, 613, 623, 662, 712, 750, 759
 and Paris consulate: 566–67, 591
 Randolph on: 16, 139, 174–76, 178, 188, 192, 195, 419
 on Reform Bill: 25, 108, 110, 141, 143, 166, 200–201
 secretary of state (1829–31): 16, 125; West Indian trade negotiation, 55, 102–3, 111–15, 153–55, 204–5; resignation and Cabinet breakup, 19–20, 23, 33, 55, 87, 98, 111, 115, 250
 and Seminole controversy: 55, 111
 on tariff: 363, 540, 713, 750, 759
 veto draftsman: 439, 463, 472–75, 478, 481–82, 485–86, 504–5, 543, 551–52, 592–95, 663–70
 vice-presidential candidacy: 58–59, 70, 72–73, 85, 95, 102–3, 109, 121, 188, 205, 489–90, 547, 607, 626, 631, 721, 735, 755–57, 773, 829; AJ on, 25, 37, 55, 57, 73, 76, 85, 92, 97, 125, 281, 462–63, 468, 477, 480–81, 504, 539–40, 551, 591, 613; Van Buren on, 23–25, 107, 168, 593–95, 623, 662
 Van Buren, Martin (1812–1855), 482
 Van Buren, Smith Thompson, 478–79, 482, 750
 Vanderpoel, Aaron, 566–67, 849
 Vanderpoel, James, 567
 Vandewall, Marks, 156–57
 Van Ness, John Peter: 175, 178, 782, 843, 846, 855; cholera proclamation, 445–46; Gassaway inquiry, 714–15; Stiles inquiry, 81–82
 Van Rensselaer, Solomon, 594–95, 783
 Vashon, George, 172
 Vaughan, Charles Richard, 109–10, 202–3
 Vaux, Roberts, 448
 Veening, Isaac Gerard, 835, 837–38
 Venable family (Va.), 157
 Venezuela, relations with, 805, 813–14
 Vera Cruz, Mexico: in civil war, 49–51, 66–67, 78, 93–94, 99, 116–17, 125–26, 131, 180, 314, 426–27, 484; consulate, 49–51, 66–69, 78, 93–95, 125–27, 152, 314, 426, 809, 812
 Vermont: presidential election, 563
 Verplanck, Gulian Crommelin, 783

- Veto messages: BUS recharter, 364–411;
River and harbor improvements,
663–67; State claims, 668–72
- Vienna, Congress of (1815), 244–45,
247
- Villareal, Pedro, 485
- Vimeur, Augustine-Éléonore de, 306–7,
789
- Vimeur, Constance-Thérèse de, 306–7,
789
- Vimeur, Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de
(Count Rochambeau), 306, 789
- Vincennes* (U.S. Navy sloop), 136–37
- Vincennes, Ind., *Western Sun*, 48–49,
629
- Virago (horse). *See* Polly Baker (horse)
- Virginia: congressmen and legislators
recommend, 771, 789; constitu-
tional convention, 138–39, 174,
178, 195; Maryland boundary, 806;
nullification in, 588–89, 622, 680–
81, 750–52, 754, 758–59; politics
and elections, 127, 156–57, 176,
178, 191, 361, 590, 592, 613, 674–
75, 756; presidential election, 161,
188, 446, 462–63, 468, 481, 539,
563–64, 591, 613, 631
- Virginia (horse) and progeny, 278, 479
- Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions
(1798), 745–46, 752, 754
- Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776),
367, 370
- Virginia, University of, 38, 85–86, 90,
96, 218
- Voorhees, Borden Mount, 846–47
- Wabokieshiek (Sac), 469–70
- Waddell, William Coventry Henry,
589–90
- Wade, William, 542, 564–65, 715
- Waldron, Charles, 52
- Waldron, R. Russell, 52
- Walker, Benjamin, 510
- Walker, John, Jr. (Cherokee): 145–47
- Walker, John James, 781
- Walker, Robert, 813
- Walker, Robert John, 770
- Walker, Samuel Purviance, 148
- Wall, William H., 791
- Wallace, Isaac, 766
- Wallace, John Hooe, 91
- Walton, Stephen W., 35–36
- War Department (*see also* Cass, Lewis:
secretary of war): acting secretary,
441, 811, 822, 841; in annual mes-
sage, 655–57; annual report, 844;
and Choctaw reserves, 189, 772;
clerks, 151, 303; delinquent officers
report, 768; emigrant Indian supply,
243, 801; Fort Delaware report,
771; Indian agent complaints, 36,
171; Indian annuities, 34–36, 65;
Indian commissioner appointments,
464–65, 527; Indian education,
448; Indian lands intruders, 528;
Indian removal and relocation,
171–72, 189, 497, 788; inland
trade report, 779; internal improve-
ment reports, 772–73, 779–80; ord-
nance investigation, 564–65, 714–
15, 840, 848
- Ward, Aaron, 296–97, 412
- Ward, Alexis, 853
- Ward, Edward, 332–33, 466, 536
- Ward, Giles, 844
- Ward, Robert Johnson, 848
- Ward, William, 189
- Warden, David Bailie, 792
- Wardwell, Daniel, 786
- Ware, Ashur, 825
- Warfield, William Henry, 830
- Waring, Morton Alexander, 627, 673
- War of 1812: and impressment, 89; vet-
erans recommended for office, 161–
62, 173, 660–61. *See also* New
Orleans, Battle of
- Warpole (Wyandot), 777
- Warrior* (steamboat), 468
- Washington, D.C.: Hickory Club, 846;
mayor and fast day, 445–46; navy
agent, 822; navy yard, 833, 846;
postmaster complaints, 22, 660–61;
street maintenance, 811, 835, 837.
See also Columbia, District of
- Washington, George: 177, 179, 306,
602, 756; birthday dinner, 782;
Farewell Address, 633–35, 640;
Greenough statue, 159, 851;
invoked *vs.* nullification, 690, 697;
maternal monument, 91–92;

- Washington, George (*cont.*)
 memorial gift, 186; president, 115,
 157, 289, 379, 509–10, 524
Washington, Mary Ball, 91–92
Washington, Peter Grayson, 823
Washington, Richard C. & Co., 778,
 854, 856
Washington, Spotswood Augustine,
 806, 815
Washington, Treaty of (Cherokee,
 1819), 147
Washington, Treaty of (Creek, 1832).
 See under Creek Indians, Eastern
Washington, Treaty of (Western
 Cherokee, 1828), 65, 172
Washington Bridge Company, 446, 825.
 See also Potomac bridge
Wassabba Tunga (Osage), 64
Water Witch (Canadian schooner),
 819–20, 823
Watkins, Charles, 513
Watkins, Richard, 363
Watkins, Tobias, 660–61
Watkins, William W., 785
Watmough, Edmund C., 800
Watmough, John Goddard, 266
Watson, Elizabeth, 834
Watson, Elizabeth Courts Love, 466–67
Watson, James M., 766
Waxhaw settlement (S.C.), 415–16
Wayne, Anthony, 189
Way way leh neh (Shawnee), 435
Weaver, William Augustus, 95–96, 777–
 78, 781, 817
Webb, James, 791
Webb, James Watson, 213–14, 266, 474
Webb, Stephen Hogeboom, 213–14,
 237–38, 794
Webb, Thomas Tarleton, 62, 801
Webster, Daniel: AJ assails, 92, 97, 125,
 152, 250, 422; and BUS, 410; polit-
 ical foe, 93, 121–22, 139, 161, 171,
 174, 179, 486, 607–8, 674–75
Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842), 488
Weedon, Frederick, 850
Weeks, John Wingate, 772
Welch, Elizabeth Ouilmatt
 (Potawatomi), 772
Welles, Gideon, 777
Wellington, Duke of (Arthur Wellesley),
 109, 274–76, 379
Wertz, Henry, 841
West, John, 83–84, 181–82
West, Nathaniel, Jr., 772, 800
Westcott, Hampton, 95–96, 774, 822
Westcott, James Diamant, Jr., 843,
 849–50
Westcott, John, Jr., 849
Western Bank (Philadelphia), 728
West Indian colonial trade, British,
 102–3, 111–15, 153–55, 204–5,
 784–85, 787, 795, 800
West Point military academy: Board of
 visitors, 774, 801; cadet applica-
 tions and appointments, 225, 544,
 779, 781, 787, 789, 792–93, 796,
 798, 802, 804–6, 813, 816–17,
 823, 835, 838–39, 843–44, 846–47,
 849; instructor application, 768;
 regulations and discipline, 817,
 836, 838
Wetherill, Alfred, 174
Wetherill, Jane Lockridge Yorke, 174,
 537–38
Wetherill, Martha, 174
Wetherill, Samuel M., 174, 537–38
Wetherill, Sarah Yorke, 174
Wetmore, Alphonso, 540–42
Wharton, Jesse, 808
Wharton, John Overton, 851
Wheeling, Va., postmaster, 230–31
Wheelock, Thompson B., 787–89, 795
Whitcomb, James, 770
White, Campbell Patrick, 613–14, 783
White, Edward Douglass, 766
White, Gideon, Jr., 768
White, Hugh Lawson: 77–78; 31, 315,
 770, 846
White, John, 768, 771
White, Joseph Mills: 35–36; 358, 842
White, Maunsel: 295, 725–26, 745–46;
 71–72, 162, 333, 752, 786, 815
White, William, 837
White Hair (Osage). *See* Pawhuska
White House: cook, 712, 725, 852; fur-
 nishings, 825; steward (*see* Giusta,
 Michael Anthony); weddings at, 98,
 226, 229, 249, 714

- White Sulphur Springs resort, 362, 488–89, 520
- Whitfield, E. H., 300, 776
- Whiting, Henry, 440–41, 804
- Whitlock, Ephraim Davis, 808, 814–16
- Whitney, James, 825, 829
- Whitney, Reuben Miles, 728
- Whittington, Isaac, 828
- Whittlesey, Charles, 818
- Whittlesey, Elisha, 774
- Wickham, John, 156–57
- Wickliffe, Charles Anderson, 133–35, 163–64, 250–51
- Widow Factor (Chickasaw), 140–41
- Wilkins, William, 540, 551, 631, 777, 813, 818, 856
- Wilkins family (Va.), 157
- Wilkinson, James, 674–75
- Willcox, Norris, 771
- William I, King of the Netherlands: and Belgium, 204–5, 488–89, 528; Northeast boundary arbiter, 207–9, 268, 322, 636; recalls minister, 831; and stolen jewels, 214
- William IV, King of Great Britain: 109, 246; and Reform Bill, 274–76; and Van Buren, 153–54, 199, 201–5, 228
- William A. Turner* (schooner), 484–85
- William Ernst* (Dutch ship), 838
- William Ross* (schooner), 791
- Williams, Benjamin, 787
- Williams, Nathaniel, 799, 835, 837
- Williams, Reuel, 268
- Williams, Thomas Hill, 438, 445–46
- Williamson, Frances H., 765
- Williamson, James Cara, 765
- Williamson, John, 799, 806–7
- Williamson, John Gustavus Adolphus, 814
- Williamson plantation (S.C.), Battle of, 415–16
- Willis, Byrd Charles, 835
- Willis, William, 843–44
- Willson, James Renwick: **447–48**
- Wilson, E., 831
- Wilson, John Lyde, 806
- Wilson, Thomas Edmiston, 753–54
- Wilson, William, 850
- Wiltbank, James, 770
- Winchester, George, 790, 828
- Windsor Castle (England), 199, 201–5
- Wine imports and duties, 73–74, 784–85
- Winn, John, 415–16
- Winn family (S.C.), 658
- Winnebago Indians, 469–70
- Winston, Anthony, 217–18, 363
- Wirt, William, 410, 433–34, 446, 563
- Wisconsin. *See* Black Hawk War; Michigan Territory
- Wisconsin Heights, Battle of, 454–55, 467–68, 826
- Wishart, James, 847–48, 851, 854
- Wolf, George, 47–48, 131, 234–36, 729–30
- Wolfley, Lewis, 776
- Wood, John, 796
- Woodbridge, William, 185
- Woodbridge, William W., 454, 456
- Woodbury, Levi (*see also* Woodbury, Levi, Navy secretary): **81–82, 95–96, 100–101, 209–10, 237, 425, 487, 492–93, 497–99, 555–56, 564–65, 621, 714–15**; on BUS, 305; and Carroll funeral, 569; and Coody, 812; and Henshaw, 798; and McLane, 445; in N.H. politics, 516; and Randolph, 188, 209–10, 793; and Van Buren, 169
- Woodbury, Levi, Navy secretary: absence, 825; and AJ, 766, 778, 787, 803; annual report, 713–14, 845; and contract disputes and corruption charges, 81–82, 564–65, 714–15, 779, 808, 841–42; and delinquent accounts, 237, 768; and Department expenditures, 773, 815, 817, 820–21; and diplomatic functions, 807, 821; and gunner Barry, 835; and Gwin nomination, 424–25; and harbor improvements, 773; and Mexican conflict, 180, 811; and navigation improvements, 837; and navy agents, 780, 835; and navy yards, 487, 618, 800, 846; and Northeast boundary, 268, 445–46; and nullification countermeasures, 487, 492–93, 497–99, 587,

- Woodbury, Levi, Navy secretary (*cont.*)
621; and officer appointments,
assignments, and promotions, 766–
77, 780–82, 785–86, 788, 791, 793,
801–2, 804, 807–8, 810, 812–13,
816–17, 822, 834, 840, 849, 852,
854; and officer controversies, 95–96,
100–101, 555–56; and officer court-
martial, 555–56, 813, 815–16, 830,
836, 840; and officer dismissals and
reinstatements, 62, 95–96, 768–69,
776–78, 781, 793, 796, 839, 845,
849; and Pacific squadron supply,
803; and pay complaints, 780, 829;
and timber reserves, 801, 805, 822,
825, 832, 844, 852; and U.S. Pacific
territory, 794; and *Vincennes* affray,
137. *See also* Navy; Navy Depart-
ment; Marine corps
- Woodward, Nathaniel Aspinwall:
587–88
- Wooster, Charles F., 779, 846
- Wooten, John, 445–46
- Worcester, Samuel Austin, 13, 151, 578,
713–14
- Worcester v. Georgia*: 12–13, 151, 178–
79, 254, 290, 523, 570, 578, 713–
14; AJ on, 151–52, 226–27
- Working Men's party (N.Y.C.), 748–49
- Worrell, Edward, 782
- Worrell, Joseph, 170
- Worth, William Jenkins, 783–84, 786–
87, 790
- Worthington, John Tolley Hood,
794
- Wright, Benjamin Drake, 137, 770
- Wright, Daniel W., 721–22
- Wright, Joel, 770
- Wright, Silas, 154–55, 504–5, 624,
713–14, 756–57
- Wright, Thomas, 540–42
- Wyandot Indians, 777, 787–88, 797,
807
- Wyatville, Jeffry, 203, 205
- Wynford, Baron (William Draper Best),
195, 198
- Wynn, Charles Watkin Williams, 196,
199
- Wyse, John M., 793
- XYZ controversy, 712
- Year's Residence in the United States
of America, A* (1818), 199
- Yeatman, Woods & Co., 162
- Yerger, George Shall, 836
- Yorktown, Battle of, 186
- Young, Thomas M. W., 771, 788
- Yulee, David Levy, 52
- Zanesville, Ohio, citizens, 798, 802
- Zantzinger, William Paul, 769, 777,
793, 796, 817
- Zavaleta, Plan of, 520
- Zeilin, John K., 780
- Zeylstra, Focke Hiddes, 829

